AGENERAL

HISTROY of the WORLD,

FROM THE

CREATION to the present Time.

INCLUDING

All the Empires, Kingdoms, and States; their Revolutions, Forms of Government, Laws, Religions, Customs and Manners; the Progress of their Learning, Arts, Sciences, Commerce and Trade;

Together with

Their Chronology, Antiquities, Public Buildings, and Curiosities of Nature and Art.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Efq; JOHN GRAY, Efq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.

Hor.

VOLUME X.

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GENERAL HISTORY

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THE HISTORY OF

I T A L Y.

HARLEMAGNE, after having reduced Pavia, Affairs in the capital of Lombardy, and taken prisoner Desiderius, Lombardy. its king; whose ambition, encouraged by various successes, so alarmed the pope, that he was under the necessity of throwing himself under the protection of the Franks, was crowned king of Italy, by the archbishop of Milan, at Mentz. Having thus sulfilled his engagements, and restored tranquility in the pope's dominions, he confirmed the grant of those territories made to the popes by his father Pepin, which included the greatest part of the kingdom of Naples, and returned to France with his royal prisoner, whom, after having divested him of his kingdom, he shut up in a monafitry, and received the oath of allegiance of the Lombards.

This calm, however, was shortly after disturbed by the Success of princes of those territories which were situated in Naples: Charleviz. the dutchies of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, who took magne. the advantage of the king's absence to revolt, and declared themselves independent; but, although Charles was engaged in another war with the Saxons, they were soon obliged to return to their allegiance. Rotgand, prince of Friuli, was deseated and put to death; which intimidated the two latter from farther rebellious proceedings; and, having renewed their allegiance, escaped punishment. Charles, however, added Friuli to his own dominions.

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He fubdues the Saxons.

The affairs of Italy being again fettled. Charles refumed his expedition against the Saxons, and put a considerable stop to the incursions of the Saracens in Spain; but being informed that the Lombards were ripe for another revolt, and that they threatened to restore Adalgise, the son of the late king Desiderius, to Italy, he returned, with his family, in the December following, and arrived at Pavia; where he summoned a general assembly of the states, and published several excellent laws, most of which are still extant, especially for the punishment of robbery and murder. Charles then continued his journey to Rome, where his two fons, Pepin and Lewis. were, shortly after, most solemnly crowned by pope Adrian: the former king of Lombardy, and the latter king of Aquitain. Pepin was afterwards crowned at Monza, with an iron crown, by the archbishop of Milan; after which ceremony. Charles, having appointed a proper governor, and other officers, of Pepin's houshold, returned to Germany; where his presence at the diet of Worms was necessary.

hut alarms the em-

The rapid fuccesses and growing power of Charles alarmed the empress Irene, who, disliking that the Franks should be press Irene. masters of all Italy, concluded a secret treaty with Arechis. duke of Benevento, and Tafillon, duke of Bavaria, both brothers-in-law to Adalgise, the deprived prince of Lombardy, and resolved to re-instate him in his father's dominions; but Charles having early intelligence of this design, resolved to frustrate it; for which purpose he marched over the Albs to Florence, and ordered that city, which had been destroyed by Totilla, king of the Goths, to be rebuilt. From Florence he marched to Rome, where he was splendidly received by the pope.

Arechis implores peace.

Arechis, being apprehensive of the resentment of Charles. dispatched his eldest son, Romuald, to Rome, to beg for a peace; but Charles, who continued deaf to his entreaties, detained Romuald, and marched directly on to Capua, which he took with little relistance. Arechis, informed of this, retired precipitately to Salerno; from whence he fent another ambassador, with the most profound submissions, to Charles; who, at length, granted him a peace, on condition of his paying a yearly tribute, besides a vast sum of money, to Pepin; and he took with him Arechis's fecond fon, Grimoald, and his daughter Adeleifa, as hostages for the performance of their father's engagements. Arechis and his eldest fon foon after dying, Charles generously conferred the government upon Grimoald, who was greatly beloved and gladly received by the Beneventines.

He fubdues Tafillen.

Charlemagne, upon his arrival in Germany, in order to reduce Tafillon to obedience, raised a considerable army of Franks and Saxons, who affembled at the Danube, whilft he in person marched with another body to the river Lech. He also ordered his son Pepin, with an army of Italians, to march to the Trentine; by which Tafillon was furrounded,

and, thinking it in vain to make any refisfance against so powerful an enemy, he quietly submitted; and, having renewed his allegiance, and given proper hostages (amongst whom was his son Theodon) for his fidelity, Charles pardoned him. Tasillon, however, being convicted of inviting the Hunns, in consequence of his treaty with Irene, to invade the Franks, he was, with his son Theodon, condemned to a cloyster for the rest of his days. The Hunns, according to engagement, invaded Germany and Friuli; but were obliged to retire from both countries, with considerable loss, to Pannonia.

In the mean time, Adalgife did all he could to get himself. His wars reinstated, and, by his intrigues, prevented the intended with Adalmatch between the daughter of Charlemagne and the emperor gife, Constantine; in this he was, in a great measure, encouraged by Irene, the empress-mother, who was jealous lest she should lofe her influence over the emperor, by the young empress persuading him to take the reins of government entirely to himself. Constantine being ignorant of those intrigues, and thinking himself slighted by Charles, which opinion he was confirmed in by the artful infinuations of Adalgife, he resolved to refent the supposed affront, and, at the same time, to drive the Franks from Italy. In order to effect this, he gave the command of a large army to Adalgife; thinking that the presence of the son of their former king might be the means of reducing them. Pepin, at this time, being jointly employed with his father against the Hunns, received the news of this invalion by an express from Grimoald, and hastened back to Italy; but fent the charge of commander-inchief, for suppressing the rebels, to Grimoald; who, being joined by the duke of Spoleto, and some other princes tributary to Pepin, immediately marched against the rebels, who were landed in Calabria; and, after an obstinate and most bloody dispute, entirely routed them, taking all their baggage, with Adalgife, and the principal officers, prisoners. Adalgife was immediately put to death, that he might no who is longer be a means of rebellious disturbances in Italy.

Grimoald, notwithstanding this great piece of service, hav-death. ing received, about sour years after, some slights from Pepin, which were exaggerated by his mother, at her persuasion, revolted from his allegiance. Pepin's army not being in a state to cope with so formidable an adversary, he implored assistance from his father, who sent his second son, Letvis, king of Aquitain, to his relief; and Pepin, being joined by his brother, they marched against Grimoald about the end of November, and with great difficulty subdued him; and, lay-

ing the whole country waste, returned home.

Pope Adrian, about two years after this, dying, was fuc- Italy raceeded by Leo; who, after his confectation, fent ambassa- vaged by dors to Charlemagne with the standard of the city, acknow- the Hunns. ledging his submission; for, though the popes had renounced

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their allegiance to the emperor, they had not yet affumed independency; but, on account of the great power of Charles, they sheltered themselves under his protection, and defired he would fend a deputation to receive their oaths of

allegiance.

Part of Italy being, at this time, ravaged by the frequent incursions of the Hunns, Charles sent Henry, duke of Friuli, in whom he placed great confidence, with a confiderable army, to drive them out. Pepin being engaged in an expedition against the Hungarians, had various success; but got one victory which proved decifive. After this, he retired to Aixla-Chapelle, loaden with spoil and treasure, where he heard of the death of the emperor Constantine, whose eyes had been put out by Irene, the empress-mother. He also received news of the death of Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto.

Conspira-Leo.

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The promotion of Leo to the papal dignity gave great ofcy against fence to the relations of Adrian, who formed a conspiracy against his liberty; which they carried into execution. and, with a band of ruffians hired for that purpofe, attacked the pope on St. George's day, in the chapel of St. Stephen; and, after wounding him, they stripped him of his robes, and thrust him into the monastry under a strong guard. He was foon after, by the address of one Alcuin, his servant, who corrupted the guards, removed to St. Peter's church; where he continued concealed till the duke of Spoleto relieved him with an army. Leo went, after this, into Germany; where he was received with fuitable distinction by Charlemagne, and proposed to remain there till affairs at Rome should be in a state of tranquility; and an opportunity soon after happening, he returned to Rome with a most splendid retinue. At this time Charles received the news of the death of his favourite, Henry, duke of Friuli, who had been affassinated at Tarfatz, in Illiricum.

Charles Rome,

The spirit of the faction, who opposed Leo, being not yet returns to fubdued, and the chiefs of it threatning to throw themfelves again under the emperor's protection, Charles thought his presence in Rome necessary to quell the disturbances; and, in order to give a face of justice to his proceedings, declared Lee should be regularly tried for the crimes laid to his charge. Accordingly, having settled his affairs in Germany, he fet out for Italy. First of all he went to Tarsatz, where he created a new duke of Friuli, named Cardolathus, after having feverely punished the accomplices in the murder of Henry. Whilst Charles was preparing to proceed to Rome, he received news of Grimoald's having again revolted. Upon this he went to Ancona, where Pepin then was, and fent him with an army against Grimoald; and, as the affairs of Charles were in a very critical fituation at Rome, he haftened thither, and, upon his arrival, nominated the day of Leo's trial. The persons appointed for judges declaring that they could not proceed against their superior; and the pope declaring himfelf

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self, on the Holy Gospels, innocent, was acquitted by the whole assembly. Leo, as an acknowledgment to Charles for where his timely intercession, proposed to the senate the declaring he is and crowning him emperor of the Romans; which being una-crowned. nimously agreed to, they proclaimed him, "Charles Augustus, crowned by God, emperor of the Romans." After which, he was solemnly crowned and invested amidst the acclamations of the people; and then, having made some precaution-

ary regulations, he returned to Germany.

Pepin, who marched against Grimoald, after having taken Pepin example and destroyed several towns, receiving an account of the latest the ter having taken Luceria, and making Vinigise (who had, Saracens for his former services against Adalgise, been created duke of out of Cor-Spoleto) prisoner, determined to conclude a truce with Gri-sica.

moald, who accepted of it, setting Vinigise at liberty. The Saracens, at this time, seized on the island of Corsica; but Pepin having early intelligence of it, sent a powerful fleet to drive them off; which arriving at the above place unexpectedly, took thirteen ships of the insidels, and destroyed the rest.

The Venetians, at the infligation of Nicephorus, the eastern Affairs of emperor, disavowed the supremacy of Charlemagne, notwith-the Venethanding all the remonstrances and persuasions to the contians, trary by their duke Obalerius, who was sent into exile. They were strongly supported by Nicetas, the patrician, who arrived in the Adriatic; and a diversion was, at the same time, made by another fleet in the Lower Sea. The latter took Populonium, in Hetruria, while the former, being joined by the Venetians, attacked Comaclo, but were repulsed by Pepin's army. After this, they proposed a truce; which Obalarius dissuaded Pepin to accept of. The Saracens observing those dissentions among the Christian powers, took the advantage of them, and attacked Corsica and Sardinia; from whence they carried off many prisoners and much plunder with little resistance.

The truce proposed by the Venetians being rejected, the who war war was vigorously carried on, the next year, against them with Peby Pepin, both by land and fea; he being resolved, at any pin. rate, to re-establish his father's supremacy, and to restore Abalerius and Valantine, the degraded dukes. At first, the fuccess of *Pepin* was rapid, having taken and reduced all the cities on their frontiers, from whence he proceeded to Metamaucum, the ducal refidence; which place was immediately abandoned by its inhabitants, who retired to the islands Rialto and Olivola, which were strongly fortified by nature; the water being fo shallow, and the coast fo rocky, as to render it impossible for the large vessels of the enemy to get near their forts. Pepin being determined to attack them, notwithstanding these disadvantages, ordered all his smallest vessels and boats to be manned; and, taking an opportunity of the tide's fetting in, attempted a landing; but they were vigor-

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oully opposed by the Venetians, who, on the reflux of the tide, which left Pepin's vessels on ground, fallied out and burnt most of them; whilst their crews, endeavouring to regain their ships, were mostly drowned. This defeat so chagrined Pepin that he did not long survive it; for, in the same year, he died at Milan, in the flower of his age, leaving a natural fon, named Bernard, and five daughters.

Charles, on his receiving the news of his fon's death, was, for some time, inconsolable; and, on account of the affection he bore him, appointed Bernard to succeed him in the kingdom of Italy. As that kingdom was threatened by another invasion from the Saracens, in order to secure a peaceable possession of it for the young king, he concluded a peace with the eaftern emperor, giving him up his fovereignty over Venice.

War with the Saracens.

Death of

Pepin.

The first expedition Bernard was employed in, was, in conjunction with Wala, governor of Saxony, against the Moors, who had invaded Italy; but, upon his arrival in that kingdom, they rather chose to attack Sardinia; where, in a fhort time, they were almost totally cut off. The next year, however, the Saracens, having got together another army, with a formidable fleet, invaded Corfica; from whence returning to Spain, they loft eight of their ships in an obstinate engagement with the governor of Majorca. To revenge this lofs, they attacked and plundered Civita Vecchia; and Nice, in Provence, underwent the same fate; but attempting to land again on Sardinia, they were repulfed, with great loss both of men and thips.

Death of Charles

Italy being now freed from the incursions of the Hunns and Saracens, and Grimoald, prince of Benevento, once more subthe Great, mitting, a general tranquility was restored to that kingdom. Charles, tired with the toils of empire, and greatly affected with the loss of his two sons, Charles and Pepin, resolved to give up the reins of government in favour of his furviving fon Lewis; whom having declared his heir, he caused to be crowned emperor in the year 813; and ordered Bernard, in the same year, to be crowned king of Italy; which was accordingly performed at Monza. But Charles did not long enjoy the fweets of retirement, for, being foon after attacked with a pleuretic fever, he died, on the twenty-eighth of January following, in the seventieth year of his age.

who is fucceeded by his fon Lewis.

Lewis, upon the death of his father, fent for his nephew Bernard to Aix-la-Chapeile; where they jointly fettled and renewed the treaty which was made by their father with Leo, the emperor of Constantinople. They also ratified the peace which had been concluded with Grimeald. Great difturbances happening at Rome about this time, Lewis fent Bernard to enquire into the cause of them; and he found that the faction which had formerly opposed pope Leo, upon the death of Charlemagne, his protector, was revived; but that the chiefs of it were feized and indifcriminately put to death by

Leo. Upon this, Bernard fent an account of the whole proceedings, together with a deputation from the pope, to his brother, who was well fatisfied with Leo's proceedings.

Leo, the next year, dying, was fucceeded by Stephen IV. Succession who, immediately after his election, ordered the Romans to of the take the oath of allegiance to Lewis; and was afterwards at- pope. tended by Bernard into Germany, where he crowned Lewis emperor. Stephen enjoyed this high station but a short time after he returned to Rome; and Paschal, who was not very well attached to the state of dependency upon Lewis, fucceeded him, and was elected without giving the emperor previous notice; which excited, in some degree, refentment in Lewis: but, upon Paschal's fending a most submissive apology for his taking this step without his knowledge, Lewis not only overlooked it, but renewed the former grant of lands made to the popes. Lewis, in the same year, caused his eldest son, Lotharius, to be crowned emperor; Pepin, his fecond fon, king of Aquitain; and his third fon, Lewis, king of Bavaria.

Those promotions excited great discontents in Bernard, Bernard who, as being the only fon to the elder brother of Lewis, invades looked upon himself to have an undoubted right to the em- the terripire; and not finding himself included in the succession, was tories of determined to affert it by force; and, lest in his invasion of Lewis. his uncle's territories he might prove unsuccessful, he was resolved to secure a safe retreat into his own; for which pur-The account of pose he fortified all the passes of the Alps. these proceedings, alarming Lewis, he marched in person, at the head of a great army, to defeat the purposes of Bernard, which were not ripe for execution. The chiefs of the conspiracy being alarmed at the rapid progress of the imperialists. declined having any farther concern in the defigns of their king; who, finding himself deserted, he went to Chalons, on the Soane, where the emperor then was, and implored his pardon, confessing his treason. Lewis, being previously refolved to punish this revolt with the greatest rigour, and having fecured a great number of the conspirators, amongst whom were feveral bishops, he ordered the latter to be divested of their sees, and the eyes of all the laics to be put out, not excepting Bernard, of which operation he died His death.

While these things were transacting, Grimoald, prince of The Hunns Benevento, was affatfinated by Radalchis, count of Campania, repulsed. who caused his friend Sico to be invested with the government of that principality. The latter declaring himself innocent of the murder of Grimoald, to the emperor, and expressing the greatest sentiments of friendship and amity, confirming it with a tributary confideration, was approved of by The Hunns, at this time, committing outrages in Germany, Lewis, in conjunction with Balderic, whom he

in a few days, in the fifth year of his reign.

created duke of Friuli, in the room of Cardolach, who died

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in the former year, marched against them; and, having ra vaged Pannonia, returned to Aix-la-Chapelle, and fent bac Balderic to his dukedom; and, in his way, he reduced Carin thia and Carniola.

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Suppo created duke of Spoleto.

Difturb. ances at Rome.

Suppo, count of Brescia, was, at this time, created duke of Spoleto, in the room of Vinigife, who, being advanced to a great age, chose to spend the remainder of his days in a monastry. In the mean while, two opposite factions were committing great outrages in Italy; the one being fecretly encouraged by Paschal to disavow the emperor's authority, and the other defending it. These diffensions were carried on to fuch a height, that Paschal ordered the eyes of two eminent prelates to be put out for preaching up obedience to the emperor; but fearing Lewis's refentment on this occafion, who had already been acquainted with the nature of the disturbances, he assembled the bishops; and swearing, in their presence, upon the Gospels, he had nothing to do in the rebellious proceedings against the emperor, they transmitted the account of it to Lewis, who overlooked the pope's ingratitude. Paschal, however, ordered that the persons he had thus punished, should be declared traitors to their country. These arbitrary proceedings of the pope were upon the point of being extended, but were put an end to by his death; which occasioned fresh disturbances about the election of a new one, and Eugenius was, in a tumultuous manner, con-

fecrated, being strongly supported by the nobles. Lotharius

Lewis, chagrined at the contempt of his authority in this visits Italy. election, sent his son Lotharius into Italy to enquire into the cause of it, with a commission to create a duke of Spoleto in the room of Suppo, lately deceased; which dignity was conferred upon one Adelard, an Italian nobleman, who furvived his investiture but a few months, and was succeeded by Mayrigno, count of Brescia. Lotharius, upon his arrival at Rome, enquired strictly into the late disturbances, and severely punished the delinquents; and, to prevent such unauthorized proceedings for the future, he enacted a law, whereby no one should be elected or confecrated pope without the authority and consent of the emperor.

New paration of rial territories;

Judith, the wife of Lewis, folliciting him to alter the partition he had formerly made of his dominions, in favour of the impe. Charles, his infant son, hastened the return of Lotharius to Germany, he being jealous of the empress's ascendency; but before his arrival there, Lewis had fettled the territories which were fituated between the Rhine, the Maine, the Necker, and the Danube, with the greatest part of Burgundy, upon Charles, together with the title of king. The joint deprivation of Lotharius and his brothers, Pepin and Lewis, of fo confiderable a share of their revenues, caused them to retire, in a very discontented manner, to their kingdoms; which the empress taking advantage of, wheedled the emperor to turn out those ministers who had opposed her proceedings,

and to create one Bernard, governor of Catalonia, adminifirator of the empire. These proceedings exasperating the deposed parties, they made a formal complaint of them to Pepin, and sollicited him to inform his father of his injustice; and, if he could not convince him of it by fair means, peremptorily to insist upon an alteration in his conduct; they, at the same time, promising to affist Pepin in this negotiation with all their power and interests.

Pepin, glad of the preference shewn to him in this situa- which cretion, readily granted them their request; and, after levying ates a re-

an army, proceeded to put his promifes into execution; bellion. which the emperor hearing of, he secured the empress in a nunnery, and sent Bernard to his government, while he marched to Compeigne at the head of a small army. Pepin being advanced to the neighbourhood where Judith was confined, he commanded her to be brought before him; and made her promise, as she regarded her life, to persuade her husband to resign to him the empire, and retire to a monastry for the remainder of his days. Judith, who was desirous of an opportunity of speaking to the emperor, readily consented to undertake this task; and, arriving at the emperor's camp, she persuaded him to seign a consent to their injunctions; after which she was obliged by Pepin to take the veil.

The preference which the malecontents had given to Pepin awakened the jealoufy of Lotharius, although he was glad of the revolt; and he determined to put himself at the head of it. Arriving therefore in Germany with a large army, he was there received, by the chiefs of the faction, as heir to the empire; upon which, Pepin retired, disobliged, to his own kingdom.

Lewis being obliged to comply with Lotharius's injunctions, Lewis rewent into a monastry; but the monks desiring him not to be tires to a disheartened, and to exert his authority the same as if he monastry. was not deposed, persuaded him to send ambassadors to his sons Pepin and Lewis, to demand, on their allegiance to him, to employ their utmost endeavours to reinstate him in his authority. These messages were not without effect; for Pepin, who had been before chagrined at his brother's superfeding him, readily obeyed, as also did Lewis; and the emperor ordered a diet to be held at Nineguen, to which he cited the princes of the empire to attend. This resolution of the emperor daunting the conspirators, and, at the same time, encouraging those chiefs who were obliged, by the

superior force of the malcontents, to espouse the cause of Lotharius, to re-assume their attachment to Lewis, Lotharius thought proper to implore his father's forgiveness; which was granted him, after a most serious, though affectionate,

While Lotharius was thus negotiating his reconciliation, Lotharius the malecontents grew impatient at his absence; and, a re- pardoned.

port

port being foread amongst them that he was made a prisoner by the emperor, they gave a general alarm to their camp, and were determined to make one bold stroke for their liberty, imagining that Lewis would grant them no quarter. But Lotharius appearing with the emperor, he declared his reconciliation with him; and, at the same time, prevailed upon them to fubmit to the emperor's clemency; which was immediately complied with on their part. Lotharius, altho' he had procured his pardon, was deprived of his title of emperor; and was also obliged to bind himself, by solemn oath. not to take up arms against, or upon any account whatever diffurb, the peace of the empire; the oath of allegiance, which his subjects, as emperor, had taken to him, being after which he was suffered to return to Italy.

Peace being thus established, was, however, of very short duration; for Bernard, returning to court, was but coldly received by his former protectress the empress, and more so by Lewis, who forbade him his presence. Bernard, being thus discarded, resolved to sow differtion; for which purpose he went to Aquitain, where he alarmed Pepin with an infinuation of the emperor's determination to difinherit him and his brothers, Lotharius and Lewis, in favour of their brother-in-law Charles; which resolution his mother, Judith, had ascendancy enough over her husband to get him to

confirm.

A new rebellion breaks out.

The brothers, alarmed at this, and conscious of their former disobedience, formed a scheme to frustrate the designs of Judith, and Pepin once more took arms against his father: in which proceeding he was feconded by his brother Lewis. Upon this, the emperor appointed a diet to be held at Orleans, to which he cited his three fons to appear personally; but, before the time of convocation was elapsed, being apprehensive of disagreeable consequences from their presence. he affembled an army, with which he marched against Lewis, who submitted on his pardon being granted. This submisfion of Lewis occasioned Lotharius to think proper to difavow his rebellious proceedings; and, not having openly appeared in arms, he eafily obtained his reconciliation. Pepin persevering in his revolt, occasioned his father to send him a fummons, ordering him to furrender on pain of being difinherited; which had the defired effect. Upon his arrival in the emperor's presence, he was put under an arrest, and was ordered by his father to be conducted prisoner to Triers; but making his escape in his way thither, he found means to get into his own kingdom, where he collected an army, and much harraffed that of his father in his return to Aix-la-Chapelle.

Pepin dif-

The emperor, exasperated at this rebellion, and his anger inherited, being kept awake by the infligation of Judith, she easily accomplished her purpose, and got him to declare Pepin disinherited. inherited; and his kingdom was immediately conferred upon Charles: but Judith, being apprehensive that this partial behaviour of her husband in behalf of the younger fon, might exasperate Lotharius, she promised to get him re-instated in

the imperial dignity.

Lotharius, finding these promises of no effect, he took Pe- The pope pin's part, and prevailed with the pope to accompany them mediates. as a mediator between the emperor and his fons; but, altho' the pope yielded to their follicitations, and accepted of that falutary office, they every where published that his holiness was come in person to excommunicate the emperor for his unwarrantable proceedings. This affertion, joined to the perfonal appearance of the pope, influenced the common-people in behalf of the brothers; but only ferved to confirm the attachment of the nobles to the emperor, who wrote to the pope to defift from fuch proceedings on pain of being excommunicated himself; but Gregory disavowed his coming with any intention of excommunicating the emperor.

Lewis, secure in the attachment of the nobility and the Lewis principal bishops of the empire, marched with his army to made priattack the rebels; and, upon his appearance near their foner by camp, which was between Basil and Colmar, the pope de- his sons. manded an audience of him; and, after three days unfuccefful follicitation, returned to Lotharius, who employed the time to much better purpose than the good father had done; for, having corrupted the hearts of all the common foldiers, they deferted in one body to his army. This reduced Lewis to the necessity of furrendering himself prisoner, on condition of his life and liberty being granted; but he no fooner arrived in the rebels camp than he was made close prisoner and deposed; which violent proceedings having been pro-

tested against by Gregory, he returned to Rome.

Lotharius being declared emperor at Compeigne, obliged his father to do public penance, and afterwards condemned him to perpetual imprisonment; which inhuman proceeding exasperating his other two sons, they demanded the liberty of their father, whose misfortunes gained him several other friends; and these, pitying his situation, concerted measures for his restoration. Lotharius finding himself under the ne- but recessity of submitting, he procured pardon, on condition of covers the returning to his own kingdom, and never to repass the Alps empire.

without permission of the emperor.

The submission of Lotharius was, in a great measure, forwarded by his having received news of the Saracens irruption into Italy, and committing the most dreadful ravages; but, upon the appearance of Lotharius's army, they thought proper to retire. After repelling the infidels, Lotharius, instead of taking proper methods for the future security of the provinces, seized upon several of them; which, as before mentioned, had been granted to the popes; but, by peremp-

tory orders from his father, he was obliged to restore them.

Lotharius emperor.

Pepin, king of Aquitain, dying at this time, the emperor fent for Lotharius from Italy, and divided the empire between him and his brother-in-law Charles; after which he returned to Italy: but his father foon after dying, he marched into France, where he was received and acknowledged as emperor. Not contented with the partition his father had made of the empire, he began to usurp that part of it which was left This obliged the latter to ask assistance of his brother Lewis, king of Bavaria; who entering into an alliance with him, they gave battle to the army of Lotharius near Fontenay; and, after a most bloody engagement, entirely routed it, and obliged him to retire to Vienna.

divided.

The victorious brothers immediately pursuing those adpire again vantages, feized upon all Lothairius's dominious in Germany; which they divided between them, and prevailed upon the bishops and nobles to declare them forfeited by Lotharius; who, finding his brothers fo strongly supported, sued for peace, and submitted to another partition of the empire, which was divided between the three brothers equally; Letharius taking the title of emperor, Lewis that of king of Germany, and Charles that of king of France.

Sergius chosen pope.

Lotharius being thus engaged in Germany, he appointed his eldest son, Lewis, king of Italy; and sent him with an army into that kingdom, to enquire concerning the validity of the election of Sergius, who was appointed by the facred college to succeed Gregory, deceased. In the course of the march of this army, great outrages were committed by it; which intimidated Sergius, and his party, from employing forcible means to confirm himself pope; he having procured himself to be elected without the concurrence of the emperor. Sergius, however, received Lewis with all the deference that used to be shewn to his ancestors; and, acknowledging the power and supremacy of the emperor, was, by him, confirmed pope, after a reprimand by Lewis for such proceedings without the emperor's confent. Lewis, the next day, was, by the pope, crowned king of the Lombards; and received, by commission, the oath of allegiance from the Romans to the emperor. Lewis also ordained that the former law of the pope's not being confecrated till confirmed by the emperor. should be, for the future, put into execution.

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Lewis arrives at Rome,

Lewis, upon his arrival at Rome, ordered his army, confifting of Franks and Lombards, to be quartered without the walls of the city. Upon this they continued committing great diforders; and the Romans, mistaking the causes, apprehended, that Lewis had instructions to take possession of Rome. In those conjectures they were, in a manner, confirmed by the arrival of Siconolphus, prince of Benetveno, at the head of a large army; which, they fup-

posed, was fent for by Lewis to re-inforce him in case of necessity. But this apprehension was soon afterwards dispelled by a declaration, on the part of Lewis, difavowing fuch proceedings, and punishing the promoters and actors in these tumults; and confirmed by the peaceable departure of Siconolphus, who, it feems, had only come to concert meafures with Lewis concerning the present state of the affairs of Benevento, where there was a diffention about the partition of that dutchy. Lewis, by virtue of his fovereign power, fettled the dispute, by putting Siconolphus in possession of Salerno, and giving Benevento to his brother Radelchis.

Upon the return of Lewis to Germany, the Saracens, who where he were still possessed of Bari, renewed their ravages, and in-regulates vaded Apulia, Calabria, and Benevento; upon which, the Ita- the golians deputed two ecclesiastics, who repaired to Germany, to vernment, implore the return of Lewis to protect them. The emperor Lotharius, who was zealous for the re-establishment of the imperial power, in matters ecclefiastical, and which the understood had been greatly violated, consented to the march of Lewis at the head of an army; with which, affifted by the Capuans, he defeated the Saracens; but gave the principality

of Salerno to one Ademarius.

Lewis, returning to Pavia, ordered an affembly of the Ita- and iffues lian prelates and states to be held at Tessino; and appointed falutary the archbishop of Milan, and the patriarch of Aquileia, to edicis. enquire into the state of religion and the lives of ecclesiastics. Their report was unfavourable for both. Lewis therefore published an edict, commanding all the clergy and monks to conform themselves to their facred institutions; and that lay-men should be judged by the civil-laws. Lewis, soon after this publication, was alarmed by the information against one Gratian, who held a considerable rank at Rome, and was accused of a design to join with the Greek emperor in driving the Franks out of Italy. Lewis, upon this, communicated the affair to Leo at Rome; but Gratian, in a folemn affembly of nobles and fenators who were appointed to try him, not only cleared himself, but turned the charge upon his accuser, who was punished accordingly. Lee before his death, which happened foon after, professed the greatest submission to the imperial power; but begged Lotharius to indulge the Romans in being governed by the civil-law of Rome, to which they had been always accustomed.

Notwithstanding those professions from the papal chair, Dissimunothing is more certain than that they were infincere, and lation of that Benedict III. the pope who fucceeded Leo, was chosen the pope. without the confent or knowledge of the emperors. He thought it sufficient that he made an apology, by his ambaffador, for this proceeding; but they gave orders for a new

election, and it fell upon one Anastasius, whom the other ecclefiaftics with fo much obstinacy refused to confecrate, that

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the imperial deputies were obliged to allow of the election

of Benedict.

During this contest, the emperor Lotharius died; and the kingdom of Italy, by the partition which he made of his dominions, fell to Lewis, who was obliged to be contented with that allotment. He carried his family and court to Lombardy, and applied himself to reform the abuses and promote the welfare of his kingdom, by making progresses thro' its chief cities and towns. He was received at Venice with great magnificence, and, being visited by pope Nicholas in his camp, out of politeness he went to meet him, and, for fome time, held the bridle of his horse; a servile ceremony which was afterwards construed into a duty to be performed by every emperor to the pope. Next year, the archbishop of Vienna, who had been excommunicated by the pope, put himself under the emperor's protection; but it availed him fo little, that, before he was restored to his see, he was

obliged to submit to the will of his holiness.

who is forced to raise the fiege of Bari.

Submiffion of

Lewis,

In the year 867, Adelgise was suspected of corresponding with the Saracens, who still held Bari, but were defeated by Lewis through the affistance of the Germans. He was, however, obliged to raise the siege of Bari, with the loss of two thousand of his men. Upon the election of Adrian II. into the holy-see, he informed the imperial ambassadors, that he had not invited them to be present at the ceremony, because he was resolved, for the future, that no temporal prince should interfere in the choice of a pope. The succession of Charles the Great was, by this time, fo miserably divided, that it was not in the power of Lewis to refent this usage as it deserved; nor was he able, next year, to take Bari, tho' he was affisted by the Greek fleet. He drove the infidels, however, out of some other parts of Italy; and, in the year 869, he, at last, took Bari; but was forced to raise the siege of Tarento, which was held by the infidels.

A conspiracy of two counts against him being discovered, the conspirators fled to Adelgise at Benevento; and Lewis being in hafte to take possession of the estates which had fallen to him by the death of his brother Lothair, he pardoned the counts at the intercession of Adelgise. Those estates were usurped by Charles the Bald, king of France, who was exhorted by the pope to restore them to his nephew, the emperor Lewis, but all in vain; upon which the pope crowned Lewis king of Lorrain (for fo the dominions in question were called) that he might thereby strengthen his title. knew that the Italian dominions of Lewis were too much harrassed by the Saracens for him to make out his claim by force of arms; but he was obliged to pay some regard to the king of Germany, who demanded a part of the same succeifion.

Progress In the year 871, Lewis found himself surrounded with vaof the Sa- rious difficulties. The Saracens, being re-inforced, were racens, powerful powerful in Italy. Basil, the Greek emperor, being disappointed in marrying the daughter of Lewis, declared against him, erased his title of emperor out of the public deeds, and entered into a fecret treaty with Adelgife, who treacherously furprized Lewis and made him prisoner; nor could he regain his liberty without making oath, that he never would again enter the territories of Benevento. The Saracens, encouraged by the Greek emperor, were still multiplying in Italy. Lewis who are befieged Capua, which made a strong resistance, and, when deseated. taken, he was refolved to have put all the inhabitants to the fword; but their bishop obtained their pardon by appearing before the emperor with the body of St. Germain upon his shoulders. The infidels, being soon after defeated near the fame city, evacuated Italy; and the pope having absolved Lewis from the oath he had made to Adelgife, the latter fled to Corfica, but was foon after reconciled to Lewis, who still continued without male-iffue.

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The kingdom of Italy was an object worthy the attention of his two uncles, the kings of France and Germany; and each endeavoured to fecure to himself the succession. king of Germany had ceded his part of the Lorrain succession to Lewis, and he promised to protect the empress against the Italian nobles, who hated her because she had no children and meddled too much in the affairs of state. The king of France, on the other hand, made a party among those very

nobles, and endeavoured to gain the pope to his fide.

During those transactions, the infidels, under their king Abdalla, again invaded Italy and befreged Salerno; but they were defeated by Lewis, who died in 875, and was buried at Milan. He left issue only one daughter, Ermengard, who was the wife of Boson, king of Provence. Lewis, though an upright, well-meaning prince, and brave in his own person, is justly accused of suffering the popes to lay, through his want of spirit, those ambitious foundations of greatness which afterwards proved fo fatal to the fuccessors of Charles the Great.

Charles the Bald, king of France, on the death of Lewis, Charles was privately invited by the pope to enter Italy with an ar- the Bald my; which he accordingly did, but was opposed by another enters under Charles the Gross, son to Lewis, king of Germany. Italy. Charles the Bald was at first victorious; but Carloman, another of Lewis's fons, taking the command of his father's army, a negotiation enfued; in which it was agreed that the late emperor's succession should be divided between the two claimants, and that both armies should evacuate Italy. Carloman performed his part of the agreement, but Charles, under pretence of having been invited by the pope, marched on towards Rome, where he was to receive the imperial crown.

This was a favourable juncture for the holy-see. The Italian nobility, with the count of Tuscany at their head, demanded .

The Italians demand an Italian king.

manded an Italian king; and they were opposed by Charles the Bald, who shut up all the passages into Italy, lest he should be again disturbed by the king of Germany, who had the right of primogeniture on his fide. The pope dreaded an Italian more than he did a French emperor; and Charles, having feized upon the treasures of his nephew Lewis. bribed the pope and his clergy so high, that his holiness, at last, consented to give him the imperial crown, provided he would acknowledge that he held it by the gift of the fee of Rome, which was, at the same time, declared to be independent of the empire. Charles agreed to those and other terms which derogated from his dignity, and was crowned in the Vatican, on Christmas-day, the same year. In January following, he went to Pavia, attended by the pope, who, in an affembly of the nobles held there, expatiated on the virtues of Charles. From thence he proceeded to the Milanele, where, by the archbishop of Milan, he was crowned king of Lombardy. While Charles was receiving those specious honours in Italy, the king of Germany was laying waste his Italian dominions. Charles had, at this time, very little real power in Italy, where he was despised on account of his mean fubmissions to the pope. The Italian princes and states laid hold of so favourable a

Their privileges

conjuncture for strengthening their own independency, by confirmed, obtaining from Charles a confirmation of their privileges; which he readily granted them. He made Boson, whose fifter he had married, his viceroy for Italy during his absence. He created the counts Vido and Berengar dukes; the first, of Spoleto; the latter, of Friuli; and returned to France, which he found in a most miserable condition. In the mean while, Albert, count of Tuscany, renewed his intrigues with several other noblemen for raising an Italian to the imperial throne. They were joined by Formosus, bishop of Porto, and one Gregory, another ecclefiaftic. Albert might have succeeded in his defign, as Charles was in no condition to march back to Italy, had not the infidels again landed at Tarento, and, making an alliance with the inhabitants of Salerno, Amalfi, and Naples, they prepared to invade the Roman and Tuscan The pope territories. The pope pressed Charles to march to his relief; but he was not only in an ill state of health, but had been lately defeated by the king of Italy. Charles therefore could do no more than fend orders to the duke of Spoleto, and some other Italian princes who depended on him, to affift the pope. They persuaded the prince of Salerno to break off his alliance with the infidels; but Sergius, prince of Naples, preferred their friendship to that of the Christians, and was privately encouraged to the same by Adelgise, duke of Benevento, and Lambert, brother to the duke of Spoleto. Guaferius, prince of Salerno, accordingly attacked the Neapolitans in right of the pope, who ordered the heads of all the prisoners to be struck off; and the prince of Naples, being seized by his

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own brother Anastasius, a bishop, was sent prisoner to Rome,

where his eyes were put out by order of his holinefs.

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VOL. X.

Notwithstanding those events, the Saracens continued to Progress make great progress in Italy, from whence the pope was of the afraid of being expelled. All he could do was by the force Saracens. of money and submissions, to purchase some respite from the barbarians; and, the mean while, Charles liftened fo far to his repeated folicitations, that he gave him a meeting at Pavia, where the empress was to be crowned. News arriving, that France was again invaded by the Germans, that ceremony was performed at Tortona; and the emperor, whose troops had mutinied, set out for France, but died on the road, on the fifth of October; being poisoned, (as is faid) by a Jew physician. Charles, upon his death bed, left the imperial regalia to his fon Lewis the Stammerer, whom he appointed his fuccessor. We can scarcely conceive greater confusion than happened in Germany on the death of Charles the Bald. Carloman was in the heart of Lombardy, at the head of an army. The Capuans had taken arms, and had chosen one Ladenulph, a converted Saracen, and a married man, to be their bishop, and so miserable was the pope's fituation, that he was forced to confent to his confecration, nay, he afterwards made him bishop of Gaeta. Ladenulph proving a tyrant, the Gaetans invited the Saracens to relieve them, and they defeated the duke of Gaeta, who had been persuaded by the pope to fight them.

The Italian princes, headed by Lambert, who was now Lambert duke of Spoleto, refumed their defign of raising an Italian enters to the empire; and demanded from the pope the impe-Rome. rial crown for Lambert, who, to make his claim good, entered Rome with an army. John the eighth, who was then pope, complained of this infult, and Lambert taxed him with having promised him the empire. Lewis the Stammerer, and Carloman the German, had obtained the like promife from his holinefs. Lambert treated John with the utmost indignity. He refused to give him his ordinary titles of respect, and behaved towards him with the greatest rudeness. At last, he shut him up a prisoner in Rome itself. John continued inflexible against Lambert, who was suspected of holding a correspondence with the Saracens. His holiness therefore bought them off, by paying them twenty thousand marks of filver, and Lambert finding his party too weak, pretended to declare for Carloman; but was obliged to give the pope his liberty, after a month's imprisonment. His Flight of holiness then set sail for Provence, but sent an apology to pope John Carloman, for not repairing to Germany, alledging, that the roads were blocked up by Lambert. Boson, king of Arles, or Provence, received John with so much affection, that it was thought he had promifed the imperial crown to him likewife. At Troyes he excommunicated Lambert, crowned Lewis the Stammerer, king of France; and Bolon undertook to re-

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establish him on the papal throne, in hopes of himself be-

ing feated on that of the empire.

Feudal blished in Italy.

It appears, that Carloman at this time afferted his heredilaws esta-tary right to the kingdom of Italy. Charles the Bald, had established the feudal laws in Lombardy, and Tuscany, which at this time, were divided into a vast number of petty principalities, who paid Carloman, though he was then in Bavaria, for their privileges; which gave them the colour of independency upon all powers but that of the emperor. whom they knew to be at too great a distance to controul them. On the twenty-seventh of November, the pope, attended by Boson, at the head of an army, summoned an affembly of the Italian bishops and states at Pavia, to reflore the peace of Italy. The artful pontif still kept the imperial crown, of which he pretended to have the disposal, vacant, and even suffered himself to be reconciled to Lambert and Albert, that he might have an opportunity to fend back Boson, who accordingly returned to Provence. this time, Adelgise of Benevento, was murdered by his own nephews; one of whom seized his dukedom, without regard to the right of his son Radelchis. John, upon his return found the Saracens in possession of all the Italian sea-coasts towards Fundi, and Terracina. His holiness however, formed fo powerful a confederacy, that he took eighteen of the infidels ships, and recovered from them fix hundred captives. The county, or bishopric of Capua, was then torn by the civil diffentions, that happened among the grand-children of Landolph, its late bishop.

The Saracens again defeated.

Contest imperial title.

Those differences, and the attention now bestowed by about the the Italian princes, each to strengthen his own interest, were of infinite service to the Saracens, who were now upon the point of conquering Rome itself. It is probable, that the yoke of those infidels was far more tolerable to the Italians, than that of their own princes. Even the zealous Athanasius of Naples, joined them in laying waste Benevento, Spoleto, and the papal fee, and shared in all their facrilegious plunder. Lewis the Stammerer, was now dead, and had left two fons, both of them minors; but still the pope refused to name the emperor. He amused the Italian princes, by appointing a meeting at Rome, for deliberating upon the choice of an emperor, or king of Italy; but he enjoined the archbishop of Milan, not to crown any king of Lombardy, without his confent. At the same time, he gave a kind of exclusion to Carloman, of Bavaria, whose bodily infirmities, he faid, difabled him from being chosen emperor; and whose dominions were now possessed by Lewis, king of Lorrain. It is thought, not without some grounds, that all this management of the pope, was owing to a fecret defire he had, to give the imperial crown to Boson. Lewis, king of Germany, suspecting this, demanded it of the pope, and being joined by the French, he invaded Bojon's

Boson's dominions, who was thereby disabled from furnishing the pope with any farther supplies against the infidels. Charles the Gross, then carried his army into Italy, and partly Charles cajoled, and partly threatened the pope into a promife of the Grofs, making him emperor. The affairs of Germany obliging invades Charles to repass the Alps, the war was continued against Italy. Boson; a new division of Germany took place, and the pope was left exposed to the insults of the Saracens. Athanasius, of Naples, still continued to be their firm ally, and the more he was diffuaded from being so by the pope, who went to Athana. Naples for that purpose, the more he seemed to be attached fus of to them; upon which the pope pronounced a sentence of Naples exexcommunication against him. This served only to con-communifirm the union, and Athanasius sent an invitation to Suchaim, cated. a Saracen prince, inviting him to come to Italy, and to put himself at the head of his countrymen there. Athanasius, was at this time possessed of Capua, which he suffered to be plundered by his troops. Suchaim accepted his invitation, but, finding that the ambitious prelate pretended to take the direction, he declared against Athanasius; who had assumed the civil, as well as the religious power of Naples, and plundered that territory. Athanasius, upon this, allied himself with Guiamar, prince of Salterno; and raising a fresh army, drove the infidels out of Naples.

In 880, Charles the Gross, returned to Italy, and was Charles crowned king of Lombardy, by the archbishop of Milan; the Gross but was foon obliged to repais the Alps, to affift in carrying crowned on the war against Boson. All of a sudden he returned to at Milan. Italy, and on Christmas-Day, 881, he was crowned emperor by the pope in Rome, Charles, in his return to Germany, made an alliance with the Venetians, to defend their common coasts against the infidel, and other piratical states; but no fooner did he leave Italy, than the Saracens renewed their incursions upon the teritories of the pope, who could by no means persuade him to return to his affistance, though he fent him a small body of troops. These not being sufficient to repress the infidels, who were kept in awe only by their Christian allies, especially the duke of Spoleto; the pope was preparing again to leave Italy, and fly to France, when he died at Rome, the December following. His death, revived the hopes of the Italian party; and Marinus Galefianus, who took the name of Martin the Second, was chosen An Italian pope. This pontif took off the excommunication that had pope been pronounced by his predecessor, upon the bishop of chosen. Porto, and others. But the Italian noblemen now having a pope to their own mind, made use of his authority to gain farther establishment to their own independencies. while, the emperor, who had returned to Italy, ordered Berengar, the duke of Friuli, to execute the sentence that had been pronounced against the duke of Spoleto for treason; and pope Martin died on the fixteenth of January 884.

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History of He was succeeded by pope Adrian III, who, like his pre-Benevento decessors, was harrassed by the Saracens; but, upon the arrival of the emperor with an army of Germans, the duke and the Neopolitan of Spoleto, who had joined the infidels, threw himself at his feet. Notwithstanding this, the Saracens continued their

ravages to such a degree, that the fairest provinces in Italy were turned into deferts. The Greek emperor, who still claimed Apulia, as part of his dominions, sent succours to the Calabrians; and they shut up a large body of the Saracens in Santa Severina. The infidels attempted to raise the fiege, but they were defeated, and that place, with all the Lower Calabria, fell into the hands of the Greeks. The principality of Benevento, at that time, contained a large extent of territory, and was one of the most powerful in Italy, as well as the most turbulent. The subjects had deposed their prince Radelchis, and substituted his brother Aio in his room. Aio was taken prisoner by Guido, or Vido, duke of Spoleto, who took Garigliano from the Saracens, and attempted to make himself master of Benevento, but the Siputines, who were subject to Benevento, surprised Guido, and delivered Aio. The Saracens, in revenge, plundered and burnt the monastery of Monte Casino; and Athanasius, bishop of Naples, persuaded one Atenulph, to usurp the principality of Capua, in which he was countenanced by pope Stephen IV.

election of popes.

Decree The constant supplies of men, which the infidels receivabout the ed from the continent, enabled them, notwithstanding the many defeats they received, to continue their progress in Italy; where there was no principle of union among the princes and states. Athanasius, and Atenulph, were connected with the Saracens, who drove Guaimar, prince of Salerno, to Constantinople, where he received a body of auxiliaries from the emperors Loo, and Alexander, who likewife confirmed him in the possession of his principality. Aio, of Benevento, declared himself independent of the Greek empire, and defeated the Greek auxiliaries under Guaimar, of Salerno. Atenulph detached himself from Athanasius, and all the princes of that fine country, which now forms the kingdom of Naples, fought to maintain their independency, by the affiftance of the Saracens, against the pope on the one hand, and the Greek emperor on the other. As to the German emperor, he was at this time of very little confideration in Italy, where the princes and states towards the north were follicitous to form a bulwark against his influence; but their plan was far more noble than that of the Neopolitans. They perfuaded the pope to publish a decree, importing, that popes might be confecrated without the presence of the German emperor, or his ambassadors, and that if Charles the Gross should die without issue, an Italian prince should be raised to the sovereignty of all Italy, with the title of emperor. Charles marched into Italy with an army to do himself justice, but without effect; for the Normans invaded

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France at the pope's infligation, and he was forced to repass the Alps. Upon the death of Charles, the Italian nobility Dispute attempted to carry their plan of fovereignty into execution. between Berengar, duke of Friuli, and Guido, duke of Spoleto, had Berengar each of them pretentions, as grandfons by the mother's and Guido fide to Charlemagne, to a share of that prince's succession; for the and they had entered into a compact, that upon the death Crown of of Charles the Gross, Guido, should be king of France, and Italy. Berengar, king of Italy. Guido was disappointed by the French raising count Eudes, or Odo, to their throne; but Berengar was crowned king of Italy at Pavia, by Anfelm, archbishop of Milan, and actually exercised several acts of imperial fovereignty: Guido returned to Italy, and fet up a claim to the imperial crown there, in opposition to Berengar, and by this competition, all the hopes of reviving the fovereignty of Italy were dashed. Berengar, shewed dispositions, that were incompatible with the lofty claims of the holy fee; and Guido offered to confirm all the grants of Pepin and Charlemagne, and in a manner to hold his crown from the

pope; who, upon those terms, adopted his cause.

Italy, was now rent by the factions of Guido and Berengar; that of Guido, by means of the pope, proved the most powerful; and he defeated his rival in a bloody battle, fought on the banks of the river Trebia. Berengar, recruiting his forces, ventered another battle near Brescia, which he lost likewise, and then fled to Germany; where he implored the affistance of the emperor Arnolph, who was then raifing troops to march against both competitors. In the Guido mean while, all Lombardy fell under the power of Guido, prevails, who on the ninteenth of February 890, actually was crowned emperor by pope Stephen, at Rome. Having confirmed all his engagements with the holy fee, he held an affembly of the states, and passed some popular laws. Arnolph, was at this time advancing with an army, to make good his pretentions upon Italy; and, according to some authors, he agreed that Berengar should hold the crown of Lombardy under him, and he made his fon Zeuentibold, general of the army that was to disposless Guido of the throne of Italy. Zeuentiboid marched to besiege Pavia, which he found he could not do without fighting Guido's army, which was strongly entrenched on the banks of the Verver. Guido, it feems, was hated by the inhabitants of the country, who were attached to Berengar, and his army was in danger of starving, when he secretly persuaded Zeuentibold to accept of a fum of money, and to return with his army to Germany. Guido, then made his fon Lambert his affociate, but was alarmed by the landing of the Saracens, in the northern parts of Italy, where they feized on a fort at the foot of the Alps, and committed vast depredations. The fouthern parts of Italy underwent the like calamities. Symbasticius, the Greek general, befreged Benevento, and Aio being now dead, leaving

behind him a fon of ten years old, he reduced both that, and the principality, which were put under the government of George, a Greek patrician, who at first treated the Bene-

ventines with great humanity.

Revolutions in

His government was so gentle, that many of the Salernitans, who were oppressed by the tyranny of their prince Naples by Guaimar, conspired to put him in possession of Salerno. This the Greeks. was by no means agreeable to the Beneventines, as it might render their governor too powerful; and the conspiracy was defeated, when it was on the point of being executed. Berengar, all this while was not idle in Germany, and he persuaded Arnolph to march into Italy, in person. Arnolph took possession of Verona, without opposition; but was obliged to befiege Bergamo, before he became master of it, and ordered its governor Ambrose, to be hanged as a traitor. In thort, Arnolph foon made himself master of the chief places of Lombardy, of which he made Berengar the governor, and obliged Guido to thut himself in Spoleto, when the affairs of Germany forced him to leave Italy. Guido then returned to Lombardy, where he died of a vomiting of blood, and his death left Berengar, who no longer aspired to be king of Italy, in possession of Lombardy, without a rival. He found however, many enemies in Guido's party, which continued very firong, and fided with his fon Lambert, the That prince's mother was Ageltrude, affociated emperor. a woman of spirit and capacity, and her son accepted of the fovereignty by her advice. His party foon grew fo powerful, that Berengar was driven out of Pavia, and retired to Verona, where he remained inactive, while Lambert returned to Rome, where every thing was in confusion. city was divided into two factions, that of Sergius, and that of pope Formolus; the latter of whom had crowned Lambert, who fided with Sergius, as did the count of Tuscany. Formouls, upon this, offered to the emperor Arnolph the crown of Italy.

The emperor Arzoiph's expedition into Italy.

That emperor, now having the authority of a pope on his fide, marched with an army into Italy, intending to crown his fon Zeuentihold, king of Lombardy. Lambert entrusted his mother Ageltrude with the government of Rome, which was befieged by Arnolph, and she defended it bravely. Arnolph, carried on his approaches on the Leonine fide of Rome, fo called from pope Leo IV. who had enclosed it with a wall to defend it from the Saracens. A ridiculous incident is said to have put Arnolph in possession of that capital. A hare started, and the German foldiers running after it with great eagerness, the garrison on the walls were itruck with a panic, upon which the imperialists mounted the walls, got possession of one part of the city, and forced He takes the other to furrender. Arnolph being thus victorious, made a most barbarous use of his power against Sergius, whom

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Rome.

he drove out of the city, and the Romans of his party, whom he indiscriminately put to death, without regard to age, sex, or profession. Formosus then crowned Arnolph emperor, but Ageltrude had made her escape to the city of Fermo. Arnolph leaving the government of Rome, (where the pope had very little power,) to Farold, one of his generals, laid siege to Fermo. Ageltrude made interest with a general officer about Arnolph's person, and who very possibly detested his cruelty, to present him with a draught, which she pretended would soften his disposition. Instead of that, it threw him into a lethargy, and affected his brain; upon which the siege was raised, and his army returned with him

to Lombardy.

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Berengar, perceiving himself slighted and neglected by Berengar Arnolph, had before this time left his camp; but hearing of forces him the emperor's lethargy, he returned to it. Arnolph recover- to repais ing, ordered Berengar's eyes to be put out; upon which he the Alps. fled to Verona, where he complained to the public of his own wrongs, and the barbarity of the imperialists. no difficult matter to exasperate the Italians against the Germans, whom they butchered whenever they had an opportunity; and Berengar getting together an army, forced the emperor to repais the Alps at Montijoux. Upon the death of pope Formosus, which happened at this time, the Romans gratified to the full their hatred of the Germans. Boniface VI. who succeeded Formosus, lived but fifteen days after his election; and then the imperialists, upon his death, chose in his room, Stephen VII. who ordered the body of Formosus to be dug out of his grave, decapitated, and thrown with ignominy into the Tiber. He then annulled all his acts and decrees, and pronounced Lambert, the fon of Guido, to be emperor. He even invalidated all the ordinations that had been performed by Formosus. The inconstancy of the Inconstan-Romans was such, that upon the death of Stephen, who is cy of the faid to have been first imprisoned, and then strangled by the Romans. imperial faction; they chose in his stead one Romanus, who drew the body of Formosus out of the Tiber, and buried it in the vatican. Romanus dying, he was succeeded by Theodore II, whose pontificate lasted only twenty days. Pope Sergius being still alive, his party proposed to reinstate him in the holy see, but they could not prevail; and the third party, which was that of Lambert, chose John IX. who acknowledged Lambert for emperor, and indicted a council at Ravenna, where the coronation of Arnolph was annulled; and it was decreed, that the future popes should not be consecrated, but in presence of the emperor, or his Lambert, now thought himself secure upon the imperial throne, by attaching himself so strongly to the pope, but he thereby difgusted the Italian princes, and nobility, who alledged that he oppressed them.

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Berengar in Lembardy.

Success of Berengar, who was still at Friuli, took that opportunity of renewing his claim upon Lombardy, where Lambert was hated. Mangifroy, a count of Mitan, not only opposed him, but ravaged his dominions, and being taken prisoner by Lambert, he was by him put to death, as a terror to other rebellious subjects. This did not intimidate Adelbert, count of Tuscany, and another count, called Hildebrand, from conspiring against Lambert, who soon diffipated their troops, and Adelbert being taken, was carried prisoner to Pavia; but in the mean while, Lambert himself was assassinated by Mangifroy's fon, whom he had imprudently admitted to his confidence. Upon Lambert's death, Berengar was received in Pavia, where he fet at liberty Adelbert, with other prisoners of his party, and began to exercise acts of government. He could not however, get the better of the dislike, which many of the Italian princes still bore him, and who offered the crown of Italy to Lewis, the fon of Boson, king of Arles, or Provence; who likewise claimed it in right of blood, and raised an army to make good his double title. The head of the conspirators was said to have been the marquis of Jurea, who was married to a daughter of Berengar. The latter confirmed the count of Tuscany in his interest, and in 899, when Lewis entered Italy, he was opposed so strongly, that he and his army must have perished, or been cut in pieces, had he not taken a solemn oath to return peaceably to Provence, and never again to return to Italy, even if it was to receive the imperial crown.

Affairs of

Towards the fouthern parts of Italy, the Beneventines, Benevento now entirely averse to the Greeks, invited Guido, of Spoleto, younger brother of Lambert, to take possession of their principality, which he did, and made Furmaca the Greek governor prisoner; but gave him his liberty upon payment of five thousand crowns. Guido, after governing Benevento for two years, wanted to return to Spoleto, and intended to have made his brother-in-law, Guaimar, his deputy, in Benevento; but as Guiamar was on his march to take possesfion of his government, he was surprized by a nobleman, who had enmity to him, and put out his eyes. The bishop then took the reins of government, to which finding himfelf unequal, he refigned them to Ageltrude, who restored her brother Radelchis, the same who had been deposed fourteen years before by Aio. Radelchis, was a weak indolent prince, and governed by a minister, who excited him to acts of cruelty and oppression, and this obliged some of the Beneventine lords to invite Atenulph, of Capua, to become their prince. Atenulph, before he accepted the offer, endeavoured to strengthen himself by an alliance with Guaimar, prince of Capua; but meeting with a repulse from him, he applied to Athanasius, the bishop, and now duke of Naples, who gave his daughter in marriage to Landulph,

Landulph, Atenulph's son, and entered heartily into his

alliance.

Atenulph, by means of the Beneventine exiles eafily got of which possession of that city, with the person of Radelchis, and Atenulph was proclaimed duke in the year 900. Atenulph, then made becomes his fon Landulph his affociate in the government of Bene- master. vento, and retired to Capua, leaving Peter the bishop, governor of the city of Beneventa. Many of the Beneventines had fill a warm fide towards the family of their ancient dukes, and by Peter's persuation formed a conspiracy against the reigning family. Atenulph receiving intelligence of this conspiracy, punished the ringleaders, and drove Peter to Salerno, where he was received by Guiamir II. who had deposed his father for his acts of oppression. Atenulph, then united the principality of Benevento, and the county of Capua, under one government, and formed a confederacy with Gregory, who had succeeded Athanasius, as duke of Naples, and the prince of Amalfi, for driving the Saracens from the forts they had built upon the Garigliano. The infidels being strongly situated there, he sent his son Landulph to defire affiftance from the Greek emperor, which was readily granted, and Aienulph having affociated another of his fons in the government, lived till the year 910. Landulph, upon

his father's death, returned to *Benevento*, where he reigned jointly with his brother *Atenulph*, and they adhered to their father's maxim of not separating the dutchy from the

The emperor Leo, had now formed a ferious scheme for The once more getting footing in Italy. He sent over one Greek em-Nicholas Picigli, with an army, and the dignity of a patrician peror atwas conferred by his successor Constantine VIII. upon Lantempts to dulph, Gregory, duke of Naples, and John, duke of Gaeta. get soot-As the Greeks had still a great interest in those parts, Picigli ing in soon drew considerable reinforcements to his army; and Italy. being joined by his allies he advanced to the Garigliano.

There seems, at this time, to have been a more than common unanimity among the princes of the southern parts of Italy. The Beneventines, the Capuans, the Salernitans, and the Gaetans, besieged the chief fort of the Saracens on the one side of the river, and on the other it was blocked up by the troops of the pope, and those of Alberic, marquis of Tuscany, Spoleto, and Camarino. The Saracens made a brave defence for three months, and then setting fire to the fort, they attempted to escape; but being intercepted in their slight, sew of them escaped the sword. This happened in the year 915.

In the northern parts of *Italy*, *Lewis*, now king of *Arles*, Where treated with *Adelbert*, count of *Tuscany*, to abandon the in-*Berengar* terest of *Berengar*, which he did, and *Lewis* being joined is assaffibly the greatest part of *Lombardy*, without any regard to nated. the oath he had taken, returned to *Italy* at the head of a

very strong army; and Berengar was obliged to retire to Verona. Berengar was now in the thirty-fixth year of his reign, but the Veronese, who had been faithful to him before, plotted his destruction, and he was affassinated in a church; but Milo, count of Verona, revenged his death, by ordering the conspirators to be hanged. Rodolph king of Burgundy, had then been chosen emperor by the factious Italians; but the Hunns taking the advantage of the diforders of Italy, invaded that country, where they commited the most terrible ravages; being supported by Adelbert, count of Tuscany, whose dominions they ravaged equally with those of their other enemies, and then returned home. About the year 926, Rodolph was abandoned by almost all the Italians, and they offered their crown to Hugh, count of Arles. He was accordingly crowned at Pavia, by the archbishop of Milan, notwithstanding all the opposition made by Rodolph, who was forced to retire to Burgundy. Affaffinations, plots, and conspiracies, compose the history of Italy, at this time; and the number of murders and rebellions that then happened there, are almost incredible.

The famous Marozia, widow to Adelbert, count of Tuf-

Hugh count of Arles declared king of Italy.

cany, but now the wife of Guido, marquis of Tuscany, was at that time, in a manner, mistress of the see of Rome. She had raifed to the popedom her own adulterous ion, whom she had by pope Sergius III. called John X. and being in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, commanded the city of Rome, while Hugh was strengthening himself by alliances with the Greeks, Germans, and Venetians, and thereby he quelled the many conspiracies and plots that were formed against his life, and dignity. Marozia, had then a variance with the pope Stephen, another of her fons, who at herdefire, was thrown into prison, and suffocated by her husband Guido. Soon after she became a widow, and she offered her person in marriage, with the government of Rome, to Hugh, who accepted of both, though he was the brother of her former husband. Hugh had scarcely got possession, when he was ignominiously expelled by Alberic, another of baffard of Marozia's fons; and the Romans attempting to restore their republican constitution, chose Alberic for their consul and patrician. In 928, pope Leo VI. died, and was succeeded by Stephen VIII. whose fate we have already seen. He was fucceeded by John XI. another fon of Marozia, by pope Sergius, while Hugh gave the marquifate of Tuscany to his brother Boson, and put out the eyes of his brother Lambert, who was its legal owner. The Italians then again offered their crown to Rodolph, who compromised matters with Hugh, while the Saracens ravaged Genoa, and other parts of Italy. The Italians next made an offer of their crown to Arnold of Bavaria, but he was totally defeated by Hugh, who affociated his fon, Lothair, with him in his government, and married him to Adelaide, Rodolph's daughter

The Marozia fill the popedom.

The Romans, all this time, continued to live under a re- The Ropublican form of government; and, about the year 932, mans de-Hugh marched against them with an army; but the Romans fend defended themselves so bravely, that he was obliged to retire. themselves The feveral fuccessions, at this time, among the Italian against princes, are so confused, that it is next to impossible to de- Hugh. velop them, through the inaccuracies of names, the intermarriages, and fometimes double marriages, divorces, adulteries, and arbitrary proceedings of the several parties. The Confused facerdotal, civil, and military characters, were commonly state of blended in one person, as chance, interest, or ambition di- Italy. rected; and we now hear of one Manasses, a bishop of Arles, who was a general officer under Hugh, and, at the fame time, archbishop of Milan, bishop of Verona and Mantua, and bishop and marquis of Trent. Hugh, about the year 936, conciliated to his interest, by marriage and favours, Berengar and Anscarius, the grandions of the emperor Berengar by his daughter Gifla, wife to Adelbert, marquis of Ivrea, and who were two of the most powerful subjects in Italy. He likewise gave his daughter in marriage to Alberic, with whom he concluded a peace; but deprived his brother Boson, who was caballing against him, of the marquisate of Tuscany, which he bestowed upon one Hubert.

Next year, Hugh received a great accession of power in Italy, by his marrying Berta, the widow of Rodolph, king of Burgundy. The Hungarians, about this time, again invaded Italy, and advanced as far as Nola; but were entirely defeated by Marsi and Peligni. Alberic seems, all this time, to have kept his ascendancy in Rome; and Stephen II. who was a German, succeeding to the papacy, contrary to Alberic's inclinations, the latter slashed his holiness in the face in such a manner as disabled him from ever again appearing

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During the popedom of Stephen, Berengar, and Anscarius, Successes who very possibly thought that they had a hereditary right of Hugh. to the crown of Italy, conspired against Hugh, who put Anfearius to death; but Berengar fled to Otho the Great, emperor of Germany. The Saracens, who were the great fomenters of those disturbances, had still footing in Italy, especially at the foot of the Alps; but they were now attacked and defeated by Hugh, who was affilted by the Greek emperor. was pursuing his advantages over those infidels, he had intelligence that Berengar, being protected by Otho, was preparing to repais the Alps; upon which he made peace with the Saracens, whom he allowed to fettle between Suabia and Italy, upon their promiting to affilt him against Berengar; and The bad policy of then he dismissed his Greek auxiliaries. this step was soon perceived by the cruelties which the Saracens committed on all pilgrims travelling to Italy and Rome, whom they plundered and murdered. The reputation of

GENERAL HISTORY

Hugh, at this time, is faid to have been fo great as to have induced the Greek emperor, Romanus, to demand his daughter of him in marriage; and Hugh frankly declaring he had no legitimate daughter, his imperial majesty condescended to marry one Bertha, whom he had by a concubine, and who afterwards changed her name to Eudoxia.

He is difpossessed by Berengar,

The natural inconstancy of the Italians, and the partiality which Hugh discovered in favour of the Burgundians, at last disposed the former to throw off his yoke. Berengar, who was still in exile in Germany, being informed of this by the emissaries he sent into Italy, ventured to pass the Alps with a small army. It was soon encreased by the defection of the Italian princes and states from Hugh, who, at last, raised an army, but found himself unable to subdue Berengar, who got possession of Milan and declared himself king of Italy. Hugh, upon this, offered to retire to Burgundy; but, though he was favoured in his request by the Italians, yet he and his fon Lothair were detained, for some time, by Berengar, who endeavoured to make himself master of their treasures; but Hugh found means to carry them with him into Burgundy, where he turned monk and died foon after. Lothair, whom his father had affociated in the government, still retained the title of king of Italy, and was recommended by the Greek emperor to the compassion of Berengar, who is said to have poisoned him at a feast.

who affociates his fon Adelbert with the go-

During the first years of Berengar's reign, his fituation was fo unfettled, that he was obliged to harrass his Italian subjects, that he might raise money for bribing the Germans and Hungarians to defift from their ravages of Italy. On the death himself in of Lothair, he associated his son Adelbert with him in the government. Adelaide, or, as she is called, Alice, the widow vernment. of Lothair, still kept possession of Pavia; and rejecting a proposal made to her by Berengar for marrying his son, he took that city and shut her up in prison; from whence she escaped with the greatest difficulty, and gained the protection of one Atho, who gave her shelter in the strong castle of Canoza. There she was besieged by Berengar; but Atho, with her consent, sent for assistance to Otho, emperor of Germany. It appears, though it is hard to fay upon what principle, that Adelaide was confidered, at this time, as the heirefs of Italy; and Atho proposed a match between her and Otho; which would put the latter in possession of that kingdom, where Berengar, in his turn, began now to be looked upon as an usurper. Otho accepted of the proposal, which had been backed by the pope; and he fent his fon Ludolph with an army to the relief of his future confort. He himself followed with a still larger army; and advancing as far as Verona, he, with great difficulty, found means to inform Adelaide of his arrival; upon which Berengar raised the siege. Otho married the lady, expelled Berengar's troops out of Pavia, and he and his queen entered that city in triumph.

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Upon the return of Otho to Germany, his fon Conrad, duke of Lorrain, profecuted the war in Italy against Berengar with to much vigour, that he persuaded him to repair to Germany and to throw himself at Otho's feet. That emperor, by an unusual strain of generosity, deprived him only of the marquisates of Verona and Friuli, and restored to him the rest of his dominions, on condition of his holding them of the kings or emperors of Germany. Otho's fons in Germany rebelled against him on account of his marriage with Adelaide, and Berengar made use of that opportunity to resume his arms. and to profecute, with the utmost tyranny and oppression, all who were in the imperial or papal interest. The Italiane again applied to Otho, who fent one of his fons, with whom he had been lately reconciled, with an army into Italy, and Berengar was defeated; but the German prince was poifoned.

During those transactions, Octavian Sporce, said to be another fon of Marozia, by Alberic, the Roman patrician, was, through his family interest, elected pope, though no more than eighteen years of age, and took the name of John XII. He declared war against Berengar, on account of the dutchy of Spoleto, of which both pretended to have the disposal. The interest of John happened to be the most powerful in those parts, and Berengar was obliged to retire to Pavia, while the pope and the archbishop of Milan, with other Italian princes, offered the crown of Italy to Otho, provided he would once more march to their affistance. The tyranny of Berengar had rendered him odious to the Italians of his own party, and, though they were forty thousand strong, they refused to serve under him, unless they were commanded by his fon Adelbert, and unless Berengar should resign the kingdom. The latter rejected the condition, his army separated, and the chiefs of his party went over to Otho, who was crowned king of Italy at Milan. Berengar and his family Berengar were obliged to keep themselves concealed in various parts submits to of Italy; but Otho, in 962, received from the pope the impe- the emrial crown at Rome. Mutual oaths and promifes passed be- peror, tween the pope and the emperor on this occasion, and it was who gains agreed that no future pope should be chosen but with the an ascendconfent and in the prefence of the imperial commissaries at ancy at Rome, who, in right of their emperor, were at liberty to ex- Rome, ercise acts of sovereignty and jurisdiction in that capital.

After those regulations, which extended the imperial au-where the thority over *Italy* much farther than the pope intended it pope be-should reach, *Otho* marched with his army to extinguish the trays him. remains of *Berengar's* party; and his holiness made a fecret treaty with *Adelbert* for driving the *Germans* out of *Italy*. Otho complained bitterly of this confederacy; but John,

though young and abandoned to all kinds of vice, was, at once, brave and politic, treated his ambassadors with great contempt; and received Adelbert at Rome as the man destined

A GENERAL HISTORY

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to deliver Italy from imperial tyranny. It happened, how. ever, that the Italian noblemen, who always hated the pope, favoured Otho, who marched to their relief; which obliged John to retire from Rome with all the papal treasures. Otho. upon his arrival at Rome, called together an allembly of ecclefiaftics; in which all kind of crimes that the wickedness of the human heart, or the wantonness of impiety, could fuggest, were alledged and proved against John, who not appearing was deposed from the popedom; and, in his room, was elected his chief fecretary Leo; who, though a layman, was confecrated, and affumed the name of Leo VIII. new pope, in gratitude to his benefactor, confirmed and enlarged all the imperial prerogatives over the pope; and Otho, unadvisedly dismissing his troops from Rome, was on the point of being surprized by the deposed pope John; who, by the force of money, had brought the fickle Romans to fide with him; but the emperor was faved by the valour of his German foldiers.

The Romans rebel.

Otho's troops were, all this while, pushing the siege of Monte Feltri; which having reduced, Berengar, and his wife Villa, fell into his hands. The former died a prisoner in Germany two years after. Adelbert still continued to make head against the emperor, and had thrown strong garrisons into Spoleto and Camarino. Otho marched to reduce those cities; and John was so well beloved by the Roman ladies, that he was again admitted into Rome; where, in an affembly of the bishops, he reversed all the decrees of Leo, and punished the chiefs of the imperial faction with the loss of their tongues, nofes, and hands. While he was thus purfuing his revenge, he purfued his pleasures likewise; but, in two or three days after holding the affembly, he was murpope John. dered by the husband of a Roman lady, with whom he was

death of

found in bed. The nobles and people of Rome were now in the fituation they had often defired; for they were free, at once, from the tyranny of the pope and that of the emperor. Instead of recalling Leo, who had fled to Otho, they raised one Benedict to the popedom: but they were unable to maintain their choice; for the emperor, abandoning the fiege of Camarino, returned with his army to Rome; where he re-instated Leo, and fent Benedict, as a private man, in exile to Hamburgh. Information arriving that Adelbert had fled to Corfica, Otho, instead of re-assuming, as he proposed to have done, the siege of Camarino, returned to Germany; while the Italians recalled Adelbert, and endeavoured to re-fettle him in the kingdom of Italy. In the year 965, he was attacked and defeated by Burchard, one of Otho's generals; and this kept the Romans fo much in awe, that, on the death of pope Leo, they confulted him in filling up the Roman fee. He left them to their own liberty, and the election fell upon the bishop of Nani, who took the name of John XIII. The

The republican magistrates, who still existed at Rome. looked upon this election as a diminution of their authority. and expelled the new pope, who had declared himself in very high terms for the emperor; and they made Rofred, one of the principal Capuans, their consul. John sled to Capua, where he was kindly received; and Rofred was affaffinated. The emperor, Otho, who thought that he had acquired a double title to the fovereignty of Italy, in his own and his wife's right, returned to Lombardy; where he feverely punished some noblemen who had been in the interest of Adelbert, and advanced to Rome.

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The Romans, who did not support their spirit of inde- The empendency with proper courage, hearing of Otho's march to- peror wards their city, recalled their exiled pope, John, from punishes Capua, and re-instated him in the popedom. This did not the repubfatisfy Otho, who inflicted the most exemplary punishments lican maupon the republican magistrates of Rome, and confirmed all gistrates the former privileges that had been granted to the Venetians. of Rome. He then carried his pope to Ravenna, where, in an affembly of the Italian states, he confirmed all the grants of his predecessors to the holy-see; and created the son of Otho, count of Canofa, marquis of Este; a dignity which is still in that family, whose representatives are the present queen-dowager of Spain and the king her fon. He then demanded from the Greek emperor, who still held Apulia and Calabria, his daughter Theophania, as a wife for his fon Otho. Nicephorus refented his having taken the title of emperor, and refused the alliance: upon which Otho fent an army under his young fon, who had lately been crowned emperor, against the Greek dominions in Italy, but, being intent upon plunder, it was defeated. This did not discourage Otho, who disposed of the Italian affairs at his pleasure; and so arbitrarily, that he gave the rich dutchy of Milan to one Scrofa, a butcher.

Mean while, Nicephorus being deposed and murdered by his subjects, his successor, the emperor John, cultivated the friendship of Otho, and gave his son the princess Theophania in marriage; the nuptials being celebrated at Rome with vast splendor. John found the friendship of Otho so necessary to him, at this time, that he gave up to him many important points; and the German historians pretend that he renounced. in his favour, his pretentions to Apulia and Calabria; to which the German emperors ever afterwards laid claim. This Division is one of the most important æras in the modern history of and con-Italy, because, at that time, it was, in a manner, new mo-flitution delled by Otho. He divided it into the following provinces: of Italy Apulia and Calabria (to which he appears to have had a claim in 973. either by cession from the Greek emperor, or as the dowry of the princess); the dukedom of Benevento; the provinces of Campania, and the Romagna; the dukedoms of Spoleto, Tufcany, and Lombardy; and the marquifates of Ancona, Verona, Trevifo, Friuli, and Genoa. Benevento, the antient Samnium,

Otho bestowed upon a duke who bore its name. Campania, including Lucania, was divided among the dukes of Capua, Naples, and Salerno. Rome and the Romagna, Ravenna and its exarchate, Spoleto, Tuscany, and the marquisate of Ancona, was bestowed upon the popes; but they never possessed them. The remaining part of Italy formed that kingdom of which Otho pretended to be king. It is difficult, from the most enlightened accounts, to diffinguish the nature of all the feudal tenures that Otho and his predecessors instituted in Italy. The most probable opinion is, that they differed from one another only in the proportion of the acknowledgments the feudatories were to pay, and the privileges they were suffered to exercise. It is certain that the German emperors pretended to be lords paramount over all; but that their fovereignty was always disputed by the popes, and sometimes disowned by states and princes, when linked together in a powerful confederacy. Exclusive of the division we have mentioned, were the free cities which formed the richest part of Italy. Their capital privilege confifted in the power they had of chusing their own magistrates, or potestas, who, however, were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, before the bishop, or the imperial commissary. The tribute which they paid in consideration of this privilege, confifted in a certain quantity of corn for fubfifting the king's troops, which was called fodera, and which was commonly converted into money. The next species was, the making, keeping, and repairing public roads, for the conveniency of the royal troops, and this was called parata. The last was the furnishing, lodging, and all accommodations to the king's troops, whether they were in quarters, or encamped; and this species was called mansoniacum.

Origin of titles of there.

It would not be difficult to prove, that the original of all those duties lay in the Gothic constitutions, and existed from diffinction the earliest ages. They were even carried from Germany into Britain, where they may be still traced in the antient refervations of the English kings; and they continued in full force during the Saxon government there. It was likewife about this period, that the feveral denominations of honour were regulated. The titles of duke, marquis, and count, were known before; but Otho fixed their diffinc-A duke had a civil, as well as a military command, and headed his own tenants in time of war. The marquilles were supposed to serve on horseback, in time of peace as well as war, and were conservators of the limits, as laid down by the lords paramount; and the counts were obliged to attend the persons of the sovereign, as often as they required them, either in peace or war. Each was obliged to furnish a number of foldiers against the sovereign's enemies, according to the value of their fiefs; but this provision was productive of vast revolutions in Europe, by leaving the fueda-

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tories at liberty to maintain larger armies, which in time they employed to the destruction of their neighbours, till at last they became too powerful for their fovereigns. office of captain took rife about this time, and was then, as now, applied only in a military fense; being an officer appointed to the command of a certain number of men, at the pleasure of their respective superiors. In Italy, the commander of the troops of free states, and cities, was known by the name of captain, as they were not of dignity enough to constitute officers of a higher rank. The next in command to a captain, was called a valvafor, and their fubalterns were termed valvafins; terms that are now in defluetude. Otho was preparing to clear Italy of the Saracens, when being obliged to return to Germany, he there died,

Otho's death ruined the system which he had just intro- Consusion duced into Italy, for some time, and laid the foundation of in the vast alterations, which took place, till his successors in the affairs of German empire found means to establish his plan. The Italy. pope, by a rare concurrence of circumstances, stood firm to the imperial interest; but an universal spirit of innovation (for it deferves not the name of liberty) possessed all the Some of the cities chose their own other Italian States. magistrates. Petty tyrants started up in others, assumed titles of distinction, and built citadels, which they garrisoned with their own banditti, for bridling their fellow citizens. The notion of restoring the forms of their antient republic revived among the Romans, and they chose one Cincio conful. By his order, the pope, who disapproved of the revolution, was thrown into prison, and strangled. One Donus was chosen in his place, and he soon after dying, was fucceeded by Boniface VII. who with Cincio, was driven out of Rome, by the counts of Tuscany. These placed upon the papal throne, a grandfon of the conful Alberic, who taking the name of Benedict VII. was supported by the emperor Otho II. and subdued the opposite faction; while Boniface carried the treasures of Rome to Constantinople, where he excited that emperor to affift the Italians in throwing off the German yoke. Every nobleman turned his own The inhabitants of Orviete, and house into a fortification. most of the cities of Tuscany, followed their example, but that of Milan continued remarkably steady to the imperial

In the mean while, the Greek emperors Basil, and Con-History of stantine, taking a body of Saracens into their pay, invaded Apulia and Italy, which obliges us to review the state, for some years Calabria. past, of Apulia and Calabria, the great subjects of contention between the German and Greek emperors. The Italians of those provinces, thought the Greeks the less dangerous malters, which obliged the late emperor Otho to treat them Vol. X.

with great severity. Pandolph, the prince of Benevento, had been for some time a prisoner in Constantinople, where the princess Theophania had poisoned her first husband Romanus, had murdered Nicephorus, and advanced her lover John Zimisces, to the imperial throne. Zimisces set Pandolph at liberty, and upon his arrival in Italy, he was, by Otho, restored to his dukedom, and mediated a peace between the two emperors; in consequence of which, the German emperor's fon, afterwards Otho II. married Theophania, step-daughter to Zimisces, and she was afterwards crowned empress at Rome. About this time, Landolph, the banished prince of Capua, surprized Gisolph, prince of Salerno, his nephew; and by pretending that the latter had been killed, he was recognized as prince of Salerno. A difference happening between Landolph, and his fon Indolph, the latter discovered that their lawful prince Gifolph, was a prisoner at Amalfi; the duke of which, together with Narino, duke of Naples, supported Landolph in his usurpation. On this intelligence, some of the discontented Salernitan nobility, applied to Pandolph Ironhead of Capua, who, with great difficulty, replaced Gifolph in his principality; and he having no children, adopted for his successor Pandolph, the son of his deliverer; fo that in process of time, the principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, with a great many other rich and powerful fiefs, were united in Pandolph's family.

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Multiplifiefs in Italy.

Pandolph the elder, at the time of his death, feems to cation of have been by far the most powerful prince in Italy; but he gave a mortal blow to the future greatness of his family, by dividing his dominions among his fons, and descendants. Pandolph the elder remained prince of Salerno. His second fon Landolph, succeeded to Capua, and Benevento, and his four other fons Landolph, Gifolph, Landenolph, and Atenolph, obtained the dutchy of Spoleto, the marquifate of Camario, and the remaining part of their father's succession. truth is, the Italian history, excepting that of a very few states towards the north, more immediately depending on the German emperor, is at this period remarkably confused, through the vast number of petty princes into which it was The splitting large possessions into smaller then divided. fiefs, among the descendants of the same family, was the mistaken policy of the time and country, and was productive of many inconveniences, which ended in the general flavery, in which the Italians now live. To this practice, we may attribute the revival of furnames in that country, and the rife of them in other parts of Europe; where many descendants of the same family were possessed of separate estates, it was found absolutely necessary to distinguish them by some patronymic, official, personal, or local title. This practice was at first confined to princes and noblemen, but by degrees it has become universal. It

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It is evident from the course of history, that the absence Cruelty of of the German emperors always encouraged a spirit of in-Otho II. dependency among the Italians, which the former looked towards upon as rebellious, and punished it accordingly. Otho II. the Itawas so bent on his revenge, that he made peace with the lians. French, and hearing that the Greeks had invaded Italy, he carried a powerful army over the Alps; and fummoning an affembly of the Italian states about the middle of August 080, in the plains of Roncalia, he there appeared with all marks of fovereign power, and exercised to the full all it's proregatives, by receiving the allegiance and tribute of all who were present, punishing offences, and rewarding Tedald, marquis of Mantua, and Lanfranc, of Piacenza, received remarkable testimonies of his bounty; but, it is faid, that at Rome he invited the nobles to a general entertainment, where, in the midst of their festivity, he introduced armed foldiers into the room, who cut the throats of all the guests, excepting a few, who had not offended him. From Rome he directed his march against the confederate army of the Greeks and Saracens, who were now masters of Apulia, and Calabria, and he forced the Romans, the Beneventines, and the Neopolitans, who were intimidated by his power and cruelty, to join him.

At first, nothing could withstand Otho's arms, and he His propenetrated as far as Tarento. The year after, the Greeks gress in and Saracens being reinforced, and well knowing how much Italy.

he was hated by the Italians, they gave him battle at Bafentello, on the coast of Calabria, where through the defection of the Italians from him in the beginning of the engagement, he was entirely defeated, and escaped with great difficulty. Landolph, of Capua, and his brother Atenolph, were killed in the engagement; but the victors, instead of pursuing their blow, were contented with reconquering Apulia, and Calabria, while Otho remained at Capua, recollecting, and reinforcing his army. It is probable that, at this time, the Greeks and Saracens conquered the antient Lucania, which they annexed to their Italian provinces, and in honour of the emperor Bafil, they gave it the name of Basilicata. Otho entertained greater resentment against the Italians, than against the Greeks. He conferred the principality of Capua, on Landenolph, the brother of the deceased Landolph, and his mother Aloara; but, she dying, he was afterwards murdered by his subjects. Otho then marched against Benevento, which in revenge he gave up to the plunder of his foldiers; but he did not think to attack the Greeks and Saracens. Finding himself in a languishing state of health, he returned to Verona, where, in an affembly of the Italian states, his son Otho, a boy of ten years of age, was

recognized for his successor, and he died at Rome on the His death.

leventh of December following.

Boniface

Revolution at Rome

Boniface VII. had, by this time, returned from Greece, and was still rich enough to bribe a party of the Romans, who threw the emperor's pope John XIV. into prison, where he died of hunger, while Boniface established himself upon the papal throne. Crescentius, surnamed Numentanus, was then the most powerful nobleman at Rome, and under the title of conful, he obtained the fovereignty of that city. Finding himself opposed by pope John XV. successor to Boniface, he drove him out of Rome; but the citizens, afraid lest John should introduce the Germans into Italy, soon recalled their pope; and the arrival of a German army overawed the Romans. About this time, Bonicius, the duke of Milan, made his fon Landolph archbishop of that city; but being opposed by the people, much blood was shed; B_0 nicius being stabbed in his bed, and his family driven out and Milan. of Milan. The Milanese then chose, like many other cities of Italy, a conful for their governor, and erected themselves into a commonwealth, a proceeding which established an aristocratic, and a republican party in that noble state, that afterwards were attended with terrible disorders. Theophania, mother to young Otho, then acted as his vicar in Italy, and Hugh, marquis of Brandenburgh commanded the German army there; but they were so intent on watching the motions of the Romans, Greeks, and Saracens, all of them equally their enemies, that they feem to have neglected the affairs of Milan.

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The emperor appoints a pope.

Landolph, the banished archbishop, however, took refuge at the court of Otho, and prevailed with him to put himself at the head of an army, to re-establish the imperial authority in Italy, which became the more necessary from the state of Crescentius continued to act there as affairs at Rome. fovereign, and openly made dispositions for expelling the Germans out of Italy. Otho, who was now about twenty years of age, marched with an army into Italy, obliged the Milanese to receive him into their city as their conqueror, and mafter, and was there crowned king of Lombardy. The holy fee being then vacant, Otho, by his own authority, named one Bruno, his kinfman, to the popedom; and he took the name of Gregory V. Otho then proceeded to Rome, where he was crowned emperor; but he pardoned Crescentius, and continued him in his consulate. The emperor being obliged to return to Germany, the Romans, at the infligation of Crescentius, renounced his authority, and expelled his pope. An obscure Calabrian was raised to the popedom, and Gregory went to Germany, to crave affiftance from the emperor. Crescentius made use of that opportunity to fortify their city, but Otho returning to Italy, threw their pope, who had affumed the name of John XVI. from the top of the castle of St. Angelo, after his nose had been cut off, and his eyes put out. As to Crescentius, he died nobly fighting for the liberties of his country, according to iome;

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fome; but, according to others, he was treacherously put to death by Otho, who having established his kinsman Gregory in the popedom, marched to Tivoli, where the inhabitants had murdered their duke Mazolin. Otho was prevailed upon by St. Romuald not to put them to the fword; but they gave up the murderers, and he demolished their Returning to Rome, he revived the decrees of his predecessors, that no pope should be chosen, but by the imperial authority. Gregory dying, Otho appointed for his fuccessor Gerbert, archbishop of Ravenna, who had been his preceptor, and was one of the most learned men of his age. It was probably by his means, that Otho was prevailed on does pubto do public penance for his crimes, especially that of hav- lic pening for his concubine the wife of Grescentius, after hav- ance. ing put his own empress either to death, or disgrace. Returning to Germany, the Saracens renewed their ravages in Italy, especially in Campania, where they took Capua. Otho returning with incredible speed, drove the infidels from their acquifitions, and kept his Christmas at Rome, where he quieted some disturbances by the death of the ringleaders.

Thinking that this was a favourable opportunity for re- Narrowly establishing the system of his grand-father Otho the Great, escapes he appointed courts of enquiry for that purpose; but this being exasperated the Remans to such a degree, that, headed by the murdered counts of Tuscany, who must have suffered considerably by fuch an enquiry, they almost surprized both him and the pope, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they escaped to the imperial army, which was encamped without the walls of Rome. The emperor giving orders for his army to be reinforced, prepared to take a fignal revenge upon the Romans. According to the Italian authors, he had been obliged to leave his mistress, the widow of Crescentius, in Rome, and they fent her to his camp with their submissions. Not being able to prevail, and finding his refentment to be thronger than his love, the is faid to have poisoned him with a pair of gloves. It is however certain, that he died and is at this time, though authors are not agreed as to the man-poisoned ner; and that the Germans returning home with the dead by his body of their emperor, were attacked by the Italians in mistress. their march; and it was with difficulty that they reached Aug bourg.

The circumstance of Otho dying without children, was Commolaid hold on by the anti-imperial party in Italy, to persuade tions in the people, that all connections between them and the Italy. German emperors were now dissolved; and Ardoin, marquis of Jurea, in an assembly of the nobles of his party at Pavia, was elected king of Italy, at the same time that Henry, duke of Bavaria was declared emperor of Germany. The archbishop of Milan protested against the election of Ardoin, and informed the emperor of his proceedings. Henry gave the command of an army to the duke of Carinthia, to reduce Ardoin, but the duke was deseated in attempting to

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pass the Alps. This was far from rendering the Italians unanimous in favour of Ardoin. The imperialists had still a powerful party in Lombardy, and the cities of Pifa, Genoa, and Florence, formed themselves into independent governments. Pope Silvester, about this time, died at Rome, and was succeeded by John XIX. and in the year 1005, Henry prepared to march into Italy, which was then recovering from a dreadful plague and famine. He was greatly favoured by the behaviour of Ardoin, who pretended to treat as rebels all the Italians who did not submit to his authority. Ardoin endeavoured, as before, to fortify the passes of the Alps against the Germans; but Henry dislodged the Italians from all their fortreffes, forced Ardoin to retire towards Jurea with his army, and proceeding to Pavia, he was there crowned king of Italy by the archbishop of Milan. Though the ceremony was performed amidst the acclamations of the people, yet, scarcely was it over, when he was attacked by them in his palace, and was faved only by his foldiers, who lay without, scaling the walls, and becoming at Pavia. mafters of the city of Pavia. Henry proceeded with no extraordinary rigor against the inhabitants, and even saved the city from being plundered by his foldiers; but he was forced to return to Germany without having done any thing effectual towards the establishment of his power in Italy.

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Who returns to Germany and then to Italy.

The em-

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Henry crowned

> Scarcely was Lombardy evacuated by the Germans, when Ardoin again took the field with an army, and ravaged the lands of all the imperial party in Italy. Sergius IV. was then pope, but upon his death, some of the sacred college elected one Gregory, in his room, while another party chose John, who took the name of Benedict VIII. but being expelled by the contrary faction, he fled to Germany, where he threw himself upon the protection of the emperor. The ravages of Ardoin in the Milanele, obliged Arnolph archbishop of Milan, again to apply to Henry for relief, and that emperor, accordingly, again marched into Italy; where Ardoin offered to refign all pretentions to the crown, provided he was fuffered to remain in possession of the marquisate of Jurea. Henry, knew that Ardoin had by this time rendered himself odious to the Italians by his tyranny, and rejecting his terms, he carried his army into the plain of Roncalia, where almost all the nobles and states of Lombardy paid him homage; and where he promulgated feveral laws for preventing murders, and regulating successions. Henry, after this, carrying about with him his virgin empress Cunigunda, made a kind of progress through the Italian states, and received the imperial crown at Rome from pope Benedict, whose interest had prevailed in that city. Though his elevation was owing to the patronage and protection of Henry, yet he retained within him so much of the pontis, that before the emperor entered the church, he obliged him to promise that he would observe his fidelity towards him, and

Henry crowned at Rome.

and his successors popes of Rome, without restriction. Henry submitted to this, as the word fidelity was somewhat ambiguous, and reached no farther than the good faith, which one prince or man, is obliged to observe towards another; he therefore afferted his claim to the fovereignty of Rome, and his civil jurisdiction over that city; but at the fame time he confirmed all the grants of his predecessors in

favour of the popedom.

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While the pope and the emperor feemed to be thus in a He is perfect good understanding with each other, the Romans, obliged to who hated them both, obliged the latter to remove into retire from Lombardy, where his authority was more respected; and thence. from thence he marched to Germany. Ardoin seized that opportunity to ravage the Milanese. He surprized Vercelli, and took Como, but was checked by the joint forces of the archbishops of Milan, and Ravenna; and perceiving that his hopes were at an end, he retired to a monastry, where he died in three years after. The bishops were then the only military leaders in Italy, and the people ferved under them with greater alacrity, than under any other generals, or the popes themselves.

In 1016, the Saracens of Sicily, and Calabria, made a The Sadescent at Erici, and threatened Rome itself; the pope sent racens dea naval force to cut off their retreat, while the bishops raised feated. a strong army which defeated them by land, none escaping but their leader, with a few attendants; and his wife, who was made prisoner, lest her head by the pope's order. About this time, the Apulians, and Calabrians, revolted from the Greek governor, who subdued them, but some escaped, particularly two chiefs, Melo and Datus, who en-

gaged certain northern Europeans, then called Normans, to

The history of the origin of those Norman adventurers, Confedecomes more properly under another head of this work than racy of They were a brave people, but being undifci- the Lomplined, and ill armed; they, at first, were not a match for the bards. Greeks and their Saracen auxiliaries, and the fouthern Italians again invited the German emperor to march to their deliver-The Lombards however, were so jealous of the imperial power at this time, that they conspired together against the marquis of Mantua, and endeavoured to intercept his bride, only because she was the daughter of the imperial vicar, in Lombardy. The emperor Henry, thought this a proper feafon for invading Italy, which he did with an army, that marched in three divisions. The command of the strongest was given to Pelegrine, archbishop of Cologne, who marched to Capua, where its duke Pandulph, furrendered himself to be his prisoner. Pandulph was known to have been engaged in many schemes against the German authority, and a favourer of the Greeks in Italy. He therefore was tried and condemned to die, but through Pelegrine's D 4. intercession,

intercession he was banished to Germany. Henry then, with great difficulty, and a vaft loss of men, reduced the greatest part of Apulia, and Calabria. The fituation of his affairs in Germany, did not admit of his remaining long in Italy, where many of the Norman adventurers still remained. Before his departure, he gave the principality of Capua, to another Pandulph, a count of Trano, and after ennobling many of the Italians, who had shewed themselves the best disposed to his interest, he employed the Normans, whom he looked upon as his own subects, in recovering Bari out of the hands of the Greeks, and the Saracens. Henry then was profuse of his presents to the abbey of Casino, but his army being now almost dwindled to nothing, he returned to Germany, where he died next year.

Affairs of Milan.

About the same time died pope Benedict, and the Tuscan faction then prevailing, he was succeeded by his brother John, though a laic, who took the name of John XX. As foon as the death of Henry, and the election of Conrad to fucceed him was known in Italy, Herebert, archbishop of Milan, who pretended to papal powers in Lombardy, called an affembly of the nobles in the plain of Roncalia, and proposed Conrad for their king; but the meeting being averse to all German government, Herebert went to Germany, where he took the oaths of allegiance to Conrad, as king of Lombardy, and declared him fuch. Conrad thought he could not sufficiently reward Herebert's zeal, and gave him, amongst other privileges, that of nominating the bishop of Lodi. That bishop soon after dying, and the inhabitants refusing to accept of Herebert's nomination, he reduced them by force of arms, and expelled out of Milan all the nobles who opposed him. They fortified a place between Lodi and Milan, and, by the affiftance of their friends in the neighbouring country, they defeated Herebert, drove him into Germany, and offered the crown of Lombardy, with the dignity of emperor, to Robert king of France, or his fon Hugh. Both those princes declining that honour, the nobles applied to William duke of Guienne, who accepted of it; and found means to raise a rebellion against Conrad, in Lorrain, to divert him from an expedition, which he was preparing for Italy. Conrad, however, had the good fortune to suppress the revolt of the Lorrainers, and having the pope, the archbishop of Milan, and a great party of the Italians on his fide, the Milanese exiles, for the greatest part, declared for him likewife; and William gave over all thoughts of his expedition into Italy.

Arrival of the emrad in Italy.

Conrad arrived with his army, about Easter 1026, at Vercelli, and after reducing all opposition, he was crowned peror Con- king of Italy at Monza. He then held the usual affembly of Italian nobles on the plain of Roncalia, where he promulgated regulations for the obedience and tranquility of his new kingdom; and obliged the Pavians, who had re-

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fused to submit to his authority, to deliver up their city. and to take an oath of allegiance to his person. After passing the winter at Ravenna, he marched to Rome, where he and his empress received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, with vast state and ceremony; but the Romans, as usual, disliking their German guests, rose against Conrad, and forced him to return with his army to Lombardy, where he granted some privileges to the bishoprick of Verona, and then returned to Germany. Soon after he was obliged to undertake another journey to Rome, where he reinstated the pope, who had been expelled by the inhabitants; but no fooner did he resurn to Germany, than the Italian states and princes formed a kind of a universal confederacy, for rendering themselves no longer dependent upon the emperor. This combination feems to have been continued for fome years; the emperor, on account of the German troubles being in no condition to suppress it. The Cremonele laid hold of that opportunity to expel their bishop. who was of the German faction, and their example was followed by feveral other states.

It was the year 1037 before *Italy* was again visited by *Con*- His second rad. Arriving at *Pavia*, he had some reason to suspect that arrival.

Herebert, his favourite, archbishop of Milan, was deeply concerned in the confederacies that had been formed against him; and ordered him to be summoned before an affembly of the nobles. Herebert disowned their authority, and was put under an arrest; but escaping from his guards he fled to Milan, which he began to fortify. In the mean while, Conrad ordered the bishops of Vercolli, Cremona, Placentia, and feveral others who had been concerned in the confederacies against him, to be seized and sent prisoners to Germany. He then made preparations for befieging Milan, razed many of the castles which had been fortified by the confederates; but at Cremona he was met by the pope, a boy of seventeen years of age, who interceded for many of the Italians obnoxious to Conrad, though they had always been attached to his interest. The emperor seemed to listen to this mediation, but infifted with his holiness, that he should deprive Herebert of his archbishopric, and confer it upon Ambrose. one of the cardinals.

He then laid siege to Milan, which bassled all his attempts; and, after setting fire to the suburbs, he distributed his army into quarters of refreshment, and went to spend the ensuing winter at Parma. Here the hatred of the Italians towards the Germans, notwithstanding all their chastizements, again broke out in a quarrel between the citizens and Conrad's soldiers, some of whose chief officers were killed; and, in revenge of their deaths, the Germans set fire to their city, and Conrad ordered their walls to be pulled down. From Parma, Conrad marched against Pandolph, his own prince of Capua; who, like the other Italians, hated the dominion of the

Germans.

Germans, had oppressed the monks of Cassino, the mona. flery that was fo dear to the emperor. Conrad met with little refistance, and, as a mark of his fovereignty, he was

again crowned at Capua with his empress.

History of Apulia.

Pandolph knew that Conrad could not remain long in those parts, and purchased his peace with a sum of money; but foon after retracting, Conrad conferred his principality upon Guaimar, prince of Salerno, and gave the county of Aversa to Rainulph, the Norman. He then set out for Germany; but. during his march, he loft the greatest part of his army and many of the principal personages of his court. Conrad died foon after his return to Germany; but Herebert, archbishop of Milan, lost no time in carrying on hostilities against his competitor Ambrose; which he did so successfully, that he was taken into favour by Henry III. Conrad's successor, who fent him an ambasiy, requiring of him the crown of Italy: but Henry, being involved in wars with Germany, could not enter Italy for feveral years.

It is now proper, for the regularity of history, to recount the progress which the Norman adventurers, whose successors are to form fo capital a figure in the history of Italy, were

making in Apulia.

History of the Normans there.

Their fecond arrival in Italy was under Mello, the Capuan, about the year 1015; and their chief was one Osmond Drengot. We have already feen that they were, at this time, defeated by the Greeks and Saracens; but not before they had done the most important services to the Apulian princes, and gained feveral bloody victories over their enemies. When Mello and his friend Rodolph fled to Germany, some of the Normans settled near San Germano, where they held their estates under a kind of military tenure from Atenolph, abbot of Caffine, on condition of their defending the lands of the monks against their enemies. Others of the Normans retired to Datus, the Apulian, to affift him in defending the citadel of Garigliano against Bajanus, the victorious Greek general, who had forced abbot Atenolph, and Pandelph, prince of Capua, to submit to his terms, and reduced Garigliano. The Normans who were made prisoners there were pardoned, but Datus was punished as a traytor; and, as we have already feen, the German emperor, Henry, foon after recovered the greatest part of Apulia and Calabria from the Greeks. Both Henry and his fon chose to trust the Normans before the Italians; and recommended them to the Beneventine, and other Apulian princes; who, on that very account, when the Germans were returned to their own country, difregarded and maltreated them in the most shocking manner.

Their ill by the Italians.

This ungrateful proceeding induced Rodolph, the chief of treatment the Normans, to return to France; and such of them as remained in Italy, unable any longer to bear their miseries, chose for their leader one Turstin, and made good their quar-

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ters against the natives. On Turstin's death, they chose for their leader Rainolph, and made a diffinguished figure in the civil-wars of that country. By their affiftance, Pandolph IV. the banished prince of Capua, regained his principality; from whence he expelled the emperor's duke, Pandolph, of Tiano; and afterwards conquered Naples, where prince Pergius had given refuge to his rival, who foon afterwards died at Rome. Pandolph IV. like the other Italian princes, neglected to reward his Norman auxiliaries according to his engagements; and Rainolph, who was then building the city of Aversa, affisted Sergius in recovering his city of Naples; from whence they drove Pandolph IV. Rainolph and his countrymen, after this, came into great credit with the Italian princes. Aversa, as we have already seen, was erected into a principality; and Sergius married one of his near relations.

It was not long before the Normans flocked again into Italy, under three leaders, William, Drogo, and Umbert, or Hubert, the fons of Tancred, duke of Hauteville. The new adventurers fettled at Salerno, where duke Guaimar IV. to whom they offered their fervices, received them with the greatest marks of affection. After this, Pandolph, of Capua, was dispossed by the emperor; and his estates were given to Guaimar. This prince continued to avail himself of the affistance of the Normans. Through their means he became master of Sorrento and Amalphi, and took the title of duke of Purilia and Calebria.

Puglia and Calabria.

The Normans were, by this time, become too powerful They confor the quiet of their protector, who dismissed them from his quer Sifervice; and they entered into that of the Greek emperor cily.

Michael, who had sent an army to Sicily to retake that island from the Saracens. Three hundred Normans, under their three leaders, joined the Greeks there; and, by their assistance, Messina was taken, and the Saracens were deseated near Syracuse, the governor of which was killed by William the Norman. Maniaces, the Greek general, afterwards reduced all Sicily; but he falling into disgrace, was succeeded by one Doceanus; who treated the Normans so ungratefully, that they left the Greek service and returned to Italy.

The long absence of the German emperors from that Affairs of country had been productive of many commotions, especi-Milan. ally in Lombardy, where the Milanese were divided into two sactions, noble and plebeian, upon the right of succeeding to the estates of those who died intestate. The plebeians chose for their head one Lanzo Curtius, and drove the nobility out of the city; but the latter, being very rich, levied an army, with which they besieged Milan; and Lanzo was obliged to say to Germany, where the emperor, Henry, promised him assistance, provided he would admit sixteen thousand Germans into the city. This powerful assistance es-

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fected a reconciliation between the two parties; but, on the death of Herebert, the nobles refumed their insolence; passed a decree for the banishment of Lanzo and his family; and ordained, that, if a nobleman should kill a plebeian, the murder should be atoned for by a small fine. Those injurious proceedings induced the people to chuse for their leader one Landolph, who, like Lanzo, was a nobleman; and the emperor taking part with the nobles, in the election of one Vida for their archbishop, animosities rose to such a height as threatened the destruction of the city.

Revolutions at Rome.

Rome, at this time, exhibited a still more tumultuous fcene. Pope Benedict, who was advanced by the Tuscan faction, had become infamous and contemptible through the profligacy of his life, and was expelled by the conful Ptolemy, who hated the Tuscans, and pretended to be descended from the emperor Augustus. John, bishop of Sabino, bribed the electors to chuse him pope, under the name of Silvester III. but Benedict being restored, sold his pretensions to the pontificate, for an annuity in money, to one John, a Roman arch-presbyter; and retired, for the more convenient indulgence of his vices, to his father's house. Being soon disgusted with a private life, Rome, all at once, saw within her precincts three pontifs, each of them a difgrace to the human species. Benedict was in possession of the Lateran palace, Silwester of St. Peter's, and John of St. Mary Major. As it was plain that those three monsters valued the pontificate no farther than as its revenues contributed towards the gratification of their lusts, one Gratian, a priest, who likewise had an eye on the popedom, proposed that each should receive a stipend out of its revenues, and that all the three should renounce their pretensions to it. This compromise was accepted of, and Gratian was chosen pope under the name of Gregory VI.

A new pope no-Ty.

In 1046, the emperor Henry resolved to march into Italy, but previously summoned a meeting of the nobles on the plain of Roncalia. Having met with some hindrance on his by the em- march, he did not arrive on the spot till three days after the peror Hen-day prefixed by the fummons; and, in the mean time, the nobles separated, under a kind of a protest that they had performed their duties as feudatories. The emperor arriving at Milan received the iron crown from Vido, whom he established in that archbishopric; and, after making a progress through Lombardy, where he replaced the exiles that had been driven from their respective habitations, and affected great popularity, he was met at Sutri, in the neighbourhood of Rome, by pope Gregory; whom, in a few days after, he ordered to be deposed for simony, by an assembly of the bishops; and he advanced to the papacy Hedeger, bishop of Bamberg, who took upon him the name of Clement II. This new pope crowned the emperor and his empress; and, after sending pope Gregory into Germany, he marched to Apulia;

and this introduces a review of the history of the Normans in that country.

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Among the Normans who had leave from Docceanus to re- Sequel of turn to Italy, was one Ardouin, a Lombard general, whom the history that Greek had ordered to be publicly whipped. This noble- of the man repaired fecretly to Rainolph, count of Aversa, and per- Normans. fuaded him to attempt the conquest of all the Greek provinces in Italy; an undertaking which he represented to be very practicable. The Normans foon reduced Amalphi, Vanola, Ascoli, Lavello, with other places, and gave three fignal defeats to Doceanus, who was obliged to fly to Bari. After those successes, the Normans, that they might conciliate to themselves the good-will of the Apulians, chose for their leader Atenolph, brother to the prince of Benevento. Atenolph defeated the new Greek general who had been fent over inflead of Doceanus, near Monte Piloso; but having taken him prisoner, he clandestinely gave him liberty for a sum of money; for which the Normans deposed him from his command, The Norand gave it to Argyrus, the fon of their former commander mans de-Mello, who had escaped from his confinement at Constantino- pose Ateple, and now assumed the title of prince and duke of Italy.

Under this new leader, the Normans drove out of Italy the Greek general Maniaces, who had returned thither, and had behaved with the utmost barbarity towards the Italians. As they had now obtained so firm a footing in Italy, they thought it time to throw off their prudential conduct in chusing an Italian for their head, and, assembling at Matera, they conferred that dignity upon William, surnamed Bracchio di Ferre, or William with the iron arm. After this, in a general assembly, at which were present Guaimar and Rainelph, they agreed upon a division of all their conquests among their several leaders; but reserved the city of Amalphi as a place of rendezvous in common to them all. Argyrus having been lest out in this partition, took service under the Greek emperor, who bestowed upon him the city of Bari with its territory, and created him prince and duke of Puglia, or Apulia.

The Normans had no sooner thus acquired a degree of in- and bedependency, than, from being the protectors, they became come inthe tyrants, of their neighbours. The subjects of Rainolph, dependent
count of Aversa, encroached upon the estates of the monas- and optery of Cassino; and each Norman leader endeavoured to enlarge his own partition of territory; but, in the mean while,
Rainolph, and William with the iron arm, died. The former
was succeeded by Aclitine, his brother-in-law, as the latter
was by his brother Drogo, whose territories were now ample
enough to provide for his other relations; and the estate of
St. Mark, in Calabria, in particular, was assigned to William, surnamed de Guiscard. Such was the state of affairs in
Apulia, when the emperor, attended by his pope, Clement II.
arrived at Monte Cassino. The Normans had always been up-

A GENERAL HISTORY

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on good terms with the German emperors, nor did they yet think themselves strong enough to oppose them. The counts of Puglia and Aversa waited upon the emperor at Cassino; and there, by way of tribute, presented him with several fine horses, and with what was much more acceptable to him, a considerable sum of money; for which they received the investiture of all the conquests they had made in Italy, and likewise that of Benevento; whose duke, Pandolph III. had shut its gates against his approach. Henry, in resentment of this affront, bestowed upon the Normans the dukedom of Benevento, and returned to Germany with his army, carrying with him pope Clement, who died the same year, and the popedom

was again feized upon by Benedict II.

Henry resolving to affert his prerogative to the full, nominated to the papacy, Poppo bishop of Brescia, who took the name of Damasus II. but he died in twenty three days Benedict again endeavoured to reafter his nomination. mount the papal throne; but he was become, by this time, fo odious to the Romans, that they formally defired the emperor to give them a new pope; and he fent them Bruno, bishop of Toul, who took the name of Leo IX. Though he was unanimously received as pope, yet the famous Hildebrand, abbot of Clugni, had entirely the management of his conduct and conscience; and instilled into him several doubts, with regard to his nomination by the emperor, who was a layman. At this time the power of the Normans was formidable, both to the pope and the emperor; Leo attempted to break it, by making the imperial cities renew their oath of allegiance, to the emperor; and, by annulling the fentence of excommunication, that had been pronounced against the Beneventines. He afterwards had an interview with the emperor, at Aug/bourg; and, upon his return to Rome, he deposed the bishop of Vercelli, for adultery and perjury.

Massacre of the Normans.

Leo IX.

elected

pope.

The Normans were now equally formidable to the Greek, as to the German emperor. Argyrus, whom we have already mentioned, was fent with a fum of money from Constantinople, with orders to apply it in the best manner he could, to remove them from Apulia, which the Greek emperor looked upon as his own inheritance. Argyrus employed the money in engaging the natives to join in a general conspiracy, to massacre the Normans; which they accordingly did wherever they had an opportunity, and among the others count Drogs, who was stabbed as he was going to church, and the conspirators took possession of his fort of Montoglio.

He was succeeded by his brother Humfred, who retook the fort and defeated Argyrus. Leo IX. and the emperor Henry, were afraid that the Normans would conquer all Italy, and at the solicitation of Argyrus, Leo raised an army against them. This produced a brisk war between the Normans, and Leo's subjects, and Henry ordered an army to

Normans, and Leo's subjects, and Henry ordered an army to be levied for the pope's affistance. Leo had great reputation for

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tion for for fanctity, but Henry did not chuse to trust him too far; and therefore countermanded part of his troops from joining him; Leo, nevertheless, was at the head of so powerful an army, that the Normans thought proper to send him a deputation, offering to hold their possessions in homage to the holy see. Leo, apprehending that this offer proceeded entirely from their own fear, and their weakness, rejected their application, and refused to hear of any terms, unless they immediately consented to evacute all their conquests, which he pretended belonged to the holy see. The Normans, exasperated by his haughtiness, ravaged his dominions, and expressed great contempt for the papal fulminations.

Nothing in those days was more common in Europe, than Customs for armies of adventurers to enlist in an expedition under a of that head, who was to reward them with the spoils of the conage. quered, in proportion to the power and numbers which they contributed to the service. Such was the German army commanded by the pope against the Normans, and consequently it was composed of the dregs of mankind; needy, dissolute, desperate Germans. This period seems to have rendered the practice of assassing common in Italy; for Boniface, marquis of Mantua, father to the samous Matilda, the benefactress of the church, and the greatest heiress in Europe, was about this time assassing as Europe.

The Normans finding the pope inexorable, resolved to die The Norwith their arms in their hands, rather than evacuate their mans deconquests. Leo continued equally obstinate on the other feat the hand, and marched against them at the head of his army, pope's compased of Italians, and Germans. The chief dependence army. of the Normans, was upon three thousand cavalry; but the pope's army was, in all other respects, excepting that of discipline, greatly fuperior. The two armies meeting, the Normans upon the first charge pretended to retreat, and were so tumultuously pursued, that, upon their rallying, they obtained a complete victory, first over the Italians, and then over the Germans. Leo was befieged by the victors in the city of Civitate, which the Normans took; but, to the amazement of his holiness, they laid their necks under his feet, and they attended him to Benevento, which had been granted him by the emperor in exchange for the bishoprick of Bamberg, in Germany, and into which, as a conqueror, he made a triumphal entry. The Normans lost nothing by this politeness, for Leo absolved them from their sentence of excommunication, confirmed to them all their conquetts in Apulia, and Sicily, and, after fix days stay at Benevento, he died upon his return to Rome.

Pope Benedict, still continued to be abetted by the Tuscan Vistor II. faction, who upon the death of Leo, once more attempted chosen to thrust him into the papal throne. The Roman clergy popedreaded him so much, that they sent Hildebrand to Germany to lay their deplorable condition before the emperor. Gebe-

pard.

hard, bishop of Eichstet, one of the most wise and virtuous men of that age, was chosen pope, and conducted to Italy by Hildebrand, where he was confecrated on Good Friday 1055, under the name of Victor II. Gozelo, a profest enemy to the imperial power in Italy, had by this time married Beatrix, widow to the marquis of Mantua, and her daughter Matilda, was married to his fon, who was duke of Spoleto, and Tuscany. The family destinations in Italy, during the non-entity of the exercise of imperial power there, are extremely perplexed and difficult to be accounted for; but it is certain, that Gozelo was, at this time, by far the most powerful prince in Italy, and it was easy to foresee that his daughter-in-law Matilda, must become the inheritrix of the greatest part of that kingdom, exclusive of the Norman Apulia. The emperor, alarmed at the greatness of this family, marched an army into Italy against Gozelo, whom he found submissive; and, Henry well knowing, that if he should push him to extremities, he might throw himfelf into the arms of the Normans, received him into his alliance. Gozelo, or (as he is called by other authors) Godfrey, was likewise duke of Lorrain, and his brother Baldwin was earl of Flanders. Though he had made up matters with the emperor, yet he entertained so much resentment, that he was concerting measures with Baldwin to be revenged of the emperor, when the latter carried with him his wife Beatrix prisoner into Germany; but in the mean time her fon-in-law Boniface dying, her daughter Matilda remained fole heiress of that vast family estate, the partition of which afterward made such great disturbances in Italy, and all over Europe.

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A new pope elected.

Great power of

Godfrey

duke of

Lorrain.

On the death of the emperor Henry in 1056, his empress Agnes, who acted as regent for her infant son Henry, who had been recognized king of the Romans, effected an accommodation with Godfrey, and his brother Baldwin; and a podesta of Parma was made imperial vicar in Italy. Victor II. was then in Germany, and, upon his return to Italy, he excommunicated the count of Tiano, for some violences he had offerered to the abbot of Cassino, whom he had made a cardinal, chiefly because he was brother to Godfrey. The pope dying in the mean while, the new made cardinal was chosen to succeed him, and assuming the name of Stephen IX. he dispatched the ever active Hildebrand to Germany, to inform the empress regent of his election, and of the necessity of reforming the scandalous lives of the Roman clergy.

It is certain, that at this time, no kind of regard was paid by the *Italian* ecclefiastics, either to the constitutions of their church, or to common decency. Vido, the archbishop of Milan, protected his clergy in the most abandoned practices of simony, and all kind of irreligion. A kind of a schism had subsisted for about two hundred years, between the church of Rome, and that of Milan, whose priests

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priests were allowed to marry. One Cotta, who was the præfect of the people at Milan, in vain endeavoured to introduce a reformation, but he was opposed by the archbishop Vido, who passed a public decree, allowing his clergy to marry. Stephen IX. notwithstanding his noble birth and high quality, strove, but to no purpose, to have flemmed this torrent of corruption in the church, and he is faid to have diverted his thought to another object. His brother Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, by his marriage with Beatrix, already mentioned, was master of Lucca, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, with the territory now called St. Peter's Patrimony, and Stephen formed a design of placing on his head the imperial crown, but died at Florence before he who dies, could effect it, having enjoyed the papacy only eight and two The Tuscan interest then raised to the papacy, more are John, bishop of Velitri, who took the name of Benedict the chosen. Tenth, a man so ignorant that he could not read. election was made without the confent of the cardinals or the bishops; but Hildebrand, upon his return from the German embassy, assembled them at Sienna, and they chose for pope, the bishop of Florence, Nicholas the Second, with the approbation of the emperor. Benedict was deposed, and a decree passed, in a full council of ecclesiastics, and Italian princes, at Sutri, that the election of the pope should thenceforth be vested in the cardinals.

The Normans continued still to be formidable to the pope, Progress and all the other states of Italy, and were then united under of the the government of Robert Guiscard. The short reigns of Normans.

the late popes; the unsettled state of the church; but, above all, an inveterate hatred, which Beatrix and her daughter Matilda, bore towards the emperor Henry and his family, had contributed greatly to the aggrandizement of the popes. The Greek empire, whose chief concern it was to oppose them, was likewise miserably distracted, and Guiscard, having conquered Reggio, took upon himself the title of duke of Apulia and Calabria, while another branch of Tancred's family acquired the principality of Capua, and conquered Campania, from Landolph V. the last Lombard prince, whose family and children were reduced to a state of beggary. Pope Nicholas enjoying the papal throne without a competitor, excommunicated Guiscard, because he refused to restore certain portions of land which he had conquered belonging to the church. Robert knew the defects of his own title; that he was confidered by the Italians in general, as being no better than a prosperous robber, and that he was hated even by many of his own nation. He applied to the pope for absolution, and Nicholas knowing it to be in vain to attempt to subdue him by force of arms, gave him the meeting at Melphis.

This period may be termed the triumphant æra of excom- Who nunications. Never was there a time wherein fo total a swears Vol. X.

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50 homage to the pope.

difregard of religious and civil duties, prevailed all over Europe, and yet the common people trembled at the thunders of the vatican, and thought certain damnation entailed upon all who should presume to invade, or detain the church's property. The Normans, haughty and violent as they were, eafily forefaw that the popes would prove their best protectors in their new conquests, and Guiscard, with Richard, count of Aversa, offered not only to restore to Nicholas all he demanded, but to hold their possessions as fiefs of the holy fee. Nicholas immediately closed with the proposal, and bestowed upon Robert Guiscard the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and the Italian Sicily; and upon the count of Aversa, that of Capua. In return, they took an oath of fidelity to his holiness, and agreed to pay him twelve Pavian pence yearly for every yoke of oxen in their domi-The first use Nicholas made of his new allies, was to employ them in ravaging the lands of his enemies, the Tusculans. The Normans having thus acquired as firm a footing as the papal fanction could give them in their conquests, resolved to complete them. Roger, brother to Guiscard, made a descent with an army into the island of Sicily, while Robert conquered from the Greeks, Brindist, Tarento, Matera, and at last, after a blockade of three years, the great and opulent city of Bari.

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In the mean while, a reconciliation was effected between ander II. the churches of Rome and Milan, and pope Nicholas dying, great confusion arose about chusing his successor. Hildebrand, from being a strenuous advocate for the imperial power, in the election of a pope, now thwarted it with all his interest, and endeavoured to persuade the cardinals to proceed to an election, without regarding the emperor. Tuscany and Lombardy, on the other hand, declared for the imperial power, as being their furest defence against the Normans; and were headed by the counts of Tuscany. Hildebrand's interest, however, being favoured by the marquis Godfrey, as he is called, prevailed; and Anselm, bishop of Lucca, was confecrated pope, under the name of Alexander II. without confulting the emperor. The latter was then at Basil, and by his own authority, he named, to the popedom, the bishop of Parma, who took the title of Honorius 11. and at the head of a German army, marched towards Rome, and obliged Alexander to retire to Tuscany. mans were beaten in a fally by Honorius, but he himself was defeated in his turn, by the marquis Godfrey, and obliged to take shelter in Parma. Being rich, he employed his money in forming a faction in Rome, to which he was admitted by night, but the Romans obliged him to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence escaping, he again fled to Parma, where he lived and died, despised, but without laying aside the papal ornaments. A revolution happening in the affairs of Germany, Alexander was there recognized pope,

and recognized. but upon condition of calling a general council for replacing the imperial authority in the election of a pope. A council accordingly was called at *Mantua*, but nothing of consequence passed there, only *Alexander* cleared himself by oath, from a charge of simony, and sentence of deposition was pronounced against his antagonist, who was then alive.

Notwithstanding all the care taken by the popes for the reformation of the Milanese clergy, they still continued to keep wives and concubines. One Erlembald, who was then prefect of Milan, and one Ariald, a clergyman of noble birth, vigorously opposed those abuses, which continued to be encouraged by archbishop Vido and the body of the people. The reformers were favoured by the pope, and Milan became a scene of bloodshed between the two parties; Ariald was driven out of that city, and cruelly put to death by the fervant maids of the archbishop's neice; but Erlembald at last prevailed, and obliged both the clergy and people to fwear not to acknowledge any archbishop who was not previously approved of by the pope. Vido, upon this, fent his paltoral stuff and ring, to the emperor, but not before he had made a private agreement with one Godfrey, a deacon, to succeed him. Godfrey, through the affistance of money, Commoobtained from the emperor the investiture of the arch-tions at bishopric; but his nomination was opposed by the pope, Milan. and Erlembald denied him admission into the city. Erlembald's zeal and conduct on this occasion, was so agreeable to his holiness, that he created him standard bearer of the holy Roman church, and one Atto was confecrated archbishop of Milan, without regard to the imperial authority. pope's faction in that city proved inferior to that of the imperialifts, who broke into the archiepifcopal palace, and beat Atto to severely, that they obliged him to abdicate his new dignity. Upon this the pope excommunicated Godfrey, but being supported by the emperor, he obtained possession of the temporalities of the archbishopric. The distractions of Germany always afforded resources to the popes, in their disputes with the emperors, and his holiness employed on this occasion, the archbishop of Cologn, and the bishop of Bamberg, to revenge his cause; and cited the emperor to appear before his tribunal at Rome, there to answer to a charge of fimony.

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The reader in the history of Germany, has seen the alter-Claim of cations that happened between the emperor and the samous the pope Hildebrand, who succeeded pope Alexander, under the title upon the of Gregory VII. This pontiff had the insolence, soon after crown of his election, to claim all the conquests that had been made Spain. by the crown of Spain, from the Moers, on pretence that 1074. Spain was formerly a fief, belonging to the holy see. He forced the dukes of Benevento and Capua, to pay him allegiance, and own themselves his tributaries. He claimed Sar-

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dinia

dinia as a fief likewise, and he exercised the most unbounded authority over the emperor, the king of France, and all christian potentates. He sent legates to hold a council in Germany, but the spirit of the German princes would not fuffer them. The princes were excommunicated, and in a lateran council it was decreed, that no ecclefiastic, under pain of excommunication, should accept of an investiture from a layman. By another decree, all married priefts were to be deposed, unless they dismissed their wives, and this decree was rigorously put in force, though the German clergy, who were most of them married, urged the authority of scriptures against it.

His great power,

1075.

Gregory's high claims were not unsupported by the secu-The person and possessions of the marchioness Matilda, as some have called her, the richest and most powerful fovereign in Italy, were at his devotion, and he exercifed a despotic power over all the Italian clergy, many of whom were possessed of great temporary fiefs, and headed their own armies. Gregory denounced war against Guiscard, duke of Apulia, and against the Saracens, and brought thirty thousand men into the field, who obliged Guiscard to evacuate Campania, which Gregory claimed, as belonging to the holy see. In 1075, he called a council, in which the king of France was threatened with excommunication, and many powerful bishops were suspended or deposed, on account of their attachment to lay powers. He invited Sweno, king of Denmark, to take possession of, and hold under him, the lands of his enemies in Italy, and he encouraged Erlembald, of Milan, to renew his opposition to the imperial This, however, cost Erlembald his life, and the imperial party chose for their archbishop, Theobald, who was accordingly confecrated by the imperial prelates.

gance.

in the many disputes which then prevailed in the remotest parts of Europe, the scale of war generally turned in favour of the party espoused by the pope, and Gregory was thereby and arro-enabled to fet up a claim of superiority over Hungary and Ruffia, then torn by civil divisions. But Gregory met with great opposition in Italy, then the most enlightened part of Christendom, where the imperial party was numerous and powerful. Cincius, the prefect of Rome, a person of great distinction, conspired with Gilbert, arch-bishop of Ravenna, against the aspiring pontiff, whose person was actually seized and imprisoned for some hours, by Cincius. The people of Rome dreading the imperial, more than they did the papal, power, forced Cincius to set his holiness at liberty, upon promise of pardon; but he and his party were soon after banished from Rome, and Gilbert fled to Ravenna, where he formed new schemes with the imperial party, for humbling Gregory.

Such was the ignorance and barbarity of the times, that

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The German emperor Henry, no sooner had some respite He is defrom the wars he had been engaged in, than he affembled a posed by council of German bishops, who deposed Gregory. The the Gerlatter excommunicated Henry, and absolved his subjects from man bitheir allegiance, and calling a council at Rome, they not shops. only excommunicated all the prelates in Christendom, who had dared to oppose the pope, but passed a set of decrees, under the title of "Dictatus Papæ", which screwed the papal power up to a higher pitch of despotism, than former popes had ever pretended to, and all this under the pretext of ascertaining the prerogatives of the holy see. Amongst the other ridiculous claims established by those decrees, one was, that the pope has the fole right to wear imperial habits and ornaments, and that all princes on the face of the earth were obliged to kifs his feet; that he has a power to annul their decrees, and that the Roman church never has erred, and never can err. These positions, equally ridiculous as frantic, alarmed the bishops of Lombardy, where the imperial interest was very strong, and in a meeting they held at Parma, after impeaching Gregory of the most horrid crimes, by the advice of the archbishop of Ravenna, they deposed him. His fafety lay in the divisions of Germany, and the reader has feen in that history, the absolute triumph which he obtained over the emperor, by the German bishops not daring to stand to their award of excommunication, against him. Nothing, after this, could withstand the haughtiness of Gregory; he created kings in distant regions; he subjected the greatest princes to public penances, and his fame reached even the infidels themselves, who sent embassadors to him, to conciliate his friendship. He extended his decrees against lay investitures, even to Great Britain Hubert was then his legate in England, which had been some time before conquered by the Normans, and he threatened the conqueror himself with excommunication, if he continued to hinder his bishops from repairing to Rome, or to the council there, and at the same time he made a His dedemand of England, as holding of the fee of Rome, and mand up. claimed the arrears of Peter's pence, which had been paid on the his predecessors, by way of tribute. William, haughty, and king of impetuous as he was, thought proper to take off his inter- England. diction, as to the bishop's going to Rome, and promised to fend the arrear of Peter's pence, but defired to be excused from paying any homage, which, he faid, none of his predecessors ever had done, to the see of Rome, The reply which Gregory made to this refusal, is a strong indication of his character; "I would rather," said he, "have had the

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P. 423.

ibid.

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Italy.

death of a bishop; he threatened a duke of Bohemia with the fame penalty, only for converfing with excommunicated persons, and he prohibited the use of the Sclavonic tongue, to the Bohemians in their religious worship. All those arbitrary acts received great sanction, from the pliancy of the councils held at Rome, who always confirmed the most despotic sentences of the pope. During the dispute between the emperor Henry, and Rodolph of Suabia, he was for some time moderate towards Henry, but when he heard See vol. 8. that his affairs had took an untowardly turn, he excommunicated him a-fresh, and the reader in the history of Germany, will find an account of the quarrel. In the mean while, he faw himself under a necessity of compromising matters with duke Robert Guiscard, and other Norman leaders in Italy, that he might make use of them against the imperialists; and his menaces prevailed with Alphonso king of Spain, to lay afide the Gothic liturgy, and receive that of Rome. Sometimes his holiness preached up expeditions against the infidels; but when he had raised an army under those pretexts, it was always employed against the German emperor Henry. He demanded affistance from the king of England, who excused himself from taking any part in the quarrel, and who was indeed the only prince in Europe, at that time, who fet at nought the thunders of the

His war emperor. vatican.

The imperial bishops having pronounced sentence of dewith the position against Gregory, chose for his successor, Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, who took the name of Clement III. and when the emperor Henry, upon returning to Italy, had defeated the troops of Matilda, and, proving victorious over all his enemies, had befieged Rome itself; the behaviour of Gregory was great and intrepid. Though that up in Rome for two years and a half, he acted with the same spirit as before, and his troops, or rather those of Matilda, obliged Henry more than once to abandon the fiege. He prevailed with the kings of the Vifigoths, and other barbarians, to receive the christian religion; he excommunicated the count of Padua for having joined the imperialists, and a count of Provence made him a furrender of all his large dominions, for the remission of his fins. Henry returning to the siege of Rome, was again repulsed by Gregory, who found means to persuade the Saxons to elect count Herman, king of the Romans. Though Herman was defeated, and Henry refumed the fiege of Rome, yet he would gladly have made up all differences with Gregory, who continued still undaunted and inflexible; and when Rome was at last taken, by Henry's arms and money, Gregory retired to the castle of St. Angelo, which he bravely defended, and forced the emperor to agree to the convocation of a council. This council supported the pope, who was still in the castle of St. Angelo, and Henry found means to interrupt it. The Roman and Italian prelates,

prelates, however, and most of the Roman nobility, interceded with the pope, who suspended all surther sulminations against Henry, and at last they prevailed with him (to satisfy the oaths they had taken that Henry should receive the imperial crown) to hand it down to him by a rope,

from the castle of St. Angelo.

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Henry very justly thought that this ridiculous proposal, He is bewas an infult upon his dignity, and he was crowned by his fieged in own pope Clement, in the Lateran church. Gregory all this the castle while continued that up in the castle of St. Angelo, which of St. Anfeems to have been the only part of Rome now remaining in gelo. his possession, and had prevailed with Robert Guiscard, to march to his affistance, with an army of his Normans. The news of Guiscard's approach obliged Henry to retire with his army, now greatly weakened by fickness, towards Lombardy, but the blockade of the castle of St. Angelo, was still continued by the Roman imperialists, who were defeated by Robert, and he brought the pope in triumph to the church of St. John Lateran. The emperor and his party were again excommunicated, but the pope was so unpopular at Rome, that he retired to Salerno. The imperial prelates made some efforts towards re-establishing the emperor's interest in Lombardy, but they were defeated by the troops of Matilda, armed with the thunders of the vatican. Clement ibid p. the antipope, however, took possession of Rome, but Henry 424. was obliged to return to Germany. The balance of power between the popish and imperial party, in Italy, was in the hands of the Romans at this period; and as they hated both, they disowned the authority of Clement, as well as of Gregory. The latter, tho' little better than an exile, at Monte Cassino, and Salerno, acted with the same spirit as if he had reigned without a rival. William of England, indeed, continued to disdain his interposition, when he offered it in favour of his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, but he governed the powerful count of Flanders, and other great princes on the continent, with an irrefiftible fway. In Germany he revived Herman's party; he affembled a council of his own prelates, who confirmed all he had done, and deposed Henry a-new, while Henry's prelates did the same by Gregory. While matters were in this fituation, Gregory died at Sa- Hisdeath. lerno the capital of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, or Puglia.

A very extraordinary scene succeeded his death. The He is succardinals and prelates elected Desiderius, abbot of Cassino. ceeded by He resulted to accept of the dignity, and they consulted with Victor III. fornandes, prince of Capua, to compel him; so that, not-withstanding all his aversion, he was in a manner forced to accept of the popedom, and he took the name of Victor III.

Whether his aversion to the popedom, was real, or sictitious, may be justly doubted. It is certain that the Romans, who hated all popes, and whose real view was to declare

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fome great native prince, king of Italy, were still very pow? erful in their own capital; and it was with fome difficulty that Matilda gave him possession of the church of St. Peter, and the city of Rome. Victor, though still opposed by Clement, trod in the steps of his predecessor, and by the force of his pontifical power, we are told, that he fent over a great army to Africa, against the infidels, who were entirely defeated. While he was holding a council at Benevento, he was taken ill, being supposed to have been poisoned, and he died at Monte Cassino, in 1087. He was succeeded, according to his own defire, by Otho, bishop of Oftia, who took

pope.

ibid.

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Urban II. the name of Urban II. and began his reign by a public declaration, that he would make the example of Gregory VII, the rule of his conduct and government. By this time the antipope Clement, had regained his footing at Rome, where Urban with great difficulty, at last got admittance, and held a council, which proceeded in the usual form of anathemas, and excommunications against the imperial party and prelates. His great support, Matilda, though then forty-three years of age, married young Guelph of Bavaria, the ancestor of the present house of Brunswick, that she might the better oppose the emperor, who was once more making a great progress in Italy. Urban fulfilled his promise of treading in the steps of Gregory VII. for he multiplied councils in all parts of christendom, for confirming the dictates of that pontif, and excommunicating his adversaries.

Clement the antipope.

The Normans of Apulia gave him shelter, while the emperor and Clement became masters of the rest of Italy. Henry took Mantua and Ferrara, while Urban was holding a council at Benevento. The impressions of Gregory's authority and conduct, remained still so strongly on the minds of distant princes, that all of them, particularly Eric, king of Denmark, applied to Urban, as his only successor, notwithstanding Henry had, by this time, beat the troops of Matilda (who headed them herself) in every quarter of Lombardy. Thus, this pope, tho' armed with power, was destitute of authority. Urban, by a firm perseverance in his maxims, found means to dissuade Matilda from a separate peace with Henry; Clement was by the Romans once more driven out of Rome; but still the Romans were so little reconciled to Urban, that he once more took refuge in Apulia. Finding the emperor every where superior in the field, he, and Matilda, joined with young Conrade, and the empress Adelaide, Henry's fon and wife, and that prince was crowned king of Italy, by the archbishop of Milan. The events which this introduced have been already related; nor shall we particularize the various councils, and fynods, held by both parties, which always tended to mutual excommunications.

ibid. P. 425.

> The elevation of Conrade to the throne of Italy, was Arengthened by his marriage with the daughter of the duke

Urban prevails.

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of Apulia, and gave a favourable turn to the affairs of Urban, who now re-entered into the possession of Rome, his mule being led by Conrade, who had promifed to renounce all right of investitures. In a council which was held at Placentia, the cause of the empress Adelaide, who charged her husband with the most infamous treatment of her, was decided in her favour, and its authority was acknowledged by the embaffadors of most of the princes of Europe; but the king of England disowned Urban, as a pope, on account of his Gregorian ambition and claims. We have in another See vol.7. part of this work, given a full but concile account, of the p. 44. et original of crusades, and therefore, shall not repeat it here. Jeg. It is fufficient to fay that Urban was their professed patron. and that they answered the most sanguine ends he could propose for the advancement of the papal power. For some and years before the famous council he held at Clermont, which preaches gave rife to the first crusade, the minds of the people all up the over christendom, had been infected through papal arts with crusade. a defire to rescue the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels. The archbishopric of Milan alone, is said to have furnished fifty thousand adventurers, and the other Italian states in proportion, in men, ships, or money. Urban having compromised his differences with the king of France, who made his submissions, returned to Rome, where the imperialists had still possession of the castle of St. Angelo. He afterwards fummoned a council to which he invited the Greek bishops at Bari, and affisted the Norman princes in reducing Capua to the allegiance of its duke, Richard II. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, is said to have obtained great credit by his learning and eloquence, in the council of Bari, the fession of which was spent in religious ridiculous disputes. between the Greek and Latin bishops. Urban continued still to be opposed by Clement, but the progress which the crusaders were making, added so greatly to his character, that he regained the entire possession of the city of Rome, where he died, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1099.

Urban was succeeded in the pontificate, by pope Paschal He is suc-II. who, in imitation of his predecessor, was a great proceeded by moter of the crusades, and by the assistance of the money Paschal he received from the Guiscard family, he obliged the anti-II. pope, Clement, to sly to Citta di Castello, where he died in a few months. Paschal after this, was embroiled in disputes about the succession to the crown of ferusalem, upon the death of its king; (Godfrey) and being of the same ambitious cast with his three immediate predecessors, he excommunicated the king of France, and resused to give up the right of ecclesiastical investitures, to Henry, king of England. The French king submitted, but the English continued to make a glorious stand against the papal usurpations, which seem never to have had a fixed or firm sooting there, but under the weakest of their princes. Though

Matilda

quarrels

with her

husband.

Vol. 8.

P. 425.

ibid.

P. 429.

the antipope Clement, was dead, his party continued to elect others in his room; but the faction at last came to nothing, and Paschal was left without a rival. In 1102, he held a council at Rome, in which an oath was devised to be taken by all whom the pope should require, by which temporal princes were to observe unlimited obedience to the holy fee, in every thing the approved of, or condemned Some princes refused, and opposed this oath, on account of its novelty, and the king of England drove archbishop Anfelm out of his dominions, for tavouring the papal claims, particularly, against lay investitures. In all other parts of christendom, the pope was uncontrouled in the exercise of his arrogant authority. Matilda quarrelled with, and feparated from, her husband, young Guelph, and their differences were productive of fresh grants which she made to the We have already confidered the conduct of the holy fee. pope, during the usurpation of the empire by young Henry, who dethroned his father, and who succeeded to the empire by the name of Henry V. In a council held at Guaffalla, the dispute about investitures, was renewed between him and Henry, the event of which the reader hath already feen, While it was depending, Paschal held a council at Troye, in France, but it was overawed by the approach of an imperial army. He afterwards regulated some religious differences in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and threatened Alphonson, king of Arragon, with excommunication, for having married the princess Uracca, who was related to him in the third degree of confanguinity.

ibid. The Greek emperor

After the humiliating blows which Paschal received from Henry, (as we have already recounted) the cardinals and befriends bishops disowned his conduct, for which he apologized, bethe pope cause of the necessity he was under, and various councils were held, in which the treaty made with Henry was annulled, as having been extorted by force, and nothing was now heard in ecclefiaftical affemblies and churches, but excommunications thundered out against the emperor. About this time, the Greek emperor, Alexius, offered his service to pope Paschal, and even to serve him in person; but though they were accepted of with great joy, by the pope and his party, he failed in the performance, to their great disap-pointment. The internal incidents of Italy at this time, are too uninteresting and trite for general history, as they relate chiefly to fquabbles among prelates and petty princes. One of the best actions in this pontificate, was the pope establishing in a council at Troja, for three years, the act called the Grau of God, by which all persons were prohibited from acts of private hostilities on Sundays. After this, the emperor Henry once more drove the pope out of Rome to Apulia, where he received a claim from England, that the archbishop of Canterbury should be the pope's perpetual legate in England. By this time his holiness, thro' the affistance of his Norman

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The successor of Paschal in the see of Rome, was Cajetan, ibid. a noble Italian, who took the name of Gelasius II. whose p. 430. fate we have already feen. Though he was regularly elect- Gelafius ed, and confecrated, the emperor fet up against him Burdin, II. pope. archbishop of Braga; and the history of the popes is for some years after this connected with that of Germany; excepting in the following particulars. During the popedom ibid. of Gelasius, the order of knights templars was founded at p. 431. et Jerusalem. Calixtus, who succeeded Gelasius, maintained seg. himself against the emperor's antipope, Gregory, whom he at last thut up in a monastery. Calixtus had a conference at Gifors in Normandy, with Henry, king of England, who nobly vindicated the right of the Anglican church, and afferted his right of admitting no legate into England, without his previous permission. Calixtus returned from France to Italy. In the year 1123, Calixtus having accommodated ibid. all differences with the emperor, gave a commission to the p. 432. bishop of Bamberg, to convert the Pomeranians, who were yet in a state of idolatry, and he died the next year with the reputation of being a wife and moderate prelate. He was fuc- Honorius ceeded by Honorius II. formerly bishop of Offia; and having II. pope. been named by Frangepani and other laics, he had some scruples about his retaining the papal ornaments; but he foon got over them, and made a short procession through his dominions, where he reformed some ecclesiastical abuses. Upon the death of William, duke of Apulia, Roger, count of Sicily, took possession of his estate and title, without receiving the investiture of them from Honorius, who refusing all terms of accommodation, formed a powerful affociation of Norman princes against him, and laid him under an excommunica-Roger, knowing that those princes had different views and interests, avoided coming to an engagement, by which he dissolved the confederacy. The pope was then obliged to receive the allegiance of Roger upon the terms he had before rejected, and having quarrelled neventines, he employed Roger to chastize them. he had before rejected, and having quarrelled with the Be-In 1129, Honorius was succeeded by Innocent II. but the ibid.

ap-Romans and their clergy chose Anaclete, and drove Innocent p. 434. att into France. Anaclete pretending to be the real pope, inti- Succeedmated his election to the different powers of Europe; but ed by Inthey supported Innocent, and brought him back in ttriumph nocent II.

to Rome, from whence he expelled Anaclete and his party. The emperor Lothair, was then in Italy, and had conquered Apulia, from whence he drove duke Roger. Some disputes arole naturally between the emperor and the pope, about the right of bestowing the investiture of Apulia, but they were

compromised in the manner the reader has seen in the ibid. history of Germany. When the emperor Lothair evacuated p. 435.

Italy, Roger recovered Capua, with great part of Apulia, and of are espoused the cause of Anaclete, against Innocent; but Roger The was deseated by Renaud, who had obtained the investiture of Armachete soon after died, and one Gregory, who took the name of Victor, was elected by Roger's party among the ortifying cardinals; but soon after he resigned the papal become the name of Victor, was elected by Roger's party among the orify cardinals; but foon after he refigned the papal honours and he pay was reconciled to Innocent, who in a council, confisting (a Crifte is faid) of a thousand prelates, affembled at Rome, excommunicated Roger, and made many useful regulations in the lates government of the church. During its session, Renaud of the church and Roger not only recovered it at the heads of the church. Apulia died, and Roger not only recovered it at the head of Amold an army, but took the pope prisoner, and forced him to cause a absolve him from his excommunication, and to give him the titles of king of Sicily, duke of Apulia, and prince of It as Capua, upon his paying to the holy fee an annual tribute, of Ital and obliging himself and his successors to perform homage pope; to the pope in all suture times.

Notwithstanding the ignorance of this age, some libera The K

Abelard a reformer. spirits endeavoured to enlighten it, and among those was compr

ibid.

P. 437.

fpirits endeavoured to enlighten it, and among those was compressed the famous Abelard, and his disciple Arnold of Brescia. Saint Their doctrines were disagreeable to the pope, and the bigots of the times, and Abelard was excommunicated. The history of that famous professor is well known, and that after the signal missfortune he met with, he died an example of penitence for the sins of his youth, in the abbey of Clugm, of penitence for the sins of his youth, in the abbey of Clugm, there there of his master. He endeavoured to remind his most than those of his master. He endeavoured to remind his mand countrymen, that they had been once masters of the world were though now slaves to ignorance and bigotry, and he had sined fuch fuccess, that he raised a spirit of independency all over from a The Tibertines (for fo the inhabitants of Tivoli were Lewis, called) struggled for their liberty against the Roman; depop but Innocent reduced them. The Romans sought to shake to style off their dependency upon Innocent, and even France itself king I shewed some symptoms of being tired with the papal yoke; religio

Celestine II. pope.

ibid. p. 438.

so affected that he died on the 24th of September 1143. Suppre His successor, Celestine II. was distinguished for little of France nothing but his taking off the interdict from the kingdon adopte Lucius II. who fucceeded in 1144, had a difficult to cru province to manage, as the reader has feen in the history of doctri Germany. The spirit of independency encreased every day they among the Romans, and the king of Sicily took advantage them of the juncture to invade some of the papal possessions in fered succeeded him. The age had not virtue or public spint such enough to fecond the example of the Romans, and the em- proach peror declared against them. They however kept possession

which had wantonly laid her under an excommunication

The disobedience of the Romans continuing, Innocent wa

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pears,

Rome, so that Eugene was consecrated at the monastery of a, and refara.

Roger The republicans, in the mean while, by the affistance A new sure of Arnold of Brescia, endeavoured to complete their plan of crusade of took commonwealth, by reviving the equestrian order, and preached the intifying their city from the ruins of houses belonging to up. It is papal party. Eugene was supported by almost all is a Bristendom against his own subjects; and though in exile, some be set on foot a new crusade, and having reconciled the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the subsidered of the states of Italy to each other, the spirit of the Romans subsidered of the subsidered of th m to cause we know nothing of it, but through the relations of eclesiastics, whose interest it was to disguise it.

Ce of It appears, as if the Romans had not been the only people Republi-

bute of Italy, who at this time aspired to independency upon the can spirit mage pope; but that their general concert was broken by the in Rome.

disputes which raged between the Guelphs and Gibilins.

bera The Romans were rather quieted than satisfied by the late

was compromise, and forced the pope to retire to the castle of saint Angelo, because he would not suffer them to demolish Saint Angelo, because he would not suffer them to demoning the fivoli; the inhabitants of which they considered as their dependents. The history of the crusades form the greatest See part of that of Italy at this time. Their progress in Egypt, Vol. VII. Palestine, and other parts of Asia, has been already describe p. 87. et al. The madness of the age was such, that the princes of see the mand of Saint Bernard, a Frenchman, whose chief virtues Vol. VIII. were those of a cloistered life. The pope, though still con-p. 438. Intend in the castle of Saint Angelo, dissuaded Saint Bernard over some accepting of the command, which was conferred upon were Lewis, king of France; but while Eugene's nod was thus

were Lewis, king of France; but while Eugene's nod was thus tan; depopulating Europe and Asia, he was obliged by his subjects hake to say from Italy to France, where he had an interview with ties king Lewis, and held a council at Paris for fettling some religious differences.

From the complexion of the history of this period it appears, that the pope and his clergy had great difficulty in suppressing the spirit of reformation that then prevailed in France, in favour of many doctrines, which have fince been adopted by the protestants. They called in the secular arm, to crush whatever was aimed against their own power. When day they generally diverted the attention of the public from them by starting some religious absurdity, which they suffered to be canvassed for some time, and they sealed it by the fanction of a council composed of themselves and their confederates. Eugene, while in exile from Italy, held many fuch councils, whose proceedings may be termed the reproach of human reason; and met with as much flattery

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and adulation in France and Germany, as he had with more Sale

tification in Rome and Italy.

and the emperor agree.

decisions. Upon the accession of Frederic, duke of Suabia, Boemu to the German empire, Eugene and he concluded a league, exiled by which they mutually promifed, that neither, without the confent of the other, should make peace with Roger king of sicily; and the emperor promifed to employ his best offices being in restoring the pope to Rome. This good correspondence year I was soon broken off, by the emperor's having granted and B several ecclesiastical investitures in Germany. The pope sent to ha two legates into that empire, where they deposed the arch-bishop of Mentz, and died in 1153, as he was on the point Th of excommunicating the emperor Frederic. He was fute of excommunicating the emperor Frederic. He was luce popes ceeded by Anastasius IV. who entered into a negociation follow with the emperor, but died before it was concluded.

Hadrian IV. pope.

ibid.

P. 441. et feq.

History of Naples. The history of the Guifcards in Naples.

His successor was Hadrian IV. formerly bishop of Albane. by his This pontiff is faid to have been an Englishman, and I native of Saint Albans. Under him, the disputes between the emperor and the holy see were renewed; the particular of which we have given in the history of Germany. Hadrian embroiled himself with William king of Sicily; and this brings us to the history of the other Italian governments, during this, and the preceding periods.

We have already, more than once, mentioned the conquel of Apulia, by the Normans, and of their princes having received the investiture of it and of Sicily from the popes. The family of Guiscard were valiant, and protectors of the popes. The Greek emperors had a strong claim upon, and, as we have already seen, a considerable footing in the kingdom of Naples; so that perpetual wars were waged between them and the Normans in Italy. Robert Guiscard, the same who had delivered Gregory VII. had sent over his son Boemund with an army to Greece, where he had defeated that of the emperor Alexius. The latter was affisted by the Venetians, who were beat in a great sea fight by Robert. He afterwards landed in Greece, where a contagious distemper ruined most of his army, and he himself died, aged 60, in the the year 1085. He was perhaps, the most extraordinary per- by fonage of his time. He raised himself from the station of private gentleman, to be the terror of powerful emperors;

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more Salerno his capital, they settled after their expulsion ne bad under him, is now famous in the annals of medicine. from John his death, his army returned hastily to Italy, and his eturn, we fons Roger and Boemund, quarrelled about his succession; rince in were reconciled by pope Urban II. The various alterawith ions and revolutions of the Guiscard possessions, after this acrana, tommodation, are immaterial here. Roger married a daughhave of a marquis of Flanders, but was defeated in attempting to reduce Amalfi. All his army being feized with the
found epidemical madness of the times, that of crusading, his
two bother Boemund, who was a famous Holy Land adventurer, tes of with his cousin Tancred, put themselves at its head, and we his marched to Palestine. By this, Roger became possessed the uabia, Bomund's dominions in Italy, and he restored Richard, the ague, exiled duke of Capua, to his estates. Roger, after this ob- They at the mined from pope Urban, the samous bull, by which his claim a ng of fuccessors claimed a spiritual as well as temporal power, as spiritual being the pope's perpetual legates in Sicily. About the power in being the pope's perpetual legates in Sicily. About the power in year 1110, the great count Roger of Sicily, uncle to Roger Sicily. and Boemund, died in the 70th year of his age, and he feems to have been succeeded in his dominions by his nephew Roger II.

This prince, like his predecessors, was the friend of the Roger II.

This prince, like his predecessors, was the friend of the Roger II.

fuce popes, and was succeeded by his only son William, who duke of ation followed the maxims of his forefathers in supporting the Apulia. holy see. He died without any issue, and was succeeded

by his uncle Roger, another count of Sicily, who was at the same time duke of Apulia, and Calabria. He quarrelled with Honorius II. as we have already feen, upon investitures, ulan and conquering all opposition, he applied to the holy see, dries for the title of king, which he obtained, in 1130, from pope Anaclete. After his coronation, he reduced the power- The reents, ful city and republic of Amalfi; and by the acquisition of bellions Capua, and the dukedom of Naples, he became so formida- against ble, that the Apulians, the Beneventines, and other states of him. of Italy took arms, and defeating him, obliged him to fly ibid. to Sicily. Here he raised a strong army, chiefly composed p. 435. of Saracens, with which he recovered Apulia; and punished many of the heads of the confederacy against him as traitors. in 1134, he returned to fight the Pijans, who affifted his rebel subjects, and he reduced Novara. He then defeated

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Renaud, to whom the pope had given his dominions, but with whom he was foon reconciled; and having conquered all his enemies, he returned triumphantly to Salerno. It was not

long before the rebellion, being supported by the Pifans, terbroke out afresh, and was again extinguished by Roger. He feems to have been an overmatch for all his enemies, till the

the year 1137, when he was divested of his Italian estates perby the emperor Lothair. No sooner had the emperor re-

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turned to Germany, than Roger endeavoured to recover his dominions, but he was defeated by Renaud, who died in 1139 Roger, after this, regained most of his Italian possessions, and we have already feen his other fuccesses.

His conquests.

Having subdued all opposition in Italy, he returned to Sicily; but employed his two fons Roger and Anfusus, in making conquests on the Adriatic coast. After this, he ruled his subjects with an iron rod. The particular con. stitutions of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, though united under Roger, are uncertain, but most probably, they were distinct, in the same manner as England and Scotland were before the union.

He is made king;

About the year 1143, Roger, partly forced, and partly bribed pope Lucius II. to grant him several valuable privileges; and reduced Tripoli, and many other states on the coast of Africa. From thence he carried his arms into Greece, having been exasperated by some affronts he receiv. ed from Manuel, the emperor of Constantinople. His fleet was commanded by one George of Antioch, who plundered all the rich coasts of the Morea; but the most valuable booty he brought home with him confifted in the filk workmen, whom Roger fettled in his own dominions, and thereby established that manufacture. Next year he alarmed Constantinople itself, and his ships laid part of its suburbs in ashes. By this time he had affociated his son William

his death. with himself in the government, and he died in 1154, with the character of being one of the wifest princes of his age,

and the great patron of arts and learning. His fon William, degenerated from his ancestors; and

He is fuc-William;

ceeded by now we return to the history of pope Hadrian. pontif wrote a letter to William, in which he was only stiled lord of Sicily, and the cardinal who carried the letter was driven out of the territories of William; who at the same time ravaged the papal dominions, and was excommunicated by his holiness. This sentence excited a fresh rebellion among the Apulian states; but, in the mean time, the republican party at Rome, drove Hadrian himself out of that city, and murdered one of his cardinals. Upon the arrival of the emperor Frederic in Italy, the person of Arnold of Brescia, who had excited the republican spirit at Rome, and who had been taken prisoner by that emperor, was delivered up to Hadrian, who ordered him to be burnt alive. Hadrien was equally fortunate, in the emperor's being obliged to return to Germany, and in supporting the Apulian insurrection; but refused to absolve William from his excommunication. who quar- The latter took arms, befieged Hadrian in Benevento, and rels with obliged him to agree to a treaty upon his own terms; the the pope. chief of which was his afferting his legantine right in Sicily,

from whence he would fuffer no appeals to be brought to Rome. In return for Hadrian's granting him the investitures ibid. of Sicily, Apulia, and Capua, he swore allegiance to the P. 443.

ibid.

P. 441.

holy see, and Hadrian returned to Rome. In 1157, he wrote a haughty letter to the German emperor, which he was obliged to recant. Soon after Milan was reduced by the imperial arms, and the disputes between him and the emperor were revived; when Hadrian died, at Anagni, on the

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We have already related the incidents that happened upon p. 444. the choice of Alexander III. Hadrian's successor, and his et jeg. competitor, Victor IV. who supported his own election by Alexander force of arms, and belieged Alexander in the castle of Saint III. pope; Angelo. Victor was favoured by the emperor, who was inclined to refer the dispute to a general council, to which Alexander would not submit, and appealed to the other powers of christendom. Notwithstanding this, the council of Pavia acknowledged Victor to be pope, and he was led to the altar by the emperor, who held the stirrup of his horse, and kissed his feet. Alexander, in the mean time, was acknowledged by the kings of England and France, to which last kingdom he removed from Rome. The reader has already feen the effects of the confederacy formed by

Alexander's party against Frederic in Germany.

In 1163, Alexander held a council at Tours, in France, which excommunicated Victor, and all his adherents. Here he became acquainted with the celebrated Thomas Becket. archbishop of Canterbury, and encouraged him in his contumacy against his master Henry II. king of England. By this time the antipope Victor was dead, and was succeeded by Pajchal III. who was acknowleded by the emperor. Alexander was then at Sens, where the archbilliop of York, with the bishops of London and Chester, preferred a charge against The pope refused to receive it, or to let the matter go out of his own hands. He fent for Becket, tried. acquitted, and carefled him; and in 1165, Alexander was invited back to Rome, by the Romans themselves. He was all this while endeavouring to effect a reconciliation between Henry and Becket, two of the most haughty personages of their age; but all his expedients proved fruitless.

Upon his return to Italy, he was received with great is restor-splendor by William king of Sicily, who had by this time ed with forced even the Greek emperor to acknowledge him king; splendor and he was conducted by the Romans, with olive branches, to Rome. to the Lateran palace. William, at this time, was governed entirely by one Majone, his minister; this man is said to have aspired to the crown, and to have bargained with Alexander to favour his claim. His insolence was so great, that the cities of Apulia confederated against him, and he was killed by one Bonello. William, at first, is faid to have discovered great resentment against the murderers, but when he found that Majone had provided himself with a set of regalia for his coronation, he pardoned Bonello, and his accomplices, and recalled them to court. The inconstancy, VOL. X.

Confpiracy against the king of Sicily.

both of the king and people was remarkable on this occafion. He returned to his kindness for Majone, who he believed had been wrongfully accused; and Bonello, with his confederates, formed a conspiracy for dethroning William, and substituting his son Roger in his room. William was accordingly feized and imprisoned, and the boy proclaimed king. Bonello not appearing at the head of the conspirators. the inhabitants of Palermo fet the king at liberty, and young Roger was killed during the tumult. William, having recovered his throne, put Bonello to death, and reduced his rebels of Apulia. Upon his return to Sicily, he abandoned himself to an indolence, to which he was naturally disposed, and gave up the care of his government to his ministers; but died in the year 1166, after bequeathing 40,000 !. sterling, an immense sum in those days, to pope Alexander:

Pope ibid. P. 450.

William, left a young fon of the same name, who inhe-Alexander rited his kingdom, but his queen acted as regent; and he bequeathed the principality of Capua to his younger fon, from Rome Henry. The schism between the two popes still continued in Italy. The emperor espoused the part of pope Paschal III. against Alexander, and entered Italy, with a new army, to drive Alexander from his capital. He partly succeeded, and Alexander was forced to fly to Benevento, in the habit of a pilgrim. Notwithstanding this, such was the terror to the name of the true pope, that Alexander forced the emperor to fly, with the loss of almost all his army, to Pavia. Alexander's differences with the king of England continued, on account of Becket, whom he declared his legate a letere, in defiance of Henry. Becket was then in France; and being obnoxious to the English bishops, they were, by the pope, admonished to obey him. The force of gold at the court of Rome, was at this time incredible. Henry diffributed his so bountifully, that he perfuaded Alexander to appoint the cardinal of Pavia, who was the king's professed friend, and Otho, a cardinal deacon, to repair to England, as judges between the king and the archbishop. Soon after, having pocketed the money, Alexander recalled their commission, and ordered them to return to Italy. We have in the history of Germany specified the sequel of the pope's quarrel with Frederic on this occasion.

After the latter was driven out of Italy, his antipope was belieged in Rome, where the citizens were prodigiously exasperated against the emperor, though without admitting Alexander within their walls; they, in a manner, forced him to demolish the fortifications at Tuscalum, but he rebuilt them, when they refused to admit him into Rome. In 1169, he fent two nuncios to mediate between the king of England, and the archbishop of Canterbury, and he threatened to lay the kingdom under an interdict, if Henry continued longer refactory. Henry paid no regard to this menace, and it is well known, that, in confequence of the

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quarrel, Becket was killed at the altar of the cathedral at

Canterbury. In the mean while, Alexander rejected an application The pope made to him from the Greek emperor, offering him vast triumphs advantages, if he would bestow upon him the imperial over the crown of Germany. By this time, Alexander, by the death emperor of the antipope Paschal, had gained so much the ascendency in Germany, thro' the affection he had shewn for the liberties of Italy, that the German emperor, Frederic, sued to him for a reconciliation, but met with a repulse, He acted with equal haughtiness towards Henry II. of England, whose ambaffadors he refused, for a long time, to see, on account of Becket's murder. At last, Henry purged himself from it by oath; and after making many shameful submissions, both with regard to himself and his people, he was absolved, and Becket was canonized. But though Alexander thus triumphed over the proudest monarchs in christendom, yet he was still an exile from his capital, to which the Romans still refused to readmit him. This obstinacy was dictated by policy, as they were always fure of the emperor's fupport in the absence of the pope, and that Frederic durst not offer to controul them in their liberties, which must be inevitably gone, should the pope again get possession of their city.

The reader has already seen in the history of Germany, the ibid. consequences of Frederic's resentment, and the complete p. 449. victory which the pope, who was indeed at that time the et feq. patron of Italian liberty, and his allies, gained over the imperial power. A congress was appointed between Frederic The peace and Alexander, at Ferrara, in order to settle a peace, in of Italy which the cities of Lombardy, and the king of Sicily were re estato be comprehended; and in the mean while, a truce for blished. fix years was agreed upon. Alexander laid hold of that occation to display his magnificence; he entered Venice with a most splendid retinue, and made a progress through other parts of Italy. The conferences being adjourned to ibid. Venice, the reader; in the page referred to, has feen the de- P. 4516 plorable submission to which Ferderic was reduced, and other circumstances of the interview. He confirmed the hx years truce; he concluded a peace for fixteen with the king of Sicily, and a perpetual one with the holy fee. This accommodation was afterwards ratified in a council held at Venice. The glory of Alexander, at this time, was crowned by an embally which he received from the emperor of Abyfinia, who was one of those Prester Johns, in which the eastern countries, at that time, and for some centuries after, so much abounded. It is certain that they professed Christianity, but so over-run with paganisms and absurdities, that it was in certain points scarcely discernible. emperor had, it feems, an European physician, who was his ambassador on this occasion, and obtained from the pope

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the use of Saint Stephen's church, for the abode of the Abyssinians, who should refort to Rome. Alexander returning to Anagni, through the plenitude of his pontifical power, appointed the bishop of Roxchild, in Denmark, to be like.

wife archbishop of Lunden.

A council at Rome.

ibid.

The accommodation between the pope and the emperor threw the Romans into the utmost consternation. Calixtus. the shadow of an antipope, submitted to him, and was humanely treated by Alexander, who made fome difficulties in receiving the deputies who were fent from Rome to implore his favour; but at last he returned, and entered the Lateran palace in triumph. He then indicted a general council to be held next year, and he invited to it all the bishops throughout the Christian world. Three hundred of them actually affembled in the Lateran church, March the 5th, 1179; and here the famous regulation which now prevails was enacted, that no pope should be looked upon as duly elected, without having two thirds of the electors in his favour. In this council, plenty of fulminations were issued against heretics, and all the ecclesiastics who had been ordained by the antipopes. During the fession of the council, Alexander conferred the title of king upon Alphonfus, duke of Portugal, for his brave exploits against the Moors; and besides his putting his dominions under the protection of the holy fee, he promised to pay it annually four marks in gold. council was likewise distinguished by the presence of Laurence, an Irish bishop, whom the pope made archbishop of Dublin, and who had been remarkably instrumental in reforming the scandalous lives of the clergy in that island.

The Scots The only check which Alexander feems to have received in refift the his unlimited, and now unrivalled, exercise of the pontifical pope. dignity, proceeded from the king of Scotland, who drove out of his dominions a bishop of Saint Andrew's, notwith-standing the archbishop of York, as legate for Scotland, laid his kingdom under an interdict, and himfelf under excom-

munication.

Death of pope A. bexander; III.

This great pontiff, one of the most fortunate that ever fat on the papal throne, died in the year 1101, after having bexander; preached up a fresh crusade, and was succeeded by Lucius succeeded III. Among the first acts of this pontiff's reign, was his by Lucius giving his native city of Lucca, the privilege of coinage, which was to be current in Tuscany, and the papal dominions. He took off the interdict from William king of Scotland; but though he fent two of his legates into that country, he could not prevail with the king to give up his point, or to place the pope's bishop in the see of Saint Andrew's; though William is said afterwards to have been softened. Lucius, not having the spirit or abilities of his predecessor, was by the Romans expelled that city, and driven to Velitri. This difgrace was far from diminishing his importance in other parts of christendom. He was applied

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applied to by the king of England, in favour of the duke of Saxony, who had been put to the ban of the empire, and who had retired to England. He celebrated a council at Verona, where he had an interview with the emperor, in 1185; but they could not agree together, as to the succession of the countess Matilda. While those disputes continued at Verona, it is faid that Lucius, through the money lent him by the emperor, and other European powers, was ibid. enabled to re-enter Rome, from whence he was expelled p. 453. once more by the fenators, in a barbarous manner. This who dies. pope, before his death, which happened on the 24th of November, persuaded the king of France to take upon him the cross, and the king of England to allow his subjects to march to the Holy Land. The disputes with the emperor, concerning the succession

of the countels Matilda, and the revenues of vacant benefices, continued under the next pope, Urban III. notwithflanding the general pacification already mentioned. But ibid. ibid.

it is now proper to attend the history of Naples.

William, king of Sicily had been long the great support Affairs of of the papal fee, and had contributed confiderably to the Naples crusades. He had afterwards rejected a match proposed and Sicily. by the emperor, between his daughter and William's fon, who was married to a princess of England; and the same prince after this, defeated, and defied, all the efforts of the imperial power against his dominions. About the year 1177, William concluded a peace with the king of Morocco; and his admiral Tancred ravaged the Greek emperor's dominions, with so impolitic a barbarity, that the Constantinopolitans, out of despair, raised Isaac Angelus to the throne, who defeated the Sicilians. Though William had been nine The years married, he had no lawful issue living, and the em- heires of peror Frederic demanded his aunt Constantia in marriage which is for his eldest son, Henry, king of the Romans. William, married to by the advice of the archbishop of Palermo, who was in the the king emperor's interest, consented to the match, notwithstanding of the the opposition made to it by the pope. She was daughter Romans, of Roger II. king of Naples and Sicily, and grand daughter of Roger I. and her union with the king of the Romans bade fair to render the servitude of Italy perpetual, under the German emperors. It was therefore no wonder, if the pope, and many of the Italian princes opposed the match: but William knew how to make himself obeyed, and it took place. This marriage encreased the animolities that, on many other accounts, had already risen to a great height between the emperor and the pope; but the former was fo hampered by his affairs in Germany, that he durst not shew his refentment, and Urban threatened to excommunicate him. In 1187, Urban fent a bull, with a crown of peacock's feathers interwoven with gold, to Henry, king of England, permitting

permitting him to create his fon king of Ireland; but the news of the melancholly state of the Christians in Palestine Death of affected Urban so much, that he died of heartbreak, this the pope. year, and was succeeded by Gregory VIII. who, before he could do any thing to relieve the crusaders, died himself, after filling the pontifical chair only a month and twenty seven days.

Who is fucceeded by Clement III. ibid. P. 456.

Gregory was succeeded by Clement III. who, like his predecessor, was then an exile from Rome, but zealous even to enthusiasm, for setting a-foot a new crusade, which was embraced by the emperor Frederic himself, and many other powerful princes of christendom. In the mean while, Clement having granted to the Romans their own terms, was admitted into that city; but as its pontiff, rather than its prince; and he granted a bull to the king of Scotland, by which that church was exempted from all spiritual foreign jurisdiction, but to the pope, and his legate a latere. His cares for promoting the crusade, into which we do not find however, that the Scotch ever entered, were incessant; but the zeal of the princes beginning to cool, gave him infinite disquiet. Upon the death of William, king of Sicily, in 1189, Clement claimed the whole of his succession, as being feudatory to the holy see. His pretentions were disregarded. The archbishop of Palermo, at the head of a great party, adhered to Constantia, but the chancellor of Sicily declared for Tancred, the natural fon of duke Roger, claims the eldest son of king Roger, and actually crowned him king of Sicily. Clement, perceiving that he had no chance for fucto Naples ceeding in his own claim, for obvious reasons, declared for and Sicily. Tancred, and gave him the investiture of the kingdom; upon which he was acknowledged by the greatest part of his subjects, and reduced almost all Apulia. Constantia's title was vigorously supported by Roger, count of Andria, who being joined by the German army, besieged Richard, Tancred's general, in Ariano; but an epidemical distemper, which attacked the German troops, obliged them to raise the fiege. In the mean while, the kings of England and

France, who had taken the cross, arrived at Messina. Tancred, at this time, was upon ill terms with the sister of the

former, the queen dowager of Sicily, and he found himself,

in fact, obliged to buy the departure of that impetuous

prince, on pretence of a marriage portion, which never

took place. After this, Tancred called a parliament in

Apulia, and conquering all opposition, he married his son

Roger to Irene, the Greek emperor's daughter, and the

bridegroom was crowned king of Sicily. Henry VI. was

now emperor of Germany, and he found that he never could

succeed in his wife's right without the friendship of the holy

fee. He had made some advances towards obtaining that

in the pontificate of Clement, who died in 1191, with the

character of a virtuous pope, and got leave from his fuc-

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Tancred king of Sicily and Naples. Who fuccession the

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cessor, Celestine III. to repair to Rome, where he, and Conflantia, received the imperial crown from the hand of his holiness. As Henry was attended by a good army, he pre-ibid. pared, notwithstanding all the pope's menaces, to make p. 458. good the rights of his wife upon Naples and Sicily, and His hifreduced all Apulia, till he came to Naples, which was de-tory and fended by Richard, count of Cerra. It was befieged by Henry, who, by the mortality of his troops, failed in his attempt, and was obliged to retire to Germany. Tancred's generals found no difficulty in recovering all Apulia, upon Henry's departure; but a reinforcement of Germans arriving under count Berthold, and the abbot of Monte Cassino, a powerful prince, standing firmly by Constantia's right, Tancred put himself at the head of a great army, and obliged Berthold to retire to Molise, where he was accidentally killed by a stone. Tancred, in the mean while, having reduced all the places of Naples which held out for Henry, returned to Sicily, where he died through grief, for the loss death.

of his eldest fon Roger, who died about the same time.

Celestine, in the mean while, interposed his authority in The pope the affairs of England, which had run into disorder by the excomabsence of the king, and excommunicated the king of municates Castile for not parting with his wife, who was related to the king him within the degree of prohibited confanguinity. Upon of Castile, the return of Philip, king of France, from the Holy Land, through a quarrel between him, and Richard, king of England, he refused to absolve that prince from his oath of not attacking Richard's dominions during his absence. About the year 1192, he again intermeddled in the affairs of England, and published fresh bulls, and admonitions, in favour of another crusade. Two years after, his holiness created the archbishop of Canterbury his legate in England, for reforming abuses in that kingdom, and for trying the archbishop of York, for certain malversations. The reader has already ibid. seen the manner in which Richard was ransomed, and re- p. 461. leased from his chains, and the dreadful progress, attended The emwith a number of cruel circumstances, which Henry made peror in his attempts to recover the rights of his wife Constantia, again inin Naples, and Sicily. But preaching up the crusades was vades now the chief butiness of the court of Rome; it failed in Italy. Germany, but had great fuccess in England and France, though in other respects their kings were at variance. 1196, the bishop of Beauvais was taken prisoner in the The power of the pope held, by Richard king of England. was so high at this time, that every rebel or tyrant, if an ecclefiaftic, when fuccefsful, enjoyed the fruits of his crimes in peace; and when unfuccessful, and threatened to be brought to justice, the pope interposed, and became his The consequence was, that if the crime was too notorious to be palliated, it was punished by a slight fine, penance, or censure; and thus the parties, be they ever so

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guilty, were, in fact, acquitted. The pope had no reason to believe that Richard would give him up the bishop of Beauvais; but the bishop applying to him, his holiness wrote a letter to the king, defiring that the bishop might, as his fon, be fet at liberty. Richard answered the pope by fending him the coat of mail which the bishop wore when he was taken prisoner, with the following label affixed to it, " Is this thy fon's coat or not," and detained the bishop in prison.

ibid. p. 465. prohibits the emperor's body to

Upon the death of the emperor Henry while he was under the sentence of excommunication, Celestine prohibit-The pope ed his body from being buried, unless the king of England would confent to it, on account of the ranfom he had fo injuriously extorted from him; he gave his son Frederic, who was then an infant, the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, upon receiving a thousand marks of filver for himbe buried, felf, and as much for the conclave, belides the cession of many estates contiguous to those of the holy see. The perpetual disputes between the emperors and the popes had weakened the authority of the latter with the Bohemian clergy, most of whom were married, and all of them lived with women. Celestine endeavoured to persuade them to put away their wives, and concubines; but his legate, cardinal Peter, was driven out of Prague, with the danger of his life; though he met with better reception from the Polish clergy, who pursued the same practices. Celestine's health declining, he proposed to resign the popedom in favour of the cardinal of St. Paul; and his propolal not being accepted of, he died on the 10th of January 1198.

Innocent

Lothair, a noble Anagnian, and no more than thirty-feven 111. pope, years of age, succeeded Celestine, by the title of Innocent III. He began his pontificate by afferting the papal rights over the cities and states of Tuscany, whom he sharply reprimanded, for having prefumed to enter into a confederacy against the house of Suabia. As he was only a deacon when elected pope, he received priest's orders, and the affairs of Germany being then in the utmost disorder, he exacted an oath of fidelity and homage from the governor or præfect of Rome; which had always before belonged to the emperor. Being resolved to extend the pontifical rights as far as he could, he demanded homage in all places where he had any pretext for claiming property or superiority; and he gave the investiture of Sicily, Apulia, and Cabua, to the empress Constantia, and her son, upon her agreeing to yield up all the points that had been contested between her pre-His poli- decessors and the holy see. He then reclaimed all the Italian and Sicilian captives that had been made by the late emperor, and excommunicated two noblemen, Marcoald, and Conrad, who held Ancona, and Spoleto, and forced them, by the terror of his arms, spiritual and temporal, to yield him up their dominions. The dutchy of Spoleto had been

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given by the emperor Henry to his brother Philip, who had bestowed it upon this Conrad. The policy of the pope, in the struggle that the states of Italy then had for independency on the house of Suabia, was to remain neutral, till he could fell his authority to the best advantage. Upon the death of Constantia he was left guardian of her fon's perfon and dominions, during his minority. This destination was disputed by Marcoald, and both parties appealed to the sword. Marcoald, in fact, aspired to be king of Naples. He was supported by a great party of the Apulians; and pretended that he had been, by the late emperor, left governor and administrator of the kingdom, during young Frederic's

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Innocent obliged him to raise the siege of Monte Cossino, History of but could not prevent his becoming mafter of many firong Naples, places in Apulia. The spirit, however, which Innocent raifed, by repeated excommunications against Marcoald. rendered his fuccess so precarious, that he applied to his holiness, by the archbishop of Mentz, offering to prove young Frederic to be a supposititious child, and to give him twenty thousand ounces of gold, if he would favour his claim upon the crown of Sicily, and, as much, after he was established on that throne. Innecent rejected this proposal, which was equally venal and flagitious. Marcoald found means to prevail with his holiness to send three cardinals to treat with him; and though the conferences proved ineffectual, he made use of that pretext to persuade the Apulians that Innocent had taken off his excommunication, and had recommended him to be their governor. This falsehood being detected by the vigilance and activity of the pope, Marcoald, securing his interest in Apulia, passed over with an army to Sicily, where he engaged the Saracens, and, at The guardians of young Frederic last, besieged Palermo. acquainted the pope of their danger, and he fent them a body of auxiliaries under the command of count fames, one of his own relations, who being joined by the loyal party, obliged Marcoald to raise the siege, and, at last, totally defeated him; for which James was rewarded with the county The ingratitude of the Sicilians towards their of Andria. deliverer's troops, obliged him to return to Apulia, where Marcoald's German friends had obtained fome advantages.

In the mean while Albinia, the eldest daughter of the late and Sicily. king Tancred, having with her mother escaped to France, had been married to Walter de Brienne; and her brother, young William, being dead, this nobleman, in his wife's right, claimed the principality of Tarento, and the county of Leece, in virtue of a convention made with the late emperor Henry. This claim was moderate, as it only included Tancred's personal estates, and was admitted of by the pope, but rejected by the chancellor of Sicily, and all the enemies of Tancred there; upon which de Brienne returned to France,

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intending to establish his right by force of arms. The arch. bishop of Palermo dying, the chancellor prevailed with In nocent's legate to admit him as his successor in the arch bishopric. Innocent, though enraged at his legate, offered to retain the chancellor as his procurator in the arch bishopric; but that condition was rejected with disdain and his holiness enabled de Brienne, who was by this time returned to Rome, to enter Apulia at the head of a respectable army, with which he reduced the most considerable places of what is now called the kingdom of Naples. The chancellor, who had governed with the most unbounded des. potism, being alarmed at de Brienne's progress, united him. felf with Marcoald and his party, in Apulia; but they were opposed by de Brienne, and the chancellor being excommunicated by the pope, he threw himself into the arms of Di. epold, Marcoald's general, who was entirely defeated by de Brienne, upon, or near, the spot where the famous battle of Cannæ was fought. Marcoald all this while was making great progress in Sicily, and offered the pope and de Bri. enne their own terms, if they would consent to his enjoy. ing that crown. They were rejected, and Marcoald foon after died, under an operation for the stone. The chancellor, upon this, received absolution from the pope, and went over to Sicily to oppose a German, one Capparo, who had feized the guardianship of that king and kingdom. The pope, pursuing his usual politics, sent thither his nephew, cardinal Gerard, who kept the balance even between both parties; but while Innocent was disposing of kingdoms and provinces all over Europe, he was himself driven out of Rome to Anagni, by the Romans; and Gerard being outwitted by Capparo, thought proper to leave Palermo.

The pope appointed de Brienne, and his cousin, count James, to be governors of Apulia and Terra de Lavori. A report of Innocent's death, at Anagni, produced a new revolt among that inconstant people, and Brindis, Otranto, and feveral other confiderable places, expelled, or massacred their garrisons. About the year 1204, de Brienne obliged the German party to thut themselves up in their castles. This threw him into a fatal fecurity. He was furprized, defeated, and taken prisoner, by Diepold, and died in a few days of his wounds. His wife, who was brought to bed of a posthumous son, was afterwards married to the count of Tricarico. The death of de Brienne overthrew all that Innocent had so painfully and expensively laboured to effect, and he was forced to be reconciled to Diepold; who prevailed with Capparo to fulfil the terms he had made with the chancellor of Sicily, and to put young Frederic into his hands, and those of the legate. Innocent, at the same time, obliged all the officers who acted as guardians or governors to the young king, to take an oath of fidelity to the holy fee. Diepold, afterwards, fell at variance with the chan-

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cellor, who threw him into prison, from whence he escaped, and deseated the Neapolitans, who had attacked the Germans in Apulia, where they had committed all manner of excesses, notwithstanding the admonitions, and even the arms, of the pope. We have brought this narrative down to the year 1208, that we might preserve, as entire as possible, so considerable a part of the Italian history, as that of Naples. We now return to that of the pope, and the other states, after informing the reader that we shall either entirely omit, or only slightly touch upon the transactions between the see of Rome and other states, to the particular histories of which they properly belong.

Innocent, one of the most active pontists that ever sate in who is that chair, sent his legates all over christendom, and even to zealous Greece. The vast zeal which he expressed for the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses, gave him credit with many forming princes who were otherwise jealous of the papal power, the and some of them made use of his authority for curbing church.

their overgrown, or rebellious, subjects. He suspended many eminent prelates, particularly the patriarch of Antioch, and the archbishop of Tours; but he published rigorous orders against usury, simony, pluralities, and corruption in ecclesiastics; and he is said to have been so great a friend to population, that he offered indulgences to men who mar-The most important part of his reformaried strumpets. tion, however, feems to have confifted in his ordering priests to lay aside the use of arms. He was rigorous towards hereites, or rather the doctrines fo called; and we perceive that even at this time, the bible had been translated into French, and that the Waldenses, and Albigenses, detested the gross corruptions of popery, and were, in fact, the seminary from which the reformation afterwards sprang. Against them, Innocent proceeded with unrelenting severity, and sufpended, deposed, or excommunicated, all whom he sufpected to be their favourers. He fent his bulls and croffes even into Armenia, with a prohibition to the prince or king of the country, to intermeddle in ecclefiastical affairs. ordered John, king of England, to pay to the emperor Otho IV. the fums that had been left him by his brother Richard, and to break off all the connections he had contracted with the king of France, who was then the enemy of the holy fee.

Innocent interested himself in a particular manner, and ibid. with great zeal for the unfortunate Christians, who remained p. 467. still in the Holy Land; and we have, in the place referred to, See vol.7. given an account of the measures he took for a new cru-p. 116. sade. The spirit he raised communicated itself to France et seq. and Germany. Many of the French were so zealous, that ibid. in order to obtain their passage, they served as soldiers for p. 209. the Venetians, who employed them against the king of Hungary, for which they were excommunicated by Innocent. The

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Venetian shipping, however, being the only means of trans. power in porting the adventurers to the Holy Land, Innocent thought proper to foften the rigours of the excommunication. A difference at this time sublisting between the king of Arme. nia, (as he is called) and the count of Tripoli, who was fup. ported by the Knight Templars, Innocent interposed, and fent two legates to be arbitrators between the parties. The prince of the Bulgarians, many of whom were yet pagans, petitioned Innocent for a crown, and the title of king. Innocent fent him a pall for his archbishop, but took time to delibe. rate on his other requests. The Scotch historians pretend that he fent to their king a magnificent sword embellished with gold and diamonds, together with a hat and bulls of privileges. With regard to the hat and the bulls, we have no doubt of the pontiff's munificence; but the present of the sword is very questionable; and it is certain, that the fword of state now preserved among the regalia of that king. dom, is of a much later date, and was presented by pope Julius II. to James IV. of Scotland.

His diffethe king of England.

One of the most distinguished periods of Innocent's pontirence with ficate, was the application made to him on the part of John, king of England, for protection against the king of France. Innocent fet his legates to mediate between them, whose authority gained John some respite; but Philip of France, lodged an appeal at the pope's tribunal, but without any effect. John being relieved from his distresses, quarrelled with Innocent, about the election of an archbishop of Canterbury. The monks had chosen the bishop of Norwich, at John's request, though they had previously elected their own superior. Innocent disallowed of both elections, and recommended Stephen Langton, a learned man, and a cardinal, who was elected likewise. John resented this strain of papal authority in so high terms, that Innocent laid his kingdom under a general interdict, and the king banished Langton, and all his adherents, out of England.

A monk, with some of his brethren, had undertaken on the part of Innocent, to be the apostles, or rather inquisitors, for the conversion of the Waldenses, and other heretics. They proceeded with fuch feverity, that some soldiers belonging to Remond, count of Tholouse, put the chief monk (whose name was Peter de Castro) to death. Innocent had been long watching for an opportunity of exterminating both the Waldenses and the Albigenses, and had amused them with meetings and disputations, till he had disposed the against the king of France, and the neighbouring princes, to take arms Albigenses against them, by granting to them and their soldiers the fame indulgences that he and his predecessors had granted to the crusaders in the Holy Land; and in the mean while, he thunders out an excommunication against Remond. As we shall not have an opportunity of touching again upon this most important part of history, we shall here present the reader

Remarkable history of the crusade

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reader with a clause in the bull which he published against that unhappy people. "We therefore more strictly and earnestly admonish and exhort you, as being a matter of so vast importance and concern, that you would study and endeavour, by all the means which God shall put into your hands, to abolish and destroy the wicked heresy of the Albigenses, and its followers; and that with more rigour and severity than you would use towards the Saracens themselves. persecuting and impugning them with a strong hand, and a stretched out arm, because they are worse than they, driving them out of the land of the Lord, and depriving them of their lands and possessions, banishing them, and putting Roman Catholics in their room."

Remond faw the storm that threatened him, and endea- Unjust voured to deprecate the pope's wrath by his submissions, persecuand offering to prove himself innocent of the friar's death, tion of the and that the homicide was fled out of his dominions. Inno- earl of cent applied to Philip, king of France, whose quarrel with Tholouse. the king of England still continuing, he referreed him to the neighbouring counts, who readily embraced this new crusade. These were the duke of Burgundy, the earls of Nevers, St. Paul, Auxerre, Geneva, Poitiers, Forests, Simon of Monfort, the sieur de Bar, Guichard de Beaujeu, and Gauchier de foigni. Besides those lay princes, the archbishops of Sens, and Rouen, the bishops of Clermont, Nevers, Lizieux, Bayeux, Chartres, and several others joined this crusade, and every clergyman brought his quota of pilgrims to the general rendezvous; fo that the number of the whole was incredible. Lest the reader should imagine that those heretics maintained some doctrines destructive of religion and lociety, we shall here give an extract of the tenets for which they were to be exterminated. "1. That the Romish church was not the holy church, and spoule of Christ, but that it was a church filled with the doctrine of devils; viz. that Babylon, which St. John described in the Revelations, the mother of fornications and abominations, gorged with the blood of the faints. 2. That the mass was not instituted either by Christ, or the apostles, but is the invention of 3. That the prayers of the living are unprofitable to 4. That purgatory held and maintained in the church of Rome, was an human invention, to serve the avarice of the priefts. 5. That the faints ought not to be invocated. 6. That transubstantiation is an invention of men,

It must not be dissembled, and indeed it appears from the The fehilt of those propositions, that the Albigenses were not with- vere peout a strong tincture of enthusiasm, but it was such as did nance he no harm to fociety. Remond applied to Milo, a new legate, suffered. whom the pope had fent to those parts, to appeale the fury

of his enemies. Mile seemed to listen to his apology, but

a falle and erroneous doctrine; and the adoration of the

bread, a manifest and downright idolatry."

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defired him to deliver into his hands seven of the best castles he held in Provence, and at the same time hinted to Remond, that he was a prisoner. Remond immediately complied, but requested that his subjects might suffer no hardships from the crusaders; and garrisons were immediately put into the impignorated castles. This did not satisfy the haughty pontiff. Though it was not now even pretended that Remond was accessary to the inquisitor's death, yet he was conveyed to St. Giles's, where he was reconciled to the pope and the church of Rome, with the following ceremo. nies, viz. The legate commanded him to ftrip himself flark naked, without the church of St. Giles, having nothing on, but a pair of linen drawers to cover his nakedness, his feet, head, and shoulders, bare. Then he put a coul which priefts wear about his neck, and dragging him by the faid coul, he caused him to go nine times about the grave of the late friar, Peter de Castro, who was buried in the said church, whipping him with rods, which he had in his hand, all the time that he went about the faid grave.

His farther perfecution.

When Remond complained of fo severe a penance, for a crime of which he was innocent, the legate replied, that although he did neither flay him, nor cause him to be flain, yet because the murder was committed within his territories and jurisdiction, and he never made any pursuit or enquiry after the murderer, that murder was defervedly imputed to him, and that he must therefore make satisfaction to the pope, and the church, by that humble repentance, if he defired to be reconciled to either. Nay, that he must likewife be whipt before the earls, barons, marquisses, prelates, and a great number of other people. He made him also fwear by the corpus Domini, (as they call it) and by certain other relics, which were brought for that purpose, that he would continue to his life's end to pay an universal obedience in all things to the pope, and the church of Rome, and that he would wage a perpetual, mortal, and irreconcileable war against the Albigenses, until they were either entirely extirpated, and destroyed, or else reduced to the obedience of the church of Rome.

Beziers besieged

This circumstantial account of a transaction, which the Romanists have ever endeavoured to bury in obscurity, and taken. Arikes us with horror, and gives us a lively idea of the dreadful power of the church of Rome at that time. But the great scenes of blood are yet to come. It it was not enough for Remond to undergo tortures and difgraces, if he did not head the army that was to exterminate his subjects, and depolulate his country. This was the task next imposed upon him by the legate, and Remond was obliged to To the inexpressible consternation of the poor Abigenses, and the disquiet of his own conscience, he was put at the head of the army that was to befiege Beziers, a city belonging to his nephew. Before he marched, he though tles

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thought of an expedient to get rid of this unnatural command. He asked leave of the legate to throw himself at the feet of his holiness; which could not be denied him. army of the cross proceeded then to the siege of Beziers, when the earl, a youth of about fifteen, came and throwing himself on his knees, embraced those of the legate, and with a flood of tears, implored mercy for his subjects; but it was refused in the most shocking manner. It was in The inhavain for the earl, on his return, to endeavour to per- bitants fuade the Albigenses to change their religion, and above massacred. one hundred thousand religious demons stormed the place, and put all they met with to the fword; after which they burned and razed the town. The army of the cross then marched to Carcassone, where the young earl, who was himfelf a Roman catholic, (for even that religion gave no protection to his unhappy subjects) had taken refuge. was the fury of the times, that the legate's army, by fresh Supplies, was now encreased to three hundred thousand men, who belieged Carcassone with so undiscerning a fury, that they were repulsed with great slaughter by the young earl of Beziers, who informed the inhabitants that they were to expect no mercy. Next day the attack was renewed with fuch irrefiltible numbers, that one part of the town was carried, and all within it, as at Beziers, were put to the fword.

By this time Remond was returned to the camp, and was Siege of forced to command in the horrible massacre. In the mean Carcassone while, the king of Arragon, who was nearly related to which is Remond and the earl, arrived in the legate's camp, and by likewise the proceeding of the crusaders plainly perceived, that taken. on the part of the pope, the war, was a war of ambition, as the fwords of the crusaders, made no distinction between the Roman catholics and the Albigenses. Upon the intercession of the king, the legate offered to receive into close cultody the earl of Beziers, and any twelve of his attendants, provided he would deliver up to him all his possessions, which were to be disposed of according to the award of his holiness; but that all besides, who were within Carcassone, thould fubmit to his mercy; and that women, as well as men, should present themselves before him naked, without either fhifts, fhirts, or any other covering. Those terms being rejected with indignation, the king left the legate's camp, not without menaces, and a fresh assault was given to the remaining part of the town, but the affailants were repulsed with tuch prodigious flaughter, that, furious as they were, their enthusiasm began to cool, and so many of them returned home, that the legate began to be apprehensive for the success of his expedition. He employed a traitor, who Earl of under colour of a parly, betrayed the earl into the crusaders Beziers camp, and though he offered to persuade even the Albi- imprisongenfes to submit to become papists, yet the legate told him ed.

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he was his prisoner, and that he would detain his person, as a pledge for the surrender of Carcassone. He exclaimed in vain against the legate's persidy; and was consigned to the custody of the duke of Burgundy. The despair which seized the inhabitants of Carcassone, at hearing of their earl's imprisonment, was inconceiveable, and the manner in which they are said to have avoided the sate of those of Beziers, must seem incredible to those who are strangers to the manner of constructing casses in those days; for a large subterraneous passage was discovered through the report of some old men, by which they escaped. Next day, the crusasses, to their amazement, sound that the besieged were sled, and taking possession of the town they shut up the earl, prisoner, in one of its strongest towers.

Simon de Montfort made general of the crufade.

Innocent and his legates, perceived now the necessity of appointing an able lay commander to head the expedition, He called together the chiefs of his army, to chuse a general out of their own number. The duke of Burgundy, with the earls of Nevers, and St. Paul, declined the honour, and the choice being left to a committee of commanders, and ecclefiaftics, it fell upon the famous Simon de Montfort, who with some difficulty was prevailed upon to accept it; and never was fo infernal a charge more faithfully executed. When he arrived at Carcassone, which he made his head quarters, he found the vast army of three hundred thousand crusaders, reduced to forty thousand; for the reader must understand, that a crusader enlisted only for forty days. Remond, at this time, was at the court of France, imploring that king's intercession for his subjects. From thence he went to Rome, where he received the pope's absolution for the murder of Peter de Castro; but the brave young earl of Beziers died in the mean while in prison, not without sufspicion of poison. Upon his death, Montfort demanded from the king of Arragon the investiture of his estates, by virtue of the pope's donation; but the king refused it.

This iniquitous proceeding opened the eyes of other princes, which had hitherto been fealed up by zeal for religion. They knew not how foon the earl's fate might be their own, if the pope could thus dispose of principalities by his bulls. The duke of Burgundy exclaimed against this power, and the king of Arragon encouraged the people to oppose it, promising them speedy support. Montfort receiving new recruits, disciplined them, and proceeded with great severity against all who resused to acknowledge his rights to the earldom; but met with several repulses. The war was then carried on with unrelenting sury. The commanders of the Albigenses mutilated the prisoners they took of Simon's party; and he committed to the slames all the Albigenses who fell into his hands. It is credibly reported, that in one funeral pile, to which Montfort set fire with his own hand, one hundred and forty

His inhu manities.

of those unfortunate prisoners were consumed. The inhabitants of many places, daunted by those inhumanities, submitted to Montfort; but he met with such resistance from others, that he informed the pope he could not proceed without a fresh supply of crusaders. The encrease of indulgences, and new prospects of plunder, brought that supply in vast numbers, just as he was finking under the despair, the Albigenses having besieged him in Carcassone. makable, that the Roman catholics of the country took arms along with the Albigenses, as thinking themselves engaged

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The fury of Montfort, if possible, was redoubled, He reafter the great reinforcement he had received from France, ceives recommanded by his wife. He reduced the strongest places cruits, in the country, and his practice was, at the end of every fiege, to kindle a large fire, into which he threw all his vulgar prisoners, and to erect gallows on which he hanged those of better note. Other particulars of his cruelty are too shocking, as well as too numerous, to be here related. While this horrible war was raging, Remond returned, and by letter to the legate, pleaded the pope's pardon. was opposed by Montfort, who laid claim to Remond's domi- Remond's hions likewife. A pretext was found for fetting the effects domiof the pardon afide, and Montfort, by treachery, surprized nions. the castle of Nismes, and put into it a strong garrison. But in the mean while the legate died, and Montfort made no secret that he was resolved to ruin Remond. A new legate called Theodofius, foon arrived, and under pretence that Remond had imposed upon the pope, and had not fulfilled his promile, in exterminating the Albigenjes, he began Remond's process afresh; and at last actually excommunicated him, as being guilty of Peter de Castro's death, and as being a relapsed and impenitent person. Remond retired to Tholouse, from whence he drove the bishop and his clergy to Montfort's camp, because they refused to celebrate divine service while he remained in the city. Montfort and the legate employed all kinds of artifice to decoy him into their hands, but he was joined by the king of Arragon. let of articles, by which Remond and his subjects were to be reduced to the lowest degree of flavery and beggary, were presented to him, as the terms of his peace, but rejected. The king shewed Remond the madness of shutting himself up in Tholouse, which must in a few days be besieged by Montfort's vast army; and both of them sled to Arragon. Upon this, Montfort belieged Montferrand, which was defended by Baldwin, Remond's brother, and other noblemen, who delivered it up in a cowardly manner.

The surrender of Montferrand, was attended with the loss His alliof many other strong places, while the legate, and Mont- ance with fort tampered with the king of Arragon to abandon Remond, the king who was now obliged to take refuge in Tholouse. That city of Arra-VOL. X. was gon.

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was foon invested by Montfort's troops, and bravely defend-

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ed by Remond, who took prisoner Aimeri, Montfort's son. A number of skirmishes happened without the walls, in which the crusaders were generally beaten by the earl of Foix, and others of Remond's friends; and the other in revenge plundered and deftroyed the country. The time revenge plundered and destroyed the country. of the crusading service being almost expired, Montfort's army grew weak, but he fell into the earl of Foix's country, where he renewed his ravages, and took feveral strong places; fo that that earl was obliged to beg peace of Montfort. By this time, Montfort's daughter was married to the king of Arragon's fon, and that prince had given him the investiture of Beziers, and Carcassone. Montfort, elated by this alliance, despised the earl of Foix's submissions, and proceeded with fuch arrogance and cruelty, that the king of Arragon repented of what he had done, and proposed an alliance with the earl of Foix, and Remond, for driving the crusaders out of their country. This proposition took place, and was cemented by a marriage between Remond's fon, who was of his own name, and one of the king of Arragon's daughters; and then hostilities on all sides were openly proclaimed. This happened to be the weak season of Montfort's army, and he would gladly have had recourse to negociations till he could recruit it. Roger, son to the earl of Foix, a brave active young prince, rejected all terms of accommodation, and taking the field, he made a vast havoc among the crusaders. Castelnau d'Arri, which was very strong, and in which Montfort had shut himself up, was belieged by the confederates, who foon made themselves masters of its suburbs, and likewise of several frong places in the neighbourhood. The numbers of the Albigenses seemed to increase with the persecutions they had fuffered, and they were divided into small armies, for the conveniency of subfiftence. Mortfort made his escape out of Castelnau, by favour of a fally; and the affairs of the capes out confederates were so ill managed, that they raised the siege. of Castel- A body of the king of England's Gascon subjects, assisted the Albigenses on this occasion. Montfort, after his escape, repaired to Paumiers, and fortified all the places he had taken. He prevailed with the legate, and Philip king of France, to represent to the king of Arragon, the danger he underwent in taking part with Remond, and the Albigenses. applications staggered the king, and when he was called upon by his confederates to bring his troops into the field, he advised them to proceed by way of treaty, and said he would endeavour to ferve them in a council which the legate was about to hold. He accordingly wrote to the council in favour of his confederates; but they returned him a haughty refusal, and referred him to the pope. The earl of Foix, by persuation of his son, bravely refused to submit to the pope,

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pope, and upbraided the king of Arragon for the proposals

he had made in their names.

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The king, provoked at seeing his mediation insulted and The king rejected, declared himself the head of the Albigenses, and of Arrathreatened to proceed against Montfort as a traitor, if he gon joins did not appear immediately before him. Montfort fent the Albicopies of this letter to all the friends of the holy fee, as a genfes. fresh incentive for their sending him recruits. The king of Arragon made his appeal to the fame powers, and reprefented Montfort as a tyrant, and a hypocrite; upon which the king of France declared for a neutrality. This encouraged the king of Arragon to repeat his fummonfes, and renew his menaces to Montfort; but notwithstanding the king of France did all he could to hinder the crusade from proceeding in his dominions, of which he confide ed himself as lord paramount, vast numbers of his subjects enlisted under Montfort, who, before the Arragonian king could bring his army to the field, took Tudelle, and put all within it to the fword, without distinction of fex or age. He proceeded in the same manner against other places, and made a most rapid progress before he met with any opposition. It was the 13th of September 1213, before the king of Arragon, and his confederates, the earls of Tholouse, Foix, Comminge, and the prince of Bern, took the field, with seven thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot. They amused themselves with forming fleges against places which Montfort had fortified so strongly, that they could not take them. Montfort, whose army was at this time reduced to twelve hundred horse and foot, thut himself up in the castle of Moret, but offered many advantageous terms to the confederates; all of which were haughtily rejected by the king of Arragon. Despair obliged Montfort, at last, to take the field, at the head of two thousand two hundred Frenchmen; but those When the we must suppose to have been regular veterans. king of Arragon faw him approaching at the head of this handful of men, he thought he was coming to throw himfelf at his feet, but he was fatally undeceived. Simon had He is deplaced four hundred of his best archers in ambuscade, near feated and some ruins, and the vanity of the Arragonian king, having killed by diffinguished his person, he was killed from this amous- Montfort. cade, while he was following a sham retreat, made by a part of Montfort's troops. His death, which happened in

haps, had the horrors of excommunication hanging on their minds; they immediately betook themselves to slight, and were pursued by the crusaders towards Tholouse, with so prodigious a carnage, that it is said to have touched the heart even of the inhuman Montfort.

light of his whole army, dispirited his soldiers, who, per-

Though their defeat at Moret, besides the death of the king of Arragon, cost the confederates fifteen thousand of their best men, yet they were not discouraged, and perhaps

the true reason why Montfort ordered the pursuit to be discontinued, was, least his enemies should find their safety in despair. Roman catholic biggots have magnified Montfort's victory with incredible circumstances; for they make the king's army to confift of one hundred thousand men; nor are some miracles forgot for the honour of the cause. Montfort, after his victory, summoned the confederates, upon their allegiance to the pope, to furrender up all their forts and dominions. Remond went to Montauban, from whence he defired the people of Tholouse to make the best terms they could with the conqueror, while he, and the earl of Foix, with his other confederates, were determined to keep the field, and harrass their enemies. It appears as if Montfort distrusted his own good fortune; for though the Tholofans fent him fix deputies, and offered to furrender their city upon a capitulation, he applied to Philip Augustus, king of France, to fend his fon prince Lewis to countenance him in his proceedings, as he intended to difmantle Tholoufe; against the articles, as we are told, of the capitulation. Philip, now that the king of Arragon was dead, fent his fon accordingly, the city was difmantled, and the inhabitants plundered. About this time, the pope fent a new legate, one Bonaven-

who reduces Tholouse.

Prince France com-

Lewis of ture, to have a watchful eye over prince Lewis, who now took upon him the command of the crusaders. Lest Lewis should take possession, for his father or himself, of any of the mands the Albigensian forts, or towns, he put them all under the procrusaders, tection of the pope, which they pleaded, and at the same time they produced a full absolution from all penalties, which exempted them from the power of Lewis. forty days service being expired, Montfort's army again disbanded. Prince Lewis returned home, after having difmantled the strong fortress of Narbonne. The indefatigable pope soon recruited Montfort's army, and he besieged the castle of Foix, but was, as yet, too weak to take it. He himself was defeated, his brother was killed, and the Arragonians made an irruption into Montfort's new conquests, in the county of Beziers, and put all his adherents to the fword. Montfort flew to their affiftance, but his army was cut off on its march, in an ambuscade, by the earl of Foix, and he himself fled to Carcassone. The treatment which the prince of France met with from the nuncio, had disgusted his father, and numbers of the French feudatories, struck with horror at Montfort's cruelty, affociated themselves in Dauphiny, and other countries, and intercepted his recruits, which were again flocking to him from all The Arragonians again invaded his conquests, and he was again beaten, and obliged to thut himself up in Carcassone. In this distress he applied to Bonaventure, who, under promise of getting the pope's pardon for the earl of Foix, persuaded him to surrender his capital of Foix into his

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his hands, and to go to Rome for absolution. Bonaventure, at the same time, informed the pope, that the earl was the greatest foe the holy see had; and the event was, that the earl, by his own folly was stript of his dominions, which

were held by Montfort.

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Bonaventure was equally successful in the arts he practised Treachupon Remond. The latter had been taxed with the death of ery of the his brother Baldwin, who was of the papal party; and by legate. the legate's infligation, he thought himself obliged in honour and conscience to go to Rome, and clear himself from the charge, that he might receive absolution. Remond was the more encouraged to this, as his fon, who had been bred in England, had brought him that king's letters to the pope, recommending his cause in the strongest manner, to his favour. The earl met with many friends at the court of Rome. Montfort's cruelties were proved without dispute, and the pope found himself, in a manner under a necessity to order Remond's estates to be restored to himself and his fon, on condition of their proving themselves to be dutiful fons to the fee of Rome. Upon their return, the legate laid hold of that condition, to evade their demand of restitution; upon which they again took up arms. Young Remond befreged and took Beaucaire, and his father's dominions were again laid waste by Montfort. The people of Tholouse shook off their yoke, and expelled Montfort's garrison, but they were betrayed by their bishop, and the crufaders were again admitted into that city, where the inhabitants were difarmed, and the chief of them fent in exile to other places, but all of them treated with the utmost barbarity. The other subjects of Remond met with the same fate. and in a council held at Montpellier, Montfort was declared to be the lawful lord of all the Albigenfian country that had been conquered; and he received his investiture from the pope accordingly. While this ceremony was performing in Montpellier, he was driven out of that city by the indignation of the inhabitants, but so sollicitous was the pope to heap favours upon him, that in a progress he made through France, he received all the honours that could have been paid to a divinity; and the people, when they went out to meet him, faluted him with these words, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." So great was the veneration then annexed to the practice of religious butchery and murder.

No fewer than a hundred bishops were employed upon The earl the continent of Europe, in recruiting Montfort's army, of Thowhich, upon his return to the county of Tholouse, was irre-louse resultible by its numbers. He had given one of his daughters covers his in marriage to the son of Aimar de Poitiers; one of his sons dominiwas married to the daughter of the dauphin of Vienne, and ons. another to the counters of Bigorre; alliances which prodiciously strengthened his interest in that country. His ra-

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vages

vages were redoubled with more fury than ever, and when he became master of a place, he gave no quarter even to The earl of Tholouse had now raised women and children. a great army, and had befieged Montfort's wife in the castle of Narbonne. He was received by the inhabitants of Tholoufe, with the greatest unanimity and affection, and his progress was so considerable, while Montfort was spending his time in a pompous display of his greatness, that the crusaders began to diminish in their numbers, and many of them returned home. He, however, with the forces that were left him, flew to his wife's affiftance; but the Albigenses had by this time learned to retaliate the barbarities of Montfort, and, in their turn, put his adherents to the sword. Remond, who was joined by fome experienced commanders, refortified his city, and when Montfort prepared to lay fiege to it, he again de was attacked more than once, and beaten by Remond. The legate did all he could to encourage Montfort, who was preparing for a general affault, when he was attacked and entirely defeated by the earl of Foix, who purfued his men to the Garronne, where numbers of them were drowned.

Montfort feated.

Remond then refumed the fiege of the castle of Narbonne, and battered it with all the engines and machines then used, but without effect. Montfort, who had narrowly escaped being drowned, was then at Montlieu, with the legate, and in great dejection of spirit. He was comforted by the legate with the hopes of receiving fresh recruits of crusaders, which he accordingly did, to the number of one hundred thousand; and in the beginning of the year 1218, he refumed the fiege of Tholoufe, and relieved Narbonne. Montfort thinking to avail himself of his numbers, employed the legate to promife crowns of martyrdom to those who should fall in the expedition, and plenary indulgences and remiffions, to all who should fight bravely. Animated by those promifes, they immediately attempted to scale the walls of the city, but Remond having likewise received powerful reinforcements, the affailants were beaten off with vast loss, and purfued with great flaughter. Some of Montfort's friends advised him to compromise matters with Remond. On the twenty-fourth of June, Remond made another fally, while Montfort was affifting at mass, from which it was with difficulty he could be drawn to face his enemies. Being mounted on horseback, he was first wounded in the and killed thigh, and then his head was ftruck off by a stone difcharged from one of the engines on the walls; and thus died that monster of human nature.

Farther progress fade.

The command of the crusade then devolved by the legate's nomination, upon his fon Aimery, who was obliged of the cru- to retire to Carcassone, but lost the greatest part of his army in a fally made by Remond. The latter, on his return, became at last master of Narbonne, and by degrees he and the earl of Foix, recovered all they had loft, the crusading spirit being

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being entirely funk by the death of the elder Montfort. Aimery. however, continued the war, but his command was suspended for a while, by prince Lewis, who pretended to dispose of the remaining part of Montfort's conquests, and to mitigate the cruelties of the crusaders. He found that he was not mafter in Aimery's camp; for though he had granted a fayourable capitulation to the inhabitants of Marmand, which Aimery had belieged, yet the latter put every person within the place to the fword; upon which, the prince hearing that his father was dead, returned to Paris; and thus ended this cruel, inhuman crufade. But we are now to refume the history of Italy.

Innocent, about the year 1210, found himself embroiled Powerand with the Greek emperor, Henry, who had succeeded to that haughtithrone, after Constantinople had been taken by the Venetians, ness of and other crusaders. He had made a law against any person pope Inleaving immoveable estates to the church, and Innocent com- nocent. manded him to repeal it; and Henry complied with this injunction. We find Innocent, at the same time, acting in every respect as the supreme lord of Bohemia, and ordering that king and his family to appear before his tribunal at Rome; and he fent the like command to the kings of England, Portugal, and France, who paid less deference to his authority. Innocent particularly refented the contumacy of John king of England, and not only recalled his legates from thence, but laid that king under an interdict, freed his fubjects from their allegiance, and gave his crown to the king of France. His pretext for these severities was, because John had refused to make good some losses the priests had fuffered, and to recal certain ecclefiaftics whom he had fent into banishment. The reader, in the history of Germany, Vol. 8. will find a detail of the transactions between the emperors p. 470. Otho and Frederic, with Innecent. About the year 1212, his et seq. holiness preached up a crusade against the Moors in Spain, Fresh cruwho are faid to have lost one hundred thousand men in one sade. battle with the crufaders and the Spaniards, headed by Alphonso, king of Arragon. The numbers of people that then filled Europe, are next to incredible, fince, besides the millions which had already been destroyed in religious expeditions, we are told that one hundred and ten thousand crufaders marched into Spain against the Moors, and fixty-thou-

defarts. The city of Milan refusing to renounce its allegiance to A Lateran the emperor Otho, Innocent threatened it and other cities of council. Lombardy with excommunication. This menace, perhaps, would have had no great effect, had they not been the greatest manufacturers in Europe, and they carried on a vast trade in England, France, and Germany. Innocent threatened

fand boys took the cross for the Holy Land; but the greatest part of them were feized by pirates, who fold them to the

Saracens, or were starved to death in their march through

to prevail with those princes (for John, king of England, had by this time shamefully resigned his crown into the hands of his legate Pandolph, and received absolution) not only to stop this trade, but all the debts due to the Lom. bards. He then fent Pelagius, a Spaniard, as his legate, or rather his inquisitor, to Constantinople, to force the Greeks to fubmit themselves to the Romish church; but though Pelagius employed all kind of cruelties for that purpose, yet the people were fo tenacious of their old religion, that he was obliged to forego his defign. Innocent stretched his authority fo far as even to command the fultan of Damascus to refign the Holy Land to the crusaders; but that prince treated his command with vast contempt. Innocent's pride, in the year 1215, received some mortification from the barons of England, who paid no regard to his fulminations; nor could he prevail even with the archbishop of Canterbury to publish his bulls. It is to be lamented that we know little of the history of the papacy at this time, but what we have from ecclesiastics. We learn, however, from them, that the doctrines of the Albigenses, and other fore-runners of the reformation, had penetrated into Germany, where Innocent's inqui-fitors most barbarously put many of them to death. This year was opened a famous Lateran council, at which four hundred and twelve archbishops and bishops, Greek and Latin, affisted, with eight hundred abbots and priors, besides the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and embassadors from almost all the crowned heads in Europe. archbishop of Milan presented himself as embassador from the dethroned emperor Otho; but Innocent refused to admit him. This council proved extremely pliable to the pope; it established transubstantiation, anathematized heretics; and prince Lewis, who had invaded the kingdom of England at the invitation of the barons, and confirmed the election of of the emperor Frederic, upon his dismembering the kingdom of Sicily from the empire, besides enacting a number of other ecclefiaftical regulations. At this council appeared the two founders of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, St. Dominic and St. Francis. The latter received from Innocent a confirmation of his order, and St. Dominic was promifed the same as soon as he could fix a rule for his votaries. Innocent, towards the latter end of his life, was greatly embarrassed by the state of affairs in Italy. Milan, and other cities in Lombardy, continued to refuse obedience to his admonitions, upon which they were laid under an interdict. They revenged themselves severely upon the adherents of the pope, who attempted to end a war that had broke out between the Genoese and the Pisans, that he might unite them to the Milanese; but he died on the fourteenth of fuly, 1216.

Honorius Innocent, whose long popedom was a scourge to the chris-III. pope. tian world, was succeeded by Honorius III. a noble Roman.

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Among the first acts of his pontificate, was his confirming the order of St. Dominic, and requiring the emperor Frederic, to submit the kingdom of Sicily wholly to the Roman see. and at the same time, pressing him to accomplish his expedition to the Holy Land, which he studied to evade. In April, 1217, Hanorius had the glory to give the imperial crown of Constantinople to Peter, the Greek emperor; but he did it with fo much caution, that the ceremony was performed without the walls of Rome, left the claim of the Greek emperors should be revived upon the western empire. In almost all other respects, Honorius trod in the sootsleps of his predeceffor, Innocent. He commanded Alexander, king of Scotland, to break his connections with Lewis, king of France. He claimed the disposal of the crown of Hungary, and would not allow the agreement between the emperor Frederic, and Waldemar, king of Denmark, to be valid, till it received his ratification. He censured the king of Bohemia for suffering priests in his dominions to be amenable to lay jurisdictions, and launched his excommunications against all the states who did not follow his directions. Notwithstanding all this assumed power, he was, like his predecestor, driven out of his capital by the Romans.

Honorius hearing of Montfort's death, laid his commands His proon the king of France, that he would affift the crusaders, ceedings.

and upon the king of Arragon, that he would not support the Albigenses. He took several princes, particularly Alexander king of Scotland, and the two queen dowagers of England, into his immediate protection, that they might be exempted from the jurisdiction of the English crown; and at last, he had the glory of absolving the Milanese from ecclesiaffical centures; and by means of Hugolin, one of his cardinals, he restored tranquility to the cities and states of Italy. The reader, in a former part of this work, has a full account See vol. 7. of the crufades at this time, in Afia and Africa, which p. 209. makes fo great a part of the papal hittory; and likewise the et seq. various disputes and transactions between Honorius and Fre-Vol. 8. deric, the German emperor, who refused to fulfil his vow of p. 474. marching with an army against the infidels in the Holy Land. The Albigenses were all this while multiplying, but split into various fects. Honorius thought it fo much for his interest that they should be abolished, that he prevailed with the king of France to fend his fon Lewis against them, and he laid frege to Tholouse, but was forced to raise it. In the year 1220, Honorius gave the imperial crown to Frederic, and his empress Constantia, and published several falutary bulls for the security of travellers, and encouragement of agriculture, in opposition to the German foldiers, whose licenticusness, at this time, desolated Italy. He could not prevail upon Frederic to undertake the crufade, and the popular bulls issued by Honorius, gave so much strength to the papal inte-

tell, that Frederic was obliged to wink at the private support

which

which his Neapolitan rebels received from the holy fee haved Hinorius likewise, underhand, encouraged the Milanele, and apply the other states of Italy, in their opposition to the holy see him to

AnItalian parliament.

Frederic held a parliament (for so it is called in originating of records) at Capua, where he passed many excellent acts Honora and established a court for examining the titles of greato all barons and corporations to their estates. The severity dime, those proceedings, and his dispossessing many of the great of the landholders, endangered his interest in Naples; but being the so backed with a great army, he obliged the discontented the do either to submit, or to fly to the pope, who protected them rated Honorius, sensible that Frederic hated him, and aspired a pende be independent of the holy see, again laid upon him his pope, injunctions to join the crusade, and he actually sent form undou three galleys to Damietta, which was then besieged by the the pointidels. This did not satisfy Honorius; for Frederic nor all the renewed all the claims of the former kings of Sicily, a being immunity from all papal jurisdiction, which (as he com-louse splained) had been violated by pope Innocent, during his what rity of

In consequence of those pretentions, Frederic banished Imbert all the difaffected ecclefiaftics, as well as laics, out of his near dominions, and in short, in all church matters, he acted a hands despotically as the pope himself could have done. Honoriu, Remon however, was considered by the *Italians* of those days, a but In the patron of their liberty, and *Frederic* was obliged to oblige make many concessions to his holiness. He punished in offere chancellor, and the count of Malta, for their misbehavious view in the command of the galleys he sent to Damietta. It miseri likewise bestowed the kingdom of Sicily on his son Henn, cept of and renounced his claim upon the estates of the marquiness persua or countess Matilda. Those submissions were mortifying with and the more fo, as the pope's menaces of excommunication obliged him, on all occasions, to take the law from his holiness, and fometimes to prosecute his own folicitation footen

in person.

In the year 1222, after several conferences between Fro deric and Honorius, the former obtained a new respite for frong few months, from his holy expedition; but in the mean while, an assembly of all the Christian princes was summon ed to Verona, to concert new measures for the relief of the Holy Land. Honorius, likewise, obliged Frederic to publish the most inhuman orders against heretics, and it was thought that he fecretly favoured the Sicilian Saracens, with whom that emperor was perpetually at war. His queen Constantia was now dead, and the count of Celano was in rebellion, and had over-run great part of the imperial term tories in Naples.

Affairs of Naples.

The emperor proving victorious over the Sicilians, return ed to Apulia, and renewed his engagements to take upon him the cross in two years; but in the mean time, he be

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fee haved with so much firmness, that the pope was obliged to , and apply to him with submissions, by which he prevailed upon fee. him to marry Iolanta, the daughter and heiress of the titular ging hing of Jerusalem. Frederic then returned to Naples, and acts Honorius applied himself intirely in preaching up the crusade great to all the princes of christendom. The Albigenses, about this ity of time, were so much divided among themselves, that many great of their heads began to be ashamed of their cause. Aimeric, being the son and heir of the samous Montfort, had succeeded to nted the dominions his father had conquered from the confedehem rated heads of that fect; but as he aimed at being indeed a pendent, he met with very little support, either from the n his pope, or the king of France, Lewis VIII. The latter had form undoubtedly a better right to those conquests, than either the the pope, or Montfort, and Aimeric refigned into his hands nor all the right he had to the conquered countries, upon his ly, of being made constable of France. The young earl of Thocom buse fought, by his compliances with the pope, to regain his what his father had lost, and taking advantage of the minonity of Lewis IX. he armed himself, but was defeated by ishe Imbert de Beaujeu, who had laid siege to, and took, a castle of his near Tholouse, and burnt every heretic who fell into his edu hands. This inhumanity was of infinite service to earl This inhumanity was of infinite fervice to earl oriu, Remond, by encreasing the number of the pope's enemies; s, z but Imbert being reinforced by a large army of crusaders, of hobliged Remond to shut himself up in Tholouse. Here was dhi offered terms from the pope's legate, but with the infidious viou view of separating the Albigenses from his standard. He miseries which the Tholosans suffered, inclined them to ac-louse. nels persuaded Remond to repair to Meaux, that he might treat ying with the queen mother. When he arrived at that city, he found himself a prisoner, and obliged to beg pardon of the found himself a prisoner, and obliged to beg pardon of the n his court of France, and the holy church, in his shirt, baretions footed, and bareheaded, with a torch in his hand, and to submit to all the other terms imposed upon him by the Frecourt, and the legate, even to the giving up all the frong holds of his dominions, and making war upon his father's and his own confederate the earl of Foix. In thort, nean non- there was no circumstance of mortification, or loss to himthe felf and his fubjects, to which he was not obliged to fubmit. blik At an affembly called at Tholouse, where the French prelates " We fordid affilted, the following article was published. and prohibit the books of the Old and New Testament to the laity, unless they will have the Pfalter, or some breviary for divine service, or the Prayer book of the blessed Virgin Mary, for their devotion; most expresly forbidding them to have the faid books translated in the vulgar tongue." During the imprisonment of Remond, the king of France made himself master of Tholouse, and his young daughter,

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who was to inherit his dominions, was carried to the French the

court to be married to the king's brother.

About the year 1224, a Roman tenator, one drove Honorius out of Rome, to Tivoli, where Frederic appears to have the time for his taking the cross pronet from Rome plied to him to have the time for his taking the cross prolonged, and likewise laid before him the particulars of confederacy which had been formed against him by the Italian states, with a copy of the truce made between the Christian princes, and the sultan of Egypt, which as he very juftly observed, tied him up from acting against the infidely for eight years. Honorius was in no condition to oblige the emperor to fulfil his vow, and therefore he was fatisfied with making him swear to undertake the expeditionin two years; but he could not prevail with Frederic to admit to their fees five bishops, whom he had nominated to five Sicilian churches without that emperor's knowledge. He norius, at this time, role to such a pitch of insolence as to demand the tythe of all the ecclefialtical revenues throughout christendom for the holy war; and according to Matthew Paris, two prebenbaries in every cathedral, and two cells in every monastry, for the perpetual use of himself and his successors. Never was there known a more infamous period than this in the Christian world. The unbounded avarice of the pope was supported by the most profound hypocrify. His zeal against the infidels, was no other, than a pretence for sending the great Christian princes out of Europe, that the papal chair might meet with no op-See position. The vast indulgences and privileges that were Vol.VIII. given to all who assumed the cross, by absolving them from their fins, filled Europe, and Germany in particular, P. 478. with the most horrid murders, which none were sollicitous either to prevent or punish. Frederic found that the confederacy of the Italian states against him gathered strength every day, fo that he was obliged to apply to the pope, who effected an accommodation; but still on the condition of Frederic's marching to the Holy Land. The latter, in right of his wife, had now taken upon himself the title of king of ferusalem, and seemed well disposed towards the enterprize, when Honorious died in the year 1226. He was suc-IX. pope. ceeded by Gregory IX. who, upon his accession to the pon-

Gregory

driven out of Rome to Perugia. Frederic keeping his army on foot, and encreasing it with a number of Sicilian and Neapolitan Saracens, in fact threw

tificial throne, required Frederic, under pain of being ex-

communicated, to repair to the Holy Land. Frederic feem-

ed to obey, and even fet fail, but, upon forme frivolous pre-

text, he returned to Italy, was excommunicated, and came

to a thorough breach with his holinefs. Having a great

party in Rome, the vindication which he had drawn up for

himself, was publicly read in the capital, and Gregory was

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French the papal yoke; but Gregory was revenged upon him, renting ms, and encouraging the late king of Jerusalem to put inself at the head of a body of crusaders, to act against eric ap. he emperor. The latter, at last found himself obliged to ibid. net fail for the Holy Land, but left orders with his deputy, p. 479. s of a lainald, to treat with his holiness, together with a strong my, to give his negociation fuccess. The pope paid no een the regard to Rainald, and excommunicated the emperor. The patriarch of ferusalem had orders to intimate the excomnunication to the crusaders, who refused to obey him, and fuderic having made a peace with the infidels, returned to haly, where he found that the pope had become mafter of almost all his dominions. Frederic being at the head of a frong army, foon recovered them, and obliged his holiness make peace, and to grant him absolution; upon which, he was invited back to Rome.

This pacification was infincere on all hands; for Gregory An infin-The cere paciand Frederic agreed upon nothing burning heretics. imperial generals and nobility in Lombardy expelled the fication.

papal ministers from all their estates and cities, and the pope himself was again driven out of Rome. Soon after, Frederic leized upon the property of all the Knights Templars, and Hospitallers, in his dominions, and his example was followed by the other princes of Europe, to the great mortification of the pope; who pretended that these estates belonged to the holy church. The English despised his interpolition so much, that they seized upon the effects of all the Roman and Italian clergy, and drove them out of the tingdom, notwithstanding all the menaces of his holiness. The latter found, that whatever advantages he reaped by his accommodation with Frederic, the Guelphs resolved not to part with their liberties, and they refused to accept of the terms which obliged the pope to purchase his peace with the Romans. Gregory, to preserve his authority from contempt, affected vast concern for the interest of religion, and the propagation of Christianity. endeavoured to reconcile the emperor with the Italian states. Out of zeal to suppress herefy, he established the inquihtion at Tholoufe; he dissolved the marriage of the king of Arragon, on account of confanguinity, but without prejudice to the rights of the issue. He recommended reformation of manners to the clergy of Naples and Sicily, and every day saw a number of heretics burnt. His cares even extended to Russia, where he fettled his bishops, and abbots. The patriarch of the Greek church acknowledged his supremacy. He fent friars to Bithynia, and Franciscans to convert the sultan of Egypt, the Georgians, the Babylonians, and the Africans. Those friars, by their zeal and preaching, were of infinite service to his holiness, among the common people, even of Italy. They persuaded them to submit all differences

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Alliance between tians

differences, either with the emperor, or among themselves: and one friar John reconciled the Bolognese with their bishop, after a long variance had subsisted between them.

The fame friar and his brethren made processions throughout all the cities belonging to the holy fee, as well the Vene- as the states of Lombardy, and were so successful in accommodating differences, that the year 1233, was called that of general devotion. Frederic, all this while, was pro. ceeding with the most unrelenting fury against the Italian states, many of whom, the Florentines in particular, reful. ed to recognize either him, or the pope as their master. Gregory, being too weak to refift him, applied to the Vene. tians, then one of the most powerful states in Europe, for affiftance, and they fent him forty fail of ships, besides a body of land troops, not so much from any regard they had to him, as from their hatred of Frederic, who had put to death their doge's fon. About the same time, the Pisans, who were then a confiderable naval power, being joined by Frederic's shipping, had one hundred fail at sea, and had attacked the Genoefe. Gregory brought about a confederacy between the latter and the Venetians. He omitted no tier of religion to cement this alliance, which he was in hopes would prove an overmatch for the imperial interest in Italy. The Venetians, however, before they could join their new allies, were obliged to raise the siege of Constantinople. Upon their return, and joining the Genoese fleet, so many acts of mutual jealoufy broke out between those rival commercial nations, that nothing effectual was done towards the pope's favourite scheme, farther than that the imperialists durst not venture to attack his allies. The emperor revenged himself on the inland parts of Italy. He subjugated and tyrannized over Padua, where the maritime power of Venice was of no effect; and quarrels daily in-'creating between the Venetians and the Genoele, they facrificed all his views to their mutual jealousies, and revenge. Notwithstanding this, his holiness was still formidable to him, and all the Christian powers. The friends of liberty in Italy joined his banners. A king of Hungary, having dispossessed a duke of Bosnia, who had embraced the papal religion, revered the admonions of the vatican fo much, that he restored him to his dominions, under his auspices, affisted by the arms of the Teutonic knights. The greatest part of Prussia, and the other Germanic provinces, were converted to the Christian religion; and so much veneration was paid to his character, that the emperor courted his good offices with the cities of Lombardy, while his preachers and agents again kindled in Europe the religious rage of delivering the Holy Land. In this, he made use of the Franciscans, and Dominicans, between whom he artfully fomented an emulation, which being kept up by his luccessors, was of infinite service to the see of Rome

and Gemaefe.

Tyranny of Frederic.

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Notwithstanding all this pretended zeal for the interest New lves: of religion, never was it more abused than at this time. crusades their The priefts and ecclefiaftics in the extreme parts of chrif- preached andom, particularly towards the north of Germany, were up and fions guilty of every fraud that avarice could fuggest; and when under-Well the natives, who had been but newly converted, took up taken. arms against their insolence and oppressions, the Christian alled princes of the empire cut nine thousand of them in pieces, proand again reduced them to the ecclefiaftical yoke. A duke of Brabant, a count of Flanders, and an archbishop of eful-Bremen, were at the head of this inhuman expedition. after. which was called a crusade, a name not now appropriated to the Holy Land enterprizes, but adopted by the popes , for against all European heretics, that is, against all who durst venture to oppose their absurdities, blasphemy, and tyranny. It is almost incredible, that, amidst this universal degeneracy it to of the Christian world, which was divided between the tyranny of the pope, and that of the fecular power, the inhabitants of Rome, with those of some other newly erected Italian states, retained a spirit of independency. Romans demanded that none of their fellow citizens should be subjected to excommunication, and that even the pontiff should be the tributary of their senate. Their demands threw all Italy again into a flame. The pope, driven out of Rome, retired to Perugia, and was joined by a body of im-The free Italian states then faw that the pacifiperialitts. cation between the pope and the emperor had been brought about only to oppress them, and war was renewed in every The Romans were beaten, and their villas dequarter. throyed by the papal imperialists; but in return they made themselves masters of Viterbo.

In other parts of Italy, the sword of Frederic raged with Mistaken unrefisted fury. He had unaccountably imagined, that he conduct of could realize his nominal kingdom of ferusalem, and had, Frederic. like the other princes of Europe, seized upon the possessions of the Knights Templars, and Hospitallers, which he offered to restore, provided the pope could persuade them to under- See take the management of the war in the Holy Land. this negotiation was in dependence, Frederic ordered all the p. 480. places he held in Campania to be put in a strong posture of See defence, but he received advice that his army was defeated in Vol.VII. Palestine, and that Messina, and other places in Sicily, had p. 249. revolted from his allegiance. Frederic foon reduced Messina, and punished the heads of the revolt, with whom he sufpected the pope had been tampering. A confiderable number of Saracens were still settled in Italy, and were, what may be called, foldiers of fortune. The califat of Bagdad, which was the feat of their religion and monarchy, was now on the brink of ruin. They were neglected by their countrymen in Africa, who were divided among themselves, and the Mossems of Spain could not assist them. Being

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Defolation of Italy.

thus circumstanced, the emperor took them into his pay, and they ferved him with great fuccess and fidelity. reward, he gave them immunites, and he is faid to have connived at certain infolences they committed against the This encreased the misunderstanding between holy fee. him and the pope, and his introducing into Italy new fystems of argriculture, commerce, and legislation, widened Those innovations, it is true, particularly that the breach. of regularly holding courts of justice twice a year, and of admitting appeals from the ordinary judges to the royal deputy, were very greatly beneficial to the country; but as they all terminated in establishing the imperial power,

they were detested by the Italians.

Vol. VIII. p. 481. War in Naples.

See

ibid. P. 474.

The emperor takes ten thousand Saracens into his pay.

As the pope was, with great reason, thought to support the imperial rebels, Frederic, to be revenged of him, entered into a close correspondence with the Romans, and other opposers of his holiness, before he returned to Germany, in the year 1235. His absence gave Gregory a breathing time, and he made use or it in compleating his cruel and detestable scemes of inquisition against heretics, and of remaining the arbiter of Europe, by perfuading its princes and great men to renew their frantic expeditions into the Holy Land. Frederic was too quick fighted not to fee his intention, and he complained of his having encouraged the cities of Lombardy, in abetting the rebellion of his fon Henry. The pope, conscious of the truth of this charge, promised to bring back the Lombards to their duty, provided Frederic would not return with his army to Italy. Henry's rebellion not being extinguished, Frederic appeared to listen to Gregory's proposal, and fent the grand master of the Teutonic order to co-operate with the legate of Lombardy, in the pacification. The pope was either infincere, or unable to do what he pretend-The Lombard cities refused to stand by his award, and Frederic, took and burned Vicenza. His activity and fuccess obliged the confederates to apply to his holiness for his mediation. Gregory wanted to steer a middle course, and advised the emperor to confirm those cities and states in the privileges that had been granted them by his predecessors. Frederic, with great qualities, as a prince, ? hero, and a legislator, was despotic in his principles, and proceeded by force. Taking into his pay ten thoufand Saracens, he engaged and defeated the confederates, of whom he killed ten thousand; but without subduing them. The Italians once more considered Gregory as the protector of their liberties, and the Romans recalled him to their city, where he was received in great triumph. The inhabitants of Milan again applied to him for his mediation, and offered to fend ten thousand troops to the itrelief of the Holy Land, provided they could obtain a confumation of their privileges. Frederic refused to hear of any terms, but an implicit furrender. The pope condemn

ed his ambition, and invited the king of Arragon to the affistance of the associated cities; but that prince being then engaged in a war with the Moors or Saracens, could not interfere in the quarrel, though Gregory offered him all the quit-rents, or, as they are called, tribute, paid to the

emperor by the confederates.

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The Scots of those days had the same sentiments as the The Scots Rumans, with regard to the papal power. Gregory had fent refuse to cardinal Otho, as his legate, to England, to act as a medi- admit a ator between the two kingdoms, and the cardinal was or-legate indered to proceed to Scotland; which he accordingly did. to their That king, before Otho croffed the Tweed, had behaved to-country. wards him with great politeness, but he no sooner heard of his journey to Scotland, than he fent him a letter, informing him, that however agreeable his presence might be to himself, as the king of the country, yet that his subjects were determined not to admit any papal legate into their country; nor could he promise him protection from their resentment, if he should proceed farther. The legate, intimidated by this message, returned to London, where he held a council. During those transactions, Baldwin, the Latin emperor, as he is called, of Constantinople, was backed by the pope, in his applications to the kings of France and England, for affistance against the Greeks, who befriended the dethroned family of their emperors. The pope was in hopes that if Baldwin succeeded, he would be a check upon the power of the German emperor in Italy; but the latter grew daily more formidable, both by the terror of his arms and the punishments he inflicted on all the Guelph party, whom he considered as rebels. He invaded and set at nought the assumed jurisdiction of the popedom, by ordering his temporal courts to proceed capitally against all ecclehaltics; and he determined in his own favour, the celebrated case of the investitures. He was at last excommunicated by Gregory, and the reader will find the particular ibid. consequences of this excommunication in the history of p. 483. Germany.

Gregory had recourse to his expedient of forming a league The pope between the Venetians and the Genoese, which greatly reforms a animated his party in Italy; but he was unsucceisful in his new endeavours to bring the kings of England and France to act league hostilely against Frederic. On the other hand, he raised such against a detestation of the emperor, among the Romans, and other Frederic. Italian states, that he saw Rome guarded by an army of sixty thousand crusaders, all of them zealous in his service. He made a procession at their head, with the skull

of St. Peter in one hand, and that of St. Paul in the other, and poured forth a flood of tears in exhorting the people to defend their city against the emperor, who was marching to attack it. Frederic, being thus overmatched, marched

to Apulia, where he understood his affairs were in the ut-Vol. X. H most

most disorder all over Italy. This was partly occasioned by his own cruelty. He put to death, by tortures, all his Guelph prisoners, and by way of derision of the pope, he fometimes branded them in the forehead, with the fign of the cross, and sometimes ordered their heads to be The pope found great befawed afunder, crofs-ways. nefit from the indignation which those cruelties raised against Frederic over all christendom; and he summoned a general council at Rome. It was convenient for the affairs of Frederic, who, by this time had been beaten at fea, by the Venetians, and at land, by the Milanese, to consent to the holding this council, and he concluded a truce with the pope, though he still continued the war in Lombardy, where the Milanese had taken Ferrara, as Frederic had Ravenna; after which he laid fiege to Faenza, and finding the pope to be infincere in his pacific intentions, he defired the christian princes not to fend their prelates or ministers to the council that had been indicted. It is probable that his letters had fome effect in France and England; for an embargo was laid on the money that had been collected for the use of his holiness, in the former, and, in the latter, kingdom, his legate Otho met with a strong opposition. Gregory continued to load Frederic with the blame of retarding the progress of all the crusades he was daily preaching up against the Tartars, Mahometans, and other infidels; and the Pifans, on the other hand, who were allies of the emperor, entirely defeated the Genoese fleet, which had on board, a number of prelates who intended to affift at the Death of council, and who were sent prisoners to Naples. This mispope Gre- fortune broke the heart of the pope, who died, aged almost one hundred years, on the twenty first of September, 1241. His pontificate, though long and active, is justly considered as having been fatal to Italy, by his provoking the emperor to the executions and cruelties he committed.

gory.

Celestine en pope.

After a vacancy of the pontificate for thirty days, a noble IV. chof- Milanese, who took the name of Celestine IV. was chosen pope. He shewed dispositions the reverse of those of his predecessor, by offering terms to the emperor; but died on the eighteenth day after his election. The pontificate continued vacant for twenty months after this; or rather, it was filled by the cardinals, who refused to elect a pope till their brethren the prelates were released from their imprifonment. Frederic endeavoured to force them to an election, by ravaging the neighbourhood of Rome, particularly the estates of the cardinals; who, at last, meeting at Anagm, He is fuc- chose Innocent IV. for pope. This pontiff, though, before, ceeded by the friend of Frederic, renewed all the high claims of the

most arrogant of his predecessors. Frederic, that he might

gain fome friends by his moderation, offered to refer their

differences to the arbitration of the kings of England and

Innocent IV.

> France, and affected great earnestness for an accommodation.

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tion. His advances were difregarded by the pope, who demanded that he should previously fatisfy the holy church, for the damage he had done her, and fet the imprisoned prelates at liberty. The emperor rejecting those preliminaries, and being in possession of all the strong places near Rome, the pope went on board fome Genoese galleys, and, after being received with vast splendor in that city, he went to Lyons, which he reached on the second of December,

1244, and he there indicted a general council.

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The state of Italy was, at this time, truely deplorable; State of Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Ficenza, Padua, Trevigi; Fer- parties in rara, and the cities of Romania, were of the Guelph interest, Italy. or rather, they submitted to a nominal dependance upon the pope, that they might be freed from the German yoke. On the other hand, Cremona, Bergamo, Modena, Parma, Reggio, and Trent, were imperialists; while the rest of Italy was divided, each state and city within itself, between the two factions. Florence, which afterwards became fo eminent for its constitution, and improvement of the fine arts, was then a city of little note; but to preferve its liberties, they inclined to the Guelphs, for which its principal citizens, and numbers of the Tuscan nobility in its neighbourhood, were put to death by Frederic. Innocent summoned Frederic to appear before the council at Lyons, which confisted of Council one hundred and forty archbishops and bishops, three patri- at Lyons. archs, and numbers of inferior clergy. The emperor of Constantinople affisted there in person, as did the counts of Tholouse and Provence, now reconciled to the holy see, and ministers from almost all the other princes of Europe. pope here shone with greater luftre, than he had ever done in Italy. He filled Germany and Russia with his legates, and endeavoured to persuade the Russians into an union with the Latin church. He fent missionaries among the Tartars, who were then the greatest conquerors the world had ever known, to convert them to christianity; and he threatened a duke of Pomerania with excommunication, for affifting the pagan Prussians, against the knights of the Teutonic order. We have already seen the event of the summons sent to ibid. Frederic, to appear at the council at Lyons, where he was p. 484. excommunicated and deposed, notwithstanding all the Haughticharges brought by the English ambassador against the info-ness of the lence and avarice of the holy see. Frederic offered to make pope. Lewis the Saint, king of France, arbitrator between them; but nothing less than the entire ruin of Frederic would fatisfy the haughty pontiff.

While matters were in this lituation, Innocent received in Portuapplications from the Portuguese, to give them a king, the gal prince upon the throne being too indolent for government; upon which he appointed Alphonso, the king's brother, to be regent. The pontiff likewise sent letters to the caliph of Bagdad, and other Saracen princes, exhorting them to favour the

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and Spain. christians, and excommunicated a king of Arragon, for ordering a bishop's tongue to be cut out; but the king sub. mitting to kneel before the pope, and to implore his pardon, the excommunication was taken off. Italy was now in a manner uncultivated, fo wholly was the people engroffed by the profecution of their religious wars. Innocent feemed to leave them to their own fate, that he might gratify his hatred of Frederic. Each mutually accused the other, with the blackest designs of affassination and poison. Octavian, the papal legate, was defeated by the count of Savoy, in attempting to carry a body of troops over the Alps, to the affiftance of the Italian Guelphs, but he himself escaped, with a considerable sum of money, for their use. Frederic's defeat at Parma, and the capture of his fon Enzo. by the Bolognese, compleated that emperor's misfortunes, and he was obliged to retire with his army towards Naples, where he died, at the end of the year 1251. He was fucceeded by Conrade, who was as averfe to the papal dominion, as his father had been, and protected the Circumcelliones, who rejected the authority of the holy fee.

Affairs of Naples,

ibid.

P. 485.

Death of

Frederic.

When the ridiculous, but fatal, expedition of St. Lewis, to the Holy Land, took place, Innocent, after bleffing his person and arms, appointed two legates to attend him; and when that prince was defeated and taken prisoner, he fent him letters of spiritual consolation. Upon the accession of Conrade to the imperial throne he renewed the claims of his fee upon the two Sicilies, and laid Conrade under an excommunication. Frederic II. by his last will, had given to Mainfroi, his bastard son, the principality of Tarento, and other great estates in Italy, and at the same time, he was made regent of the Two Sicilies, in Conrade's absence. His abilities and artifices proved thorns in the fide of the pope; for having continued in his pay a large body of warlike Saracens, brought over by Frederic, and who gave no deference to the papal authority, he preferved many places firm for Conrade. Naples, however, and some other cities, difgusted with German tyranny, declared for the pope, and soon after Conrade arrived in person in Italy. He had quickly reason to be jealous of the great capacity of his natural brother. He had held a diet of his party near Mantua, and he revoked most of the ordinances of Mainfroi, whom he obliged to give up Brindish, with many other possessions. Mainfroi concealed his difgust at these proceedings, and behaved with the same zeal and spirit as before. Conrade reduced Naples, and the pope's revenge carried him fo far as to offer that crown to Charles of Anjou, brother to the French king. Soon after the reduction of Naples, Conrade ordered 2 Mainfroi, parliament to be held at Melphis, where he laid heavy taxes on all the Guelph party. His young brother, Henry, who, when of age, was to have succeeded to the crown of the Two Sicilies, coming there to visit him, died, as Conrade himself

which his natural fon, makes

himself did soon after, of poison, as was thought, admi- himself nistered to him by Mainfroi. Conrade left a young son, master of. Conradin; and Berthold de Honebruch, at first acted as regent

of Sicily and Naples.

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The pope renewed his claims upon both, and was preparing to make them good, when Berthold refigned his regency, in which he was fucceeded by Mainfroi. The latter, having himself an eye on the sovereignty of Sicily, acted with great address. He was unwilling to yield too much to his holiness, for fear of hurting his own interest, and therefore at first he refused to obey the order of the pontiff Pretending afterwards to be and was excommunicated. touched with remorfe, he invited Innocent to take upon himself the regency, but with a faving to the young prince's rights. Innocent, who had now returned to Rome, really thought it practicable to reannex Naples and Sicily to the holy fee, and without regard either to Conradin or Mainfroi, he began to strip them both of what they held in Italy. Innocent was then at Naples, and he had published orders for all the barons and landholders of that kingdom, to take an oath of allegiance to the holy church. Mainfroi faw his intention, and, escaping from Naples, he killed, in his flight to Lucera, an Italian nobleman, who, he pretended, had waylayed him by the pope's order. He was received by the Saracens and Germans, at Lucera, with great joy, and he cut in pieces part of the pope's army at Foggia, after which he reduced almost all the kingdom of Naples, excepting a few castles in the territory of Otranto. Mainfroi was greatly affished in his fuccesses by the death of pope Innocent, at Naples, which threw the Guelph party into disorder. He was succeeded by Alexander IV. who renewed Mainfroi's excommunication, and gave the command of the papal army to cardinal Octavian. After some operations in the field, a peace was con- A peace cluded between them, but Alexander refused to confirm it, rejected and offered the investiture of Naples, to prince Edmund of by the England, fon to Henry III. This gave Mainfrei no disquiet. pope. The Neapolitans, because of the insufficiency of his title, were fonder of him, than of Conradin, or the pope; and about the years 1255, and 1256, he acted, in every respect, as the undoubted sovereign of the kingdom of Naples, where he settled the government, by the advice of a parliament regularly fummoned, and behaved with great generofity and clemency towards all who had appeared in arms against

him. We are now to consider Florence as a city and state of Affairs of The inhabitants, upon the Florence. great importance in Italy. death of Frederic II. had erected themselves into a republic, which they regulated with admirable wisdom and prudence, but carried on an inveterate war with the Pistoians, and their other Gibelin neighbours, in which they proceeded with great success, by making an alliance with the Genoe/c. H 3

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ese. The Pisans, their enemies, were in their turn, over thrown in the field, by the Florentines, who took Volterra, and defeated the Siennese They next forced the Pisans to make peace with them, but it did not long continue, and they were in fact subdued by the Florentines. thereby gained a great ascendency among the Tuscan states; but while the Florentines were thus exerting themselves abroad, the Gibelin faction within their city began to cabal against the government, and were driven to Sienna, by the magistrates. This produced a war between the Florentines and the Siennese, who refused to deliver up the exiles. The latter were befriended by Mainfroi, who supported them, at first, by a small handful of Germans, who were cut in pieces. After this, upon some particular infults that had been offered to his standard, Mainfroi sent one thousand five hundred of his best cavalry, to the affistance of the ex-This reinforcement gave fresh spirit to the Gibelin cause in Tuscany, and the Siennese declaring war against the Florentine Guelphs, the Gibelins obtained a complete victory, by taking the great standard of Florence, killing three thoufand, and making four thousand Florentine prisoners. consequence of this victory was, that the popular government which had been lately erected at Florence, was abolified, the Gibelins took possession of that city, and public justice was there administered in Mainfroi's name. From this detail it appears, contrary to the common histories of Italy, that Mainfroi's power was far from being confined to the Two Sicilies; but it is generally thought, that he beheld the revolution with great indifference, because the Florentine Gibelins, had a warmer fide towards his nephew Conradin, than himself

The Florentines defeated.

Their to Lucca.

The Guelph faction in Florence, being driven out of that Guelphsfly city, retired to Lucca, and implored the protection of young Conradin, but without effect; and Mainfroi remained malter of Florence. This period brings us back to the hittory of Rome and Naples. Alexander, in bestowing the investiture of Sicily, on prince Edmund of England, had referved to himself an annuity of two thousand ounces of gold, and the disposal of all the Sicilian ecclesiastical livings. He had already excommunicated the Piedmontese, who had imprisoned their fovereign count Thomas of Savoy. Ezzolino, a foldier of fortune, but an excellent officer, having made himself master of Verona and Padua, and affecting an independency, both on the pope and the emperor, was likewise excommunicated, and a crusade was preached up against him. Alexander made the bishop of Ravenna his general, and he took Padua. Affairs, by this time, had run into great disorder at Rome, where Brançaleo, a lenator of great distinction, had been imprisoned, and his wife flying to Rologna, Alexander threatened to lay that city under an interdict, for protecting her. The Bolognese despised his menace, but in all the other departments of his pontificate

ibid. p. 488. over-

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pontificate he proceeded with great spirit and dignity. He laboured for an effectual reunion of the Greek and Latin churches, and even the Persian monarch sent him an embassy, with some hints of his inclination to become a christian.

In Germany, Alexander gave an exclusion to young Con- Conradin radin, from the imperial throne, but Ezzolino declared him- excluded self head of the Gibelin faction in Italy, and pretended to from the hold the great fiefs there, in trust for the empire, which imperial was then disputed for between Richard, duke of Cornwall, throne. brother to Henry III. of England, and Alphonso, king of All this time Alexander preserved an indifference between the two parties, chiefly on account of the vast sums which he received from the English candidate; but though his holiness could thus dispose of empires and kingdoms, he remained still the shadow of a sovereign in his own capital. Brancaleo was a Bolognese, and had been chosen for his high reputation as a magistrate, the podesta, or governor, of Rome, for three years; the Romans sending to Bologna thirty of their chief citizens, as pledges for their obedience. Upon Brancaleo's imprisonment, those hostages were in Devastadanger of being put to death; but Brancaleo's successor prov-tion of ing still more unpopular than himself, he was set at liberty, Italy. and refumed his magistracy. He was far from making a mo-To revenge himself of the derate use of his prosperity. pope, who had excommunicated him, and of the Roman nobility, who had imprisoned him, he drove the former out of Rome, and hanged two of the latter, and declared himfelf, at the same time, in favour of Mainfroi. It is said, he carried his refentment so far, as to destroy one hundred and forty castles or villas, belonging to the Roman Guelphs; and when he died in 1258, the Romans chose his

uncle Catellanus, for his successor. Ezzolino still continued to act in Lombardy, as the impe- The pope rial vicar; and he had taken prisoner, the pope's legate, disap-Philip, after defeating him in the field. He then took pos- pointed fession of Brescia, and the Lombard Guelphs applied to the from Eng. pope, for another legate to protect them from Ezzolino's land. cruelty; but his holiness, who was then in a manner a prisoner, at Viterbo, could only affift them by the bulls and privileges he granted to the Dominicans and Franciscans, who have been very properly termed the disciplined troops of the holy see. Not unmindful of his temporal interest, he sent a notary to England, for the subsidies that king had promised him; but when it was demanded from the English parliament, the members generously disclaimed all connections with the pope, and rejected the king's request, not without some contumelious expressions of his meanness, in contracting such engagements. Alexander, like his predecessors, whenever he found his authority in danger of falling into contempt, affected infinite zeal for the honour of church

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discipline, and published a bull against ecclesiastical fornication, prohibiting all persons from being present at any mass, celebrated by a priest who kept a concubine. Romans, tho' the pope was still at Anagni, again quarrelled among themselves, and killed Brancaleo's uncle in his house, Ezzolino was defeated and taken prisoner, by the marquis of Este, in attempting to make himself master of Milan; and the pope, by those and other successes, having regained his credit, settled the affairs of Germany, deposed the bishop of Ratisbon for espousing the Gibelin interest there, and ap-The mad-pointed the famous Albertus Magnus in his room. madness of the christians at this time, for the recovery of the Holy Land, had involved those in Syria in inexpressible continues. miseries. Experience had not cured them of their rage for expeditions against infidels, and their misfortune was, that every attempt they made to relieve their diffresses, plunged

the Tartars, who were now on the point of putting an end

to the Bagdad caliphat, published orders for councils to be

held through all christendom, for a crusade against them;

but though large armies were raifed for that purpose, when

transported to Syria, and other Afiatic provinces, in which

the christians had an unhappy footing, they proved only

ness of crusading

See vol. 7. them into greater. Alexander, hearing of the conquests of P. 249.

food for flaughter, under the well disciplined barbarians. The king of England not being supported in his ridiculous projects, by his parliament, had now renounced, for his fon, the kingdom of Sicily; and Alexander finding thereby that he could have no dependence upon England, began to listen to proposals for an accommodation with Mainfroi. He infifted upon the noblemen and others, of his party, being restored to their estates; but that condition was rejected by Mainfroi, who threatened to fend for a reinforcement of Saracens, Alexander, at this time, unable to regain possession of Rome, remained at Anagni, where he laid an interdict upon the Bolognese, and ordered a council to be held at Viterbo, for effecting a reconciliation, between the Venetians and the Genoese; but he died before it could be opened, on the twentyfourth of. May, 1261. He was succeeded by Urban IV. who had been patriarch of Jerusalem. At this time, the college er, who is of cardinals was dwindled down to eight members, so that fucceeded Urban was obliged to supply it with fourteen more. by Urban power of Mainfroi was every day encreasing in Italy, and very serious deliberations were held at the French court, whether Charles of Anjou should accept of the crown of Sicily, which was again offered him by the pope. In the mean while, Mainfroi took upon himself the title of king, and, as such, was crow and at Palermo, in Sicily. His right being acknowledged by the great landholders of Apulia, he distributed rewards and honours to such of them as had been faithful to his party, and as foon as he had brought his kingdom to some degree of tranquility, he imitated the Guiscaras,

Death of pope Alexandni-:

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Guiscards, by endeavouring to polish it. His court was magnificent, and his revenues were immense; as the distracted state of the Greek empire made his dominions the readiest refuge for its moneyed subjects; who, at that time, divided the trade of Europe and Asia with the Venetians.

The prosperous state of Mainfroi's affairs, and the vast Prosperity power he had in Lombardy, where he chose the marquis of of Main-Pallevicini his general, itung the pope to the quick. In froi. vain he called for affistance, to England, and thundered out his excommunications against Mainfroi, who difregarded them, and rejected all the applications from young Conradin's party, that he would refign the royal authority. He made it no fecret that he looked upon himself as reigning by right of conquest over the popes. He told the German emhalfador, that if he should abdicate his royalty, all Italy must submit to Conradin and his family, but that if his mother would fend him to be educated in Sicily, he would bequeath him his kingdom. His firmness, and the magnanimity he expressed on all occasions, together with his encouragement of commerce and the neighbouring arts, gained him respect and esteem all over Europe. His illegitimacy was overlooked in a multitude of virtues. The prince of Arragon married one of his daughters, as the marquis of Monferrat, a respected sovereign in Italy, did another. Urban, who was a Frenchman, published a crusade against Mainfroi, who continuing to difregard all the papal menaces, was again excommunicated. By this time, however, Charles of Anjou, who was fovereign of all Provence and Languedoc, with a part of Piedmont, and his brother, St. Lewis, had refolved to accept the pope's offer of the Sicilian crown. A body of French Crusade adventurers was foon raifed, and penetrating into Italy, of the they had defeated the marquis of Pallavicini, in Lombardy. French Mainfroi put himself at the head of his troops; and an in-against furrection at Rome, against the pope, checked for some time his domithe progress of the French in Italy. Mainfroi watched his nions. opportunity, the pope fled to Civita Vecchia, and the French crusaders or adventurers, receiving no pay, disbanded themselves, or returned to their own country. About this time, pope Urban died, and was succeeded by another Frenchman, who took the name of Clement IV. Though he was equally attached, as his predecessor had been, to the French interest, yet he inferted in the bull of investiture which he gave to Charles, many clauses which rendered the pollession of the crown of the Two Sicilies little better than a precarious dependence on the holy fee, and obliged him to pay a large quit-rent, besides a tribute, and a white palfrey, as memorials of his and his fuccessor's subordinancy to the popes. Charles was too far embarked to recede from his engagements, and in May, 1265, he arrived at Rome, where he waited some time for his army.

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feat and froi.

They de- Through the natural inconstancy of the Italians, the Ro. mans especially, Charles soon gained a great party in Italy, kill Main. which encreased by the aversion the natives had to the German government. He was created a fenator of Rome, where the pope had, at this time, no authority. He was joined by a numerous body of Florentine exiles, who were then the best of all the Italian troops, and the number of the French in his army, though in a miserable plight, is faid to have amounted to fixty thousand. Mainfroi omitted nothing that a brave and an able general could perform to oppose him. But he foon experienced how deceitful his late tranquility had Though he had governed his people by parliaments. and in the strictest constitutional manner, he found he could not depend on them for support, and he was obliged to fend for German cavalry, which farther disgusted the Italians. Charles, in fact, at this time gave law to the pope, the Tuscans, and the Lombards. He obliged them to raise vast fums for the payment of his army; but all was infufficient for the sublistence of so numerous and needy a multitude: fo that he was resolved to put his fate, as quickly as he could, upon a decifive battle. Having, with his wife, been folemnly crowned at Rome, he entered the kingdom of Naples, where he put the garrison of St. Germano, which he stormed, to the sword, and other important passes were betrayed to him by Mainfroi's generals. At Benevento, the country of the ancient Samnites, the decisive battle was The Neapolitans basely deserted Mainfroi, who was entirely defeated and killed on the field, on the twentyfixth of February, 1266. The behaviour of Charles, after this decifive victory, was

Barbarity

of Charles brutal and barbarous, and fuch as even difgusted the pope, of Anjou. Who advised him to moderation. He plundered Benevento, and put its inhabitants to the fword. Mainfroi, whose virtues equalled those of a Titus, was now forgotten, and the Italians embraced the French yoke. Charles, at last, entered Naples, and published an indemnity to all who would own his authority; but his new subjects were fatally undeceived, in the ideas they entertained of his government. His foldiers lived as robbers and plunderers; his own exactions were intollerable, and he acted, in all respects, as the conqueror of a rebellious country. The pope had himself, no safety but in supporting Charles, who, in his turn, strengthened himself by alliances with the Greek emperor, and other foreign powers, and became the peaceable possessor of Sicily, as well as Naples. The Sicilians and Neapolitans, thinking they could find ease in a change of masters, applied for reinto Italy, lief to young Conradin, their natural prince, and he promised to assist them; but the pope issued out mandates, excommunicating all who should acknowledge him as king of Sicily. A new phenomenon at this time, appeared in Rome, in the person of Henry, brother to the king of Cas-

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tile, who became so popular there, that he was in a manner. fovereign of the city. As he was a kind of a knight errant in the service of a king of Tunis, and had, at the same time, been driven from his own country, by his brother, he confidered himself as having no connections but what he acquired by his fword, or his money, of which he had vaft plenty. He had for some time, been in treaty with his holiness for the kingdom of Sardinia, and he had lent confiderable fums to Charles of Anjou, as well as the pope, which they fought to discharge by quarrelling with him. Henry perceived their drift, and fecretly embraced the party of Conradin, who, in the month of October, 1267, arrived with twelve thousand horse at Verona. Besides that city, Pavia, Sienna, Pifa, and other states, declared for him, and he had great hopes in the growing discontents among the Neapolitans and Sicilians.

Pope Clement, partly through policy, and partly through Conduct compulsion, affected a kind of neutrality, between Conradin of the and Charles, whom he had created vicar of the empire in pope.

Italy. This was an unheard of, and unconstitutional, post: but Clement pretended that it could last no longer than the vacancy of the imperial throne. Henry, however, availed himself of it, for strengthening his power, especially at Flotence, and among the Lombard states, that had formerly confederated against the house of Suabia, of which Conradin was now the only representative. Conradin, on his arrival in Italy, was excommunicated by the pope; but the greatest part of Sicily had declared for him, as did the Neapolitan Saracens, and Henry of Castile now openly erected his standard. Charles ordered his new subjects to take arms in his defence, but Conradin beat the Guelphs near Arezzo. and was received at Rome as a conqueror, with even imperial honours, by Henry of Castile. The Pisans, who were of the Gibelin faction, defeated the fleet of Charles, and Conradin's affairs now wore an appearance of fuccess. Some authors, with great shew of probability, tell us that Henry of Castile, secretly leagued with the Romans and Neapolitans, who were equally the enemies of the French and Germans. to destroy Charles first, and then Conradin, and to advance himself to the throne of the Two Sicilies. He attended Conradin when he entered Naples, but, by this time, Charles had received a reinforcement of veteran troops, from France. He knew Conradin's weakness, and that, though his army was numerous, it contained but few foldiers, excepting the Germans, and the Florentine exiles. Both parties came to a general engagement, at Aquila, or Alva, in Abruzzo. Conradin's army at first bore down that of Charles; but the

latter, by a well placed ambush, proved victorious. Con- Conradin radin was entirely defeated, Henry of Castile, was taken pri-defeated loner, and put into the pope's hands. Conradin, and his and taken.

friend the duke of Austria, at first escaped, but they were

ibid.

P. 493.

Gregory

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up, or rather, fold them, to Charles.

The latter was at first in some doubt how he could proceed criminally against those two sovereign princes; but the pope, who was then on his death-bed, foon determined him to execute them, after a sham trial, upon a public scaffold; which he actually did in the manner already related. The barbarous Frenchman, after this, gave a loofe to his infatiable thirst for blood. He murdered the widow and fon of Mainfroi, and defolated the possessions of all the Italian Gibelins, many of whom he put to the most cruel deaths. Pope Clement having died in 1268, the pontificate remained vacant for almost three years, because the cardinals could not agree upon his fuccessor. Charles, in the mean while, was peopling his Neapolitan dominions with French subjects, to replace the great number of Italians whom he had barbarously murdered. He then made peace with the Pisans; and the servile Italians were fo much humbled by his cruelties, that he thought himfelf safe in undertaking an expedition against the African Saracens, with his brother, who died at Tunis. Charles concluded a peace with that king, who became his tributary, and he and his nephew Philip, the young king of France, returned to Sicily. At their pressing request, the cardinals chose the archdeacon of Liege, who was then in the Holy Land, to fill the papal chair. The new pope, who took the name of Gregory X. arrived at Baindifi, in the beginning of the year 1272. Like his predecessors, he pressed the departure of fresh crusades for the Holy Land, and endeavoured to unite the Greek with the Latin church. Those two were the most plausible and popular employments of the popes in those days, though the establishment of their temporal dominions in Italy was their real aim. Their authority was so low at Rome, that the late pope Clement had never fet his foot in that city, into which Gregory's venerable character for his zeal in the crusades procured him a ready admittance. He published orders for a general council. He endeavoured to recall the English to their fervility under the papal yoke; he suspended for some time an interdict which had been laid upon the king of Portugal, and he received the prince, then, king of Eng-

The council of Lyons.

Lyons was the place appointed for holding the council, but in the mean while, his holiness repaired to Florence, pretending to reconcile all differences in Tuscany, the with the real view of weakening the interest of Charles there. He was the first pope, perhaps, that ever pleaded the cause of the Gibelins, before a popular assembly. The Florentimes at first opposed their return to that city, and though the pope forced them to comply with his will, yet he laid them under an interdict, which lasted three years. The Pisans expelled the Guelphs, who took refuge in Florence, and Lucca.

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The Bolognese went to war with their neighbours, but were so jealous of their liberty, that they refused to admit into their city their allies the Florentines. The latter, together with the Lucquese, chose count Ugolini for their general, and he laid waste the territory of the Pisans. When Gregory left Florence, he proceeded to Milan, that he might heal the intestine divisions of that city. The Milanese, like the other Italian states, rejected his mediation, which they confidered as a prelude to his tyranny; and laying them, as well as the Florentines, under an interdict, he went to Lyons to hold the council. While he was there, Rodolph, the founder of the present house of Austria, was chosen emperor of Germany, after a long vacancy of that throne; and Philip, king of France, paid a visit to his holiness at Lyons, where he left a strong guard to protect the council. It confisted of a greater number of prelates and ecclesiastics See than ever had been known affembled in a body. Rodolph had no claims upon Sicily, in right of the house of p. 2. Suabia, the pope had no interest in opposing him, and he even obliged Alphonso king of Arragon, who had a claim upon the empire, to relinquish it in his favour. It is said a Tartar general affifted in this affembly, the chief end of which was to fend supplies to the Holy Land, and thereby frengthen the papal power. But some subordinate reasons were necessary, and accordingly, the pope, and the other members, affected great zeal for the discipline and worship of the church, and for reforming ecclefiaftical abuses. pope never having lost fight of the union of the Greek and Latin churches, it was here effected; but in a manner, that evidently proved it never would be confirmed by the Greeks, though the pope fent an ambassador to felicitate the Greek emperor upon the union.

The elevation of the house of Hapspurg to the imperial The divithrone, gave a new cast to the affairs of Italy, as the house sions of of Suabia, the formidable opponent to the popes, was now Italy conin a manner extinct. It did not, however, quiet the ani- tinue. mosities of the Italian states and cities. The fatal divisions between the Guelphs, and Gibelins, still continued, and each subordinate party endeavoured to establish its own greatness, or liberties, on the ruin of its antagonist. Florentines continued to butcher the Siennese, and the Pisans, but the latter were taken under the protection of Charles. That prince; upon his return to Sicily, from his African expedition, had opened a trade between the Barbary states, and his own dominions; and the year after he had an interview with the pope, at Florence. The latter's jealousy of the Anjouvine greatness disgusted Charles, and he returned to Naples; fo that the Gibelins regained their ascendency in Lombardy, and Tuscany. His whole attention seemed to be employed in embellishing and fortifying his capital, and in completing the noble defigns which Frederic II. had formed for its aggrandizement. In proportion as Charles succeeded

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in this favourite scheme, the rest of his Italian dominions were oppressed to such a degree, that the archbiship of Capua formed a party against him in the council of Lyons. Gregory was upon the point of concluding a general confe. deracy against him, of which the emperor Rodolph was to Death of have been the head, when he died at Arezzo, in 1276. It pope Gre- was thought, with great reason, that if Gregory had lived, he would have excommunicated Charles, or have forced him to relinquish the office of imperial general, and vicar in Lombardy; which, after the choice of Rodolph, he had now no pretext for exercifing.

Innocent V. pope.

Gregory was succeeded by Innocent V. a Frenchman; and during his short pontificate, Charles prevailed with Mary, daughter to the prince of Antioch, who had some pretensions to the title of king of Jerusalem, to cede it in his favour; and upon the death of Innocent V. who reigned but fix months, he exercised, as patrician of Rome, a despotic power over that city. By a decree of the council of Lyons, the cardinals were to be shut up by the præsect of Rome, and fed upon plain victuals till they could agree upon a fuccessor. It is said, that Charles endeavoured to turn this decree to his own advantage, by ordering the cardinals of his own faction, a fumtuous diet, while the others were fed fucceeded with bread and water. Adrian V. a Genoese, was elected, and by Adrian he is faid to have employed the short time, in which he reigned, and which was no more than thirty eight days, in forming fecret connections with Rodolph against Charles. He was succeeded by John XXI. who confirmed to Charles the cession of the title of king of Ferusalem. His reign continued only eight months, being killed by the falling in of his chamber at Viterbo; and, like his predecessors, he was a great promoter of crusades to the Holy Land. Four and he by popes thus dying in three years time, Nicholas III. an Italian, was raised to the pontificate, there being then no more than feven cardinal electors, four of whom were

Nicholas 111.

Great

Italians. The power of Charles of Anjou was now almost equal to power of his ambition. He was possessed of the Two Sicilies, Provence, Charles of and Anjou. He gave law to Florence, where he continued Anjou. to act as vicar of Tuscany. He had a strong party in Lombardy, and possessed some of the Mediterranean islands; his title of king of Jerusalem rendered his name respectable, and he had on foot great armies. All those were more than motives sufficient for engaging a less spirited pope than Nicholas III. to endeavour to reduce his power in Italy. Charles had many curbs upon his ambition. The Sicilians hated him for his tyranny, and the pope, besides his political motives, was disgusted with him for refusing a match between his daughter, or grand-daughter, and one of the Ursini family, which was that of his holinets. He obliged him to renounce the vicariate of Tuscany, and his partician dignity

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lignity of Rome. He would not have agreed to this, had he not been on the point of setting out on an expedition against Constantinople, in consequence of his being king of ferusalem, with an immense fleet, and an army. Palæologus, the Greek emperor, intrigued against him in Sicily, by means of the famous John de Procida, a Sicilian lawyer and physician, and one who hated the French, on account of their tyranny over his country. Charles, who was ignorant of this conspiracy, thought himself secure, provided he could keep the pope quiet. Procida had an interview with Peter king of Arragon, who had married Constance, the daughter of Mainfroi, and whom he persuaded to enter into his views of massacring all the French in Sicily; a defign which likewise was favoured by the pope. In the mean while Nicholas died at Viterbo, and was succeeded by a Frenchman, who took the name of Nicholas IV. and restored the patrician dignity to Charles. Peter king of Arra- Account gon, in expectation of Procida's success, had, under the of the pretence of making war against the Mohometans of Africa, Sicilian equipped a grand fleet and an army, that he might be in rea- Vespers. diness to support the Sicilian revolt; and so artfully was the See design laid, that Charles even supplied Peter with money for Vol. IX. his expedition. Though the preparations of Peter were p. 5. alarming to the friends of Charles, yet the latter was so infatuated with his Constantinopolitan expedition, that he gave no heed to their remonstrances, and on the third day of Easter, 1282, all the French and Provencials, who had been the instruments of Charles's cruelty in Sicily, were then malfacred in one hour. Other massacres ensued, and only a few of the French were faved from the general destruction, which has been fince fo famous by the name of the Sicilian Velpers.

Charles was now negociating with the pope in Tuscany, The king about the success of his Greek expedition, and hurrying of Arraback to Sicily, he besieged Messina, the inhabitants of which, gon seizes at first had resused to join in the revolt. By this time, the the crown king of Arragon was in readiness to support the Sicilians with of Sicily. the sleet and army that had been destined for the crusade

against the Africans. Some of his crusaders made it a matter of conscience not to engage in any service but that for which they had been raised, and returned to Spain, but the greatest part of them being persuaded of Constantia's right to the Two Sicilies, served against Charles, who had a prodigious army, but was defeated in all his attempts against Messina; and after plundering the churches and lands in that neighbourhood, he returned with great loss of his sleet and army to Calabria, in Italy, while Peter was crowned

king of Sicily, at Palermo.

Charles now saw the errors of his cruel and tyrannical Revolugovernment, and in vain endeavoured to decide the differ- tions in ence with Peter by a single combat. Peter introduced his Naples

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wife, and fons, who were the natural heirs of Sicily, into that island, where they met with a ready submission from the inhabitants; but Naples still remained in the possession the French. Charles however applied to the king of England and infifted on a personal duel with Peter, which the pope had prohibited under pain of excommunication, and he actually pronounced fentence of deposition against Peter The ridiculous scenes that followed between the two kings on the point of honour, which in those days was held fo facred, are too uncertain to be inferted here; and it is fufficient to fay, that the pope not only deposed, but excommunicated Peter, preached up a crusade against him, and even conferred his kingdom of Arragon upon Charles of Valois, second son to the king of France, on his consent. ing to hold it as a fief of the holy fee. In the mean while, don James, the fon of Peter, not only completed the reduction of Sicily, but insulted the French in the harbour of Naples, where he took prisoner prince Charles, son to the king of that name, by a stratagem of his admiral Loria, a Calabrian. The Neapolitans were contained in their duty only by the arrival of king Charles, who ordered one hundred and fifty of their ringleaders to be hanged. The Sicilians were very eager for having prince Charles tried and executed, in revenge of Conradin, and the duke of Austria; but his life, with equal generofity and policy, was faved by the interposition of queen Constance. Peter laid hold of this opportunity to take Reggio; and king Charles made a freh descent upon Sicily with a very powerful armament. The Sicilians threatened to put his fon to death, if he

and Sicily.

Death of Anjou.

landed; but he belieged Reggio, and was not only baffled in his attempt, but lost the greatest part of his fleet in a storm, while Loria committed vast devastations upon the sea coasts Notwithstanding those great losses and disof Calabria. couragements, Charles had refources sufficient for equipping another powerful armament against the Sicilians, but died at Charles of Foggia, in January 1285. Some say, that his despair and remorfe was fuch, as induced him to make use of a halter to finish his life; and others, that he expressed great penitence for the cruelty and inhumanity of his past life. On his death bed he appointed his cousin, the count of Arton, to be regent of his dominions during his fon's captivity, but pope Martin, pretending that he had a prior right, which the widow and friends of the captive prince durft not contest, exercised that office. In the mean while, Loria ravaged the Neapolitan coasts, where he took several places of importance. The king of France, in revenge, invaded Spain with a large armament. He took Perpignan, and a few other places; but a pestilential disease attacking his army, he returned with great loss to France, where Loria burnt his fleet in the harbour of Roses, and committed many depredations on his subjects. On the 11th of No vember, gember, Peter died, and left his kingdom of Arragon to his eldest son Alphonso, as he did that of Sicily, to his second fon, don James, who was crowned at Palermo, with vast

magnificence.

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Pope Martin died in 1285, and was succeeded by Hono- And of rius IV. an Italian. One of the first of this pontiff's acts pope of authority, was his refusing to grant to Edward, king of Martin. England, the crusade tythes, given by the council of Lyons, who is that he might employ them in an expedition against Scotland. succeeded He continued his predecessor's system for recovering the by Honocrown of Sicily to the Anjouvine family; and he even taxed rius IV. some of the German livings for that purpose. He ordered schools to be founded at Paris, for teaching the Arabic language, that missionaries might be fent to convert the subjects of the caliphate; and he excommunicated the two. kings of Arragon. and Sicily. As the emperor Rodolph was far less powerful than his predecessors of the house of Suabia, Honorius would have gladly given him the imperial crown, provided he would have accepted of it as a vaffal to the holy fee. Rodolph was unwilling to forfeit any of the rights which, as emperor of Germany, he might have over the Italian states; but at the same time, he was resolved not to hazard the aggrandizement of his own family to establish them. He therefore took a middle way. Perceiving that State of fince the death of Frederic II. they were become fond of Italy. power and independency, he fent into Italy certain vicars, or deputies, who fold to the inhabitants of Lucca, Florence, Genoa, Bologna, and other places willing to be purchasers, a confirmation of all the privileges that had been granted them by his predecessors, and which they generally bought at a very moderate expence, upon his affuring them of the imperial protection. The pope did not forfee the tendency of those purchases, and had, by means of one Montfort, a descendant from the famous English rebel of that name, became mafter of Romania, while Rodolph configned to him the nominal rights he had to the exarchate of Ravenna, and Honorious created the imperial chancellor and minister in Italy, archbishop of Mentz, and sent him, together with the bishop of Tusculum, as his legates to Germany. Their infructions were to hold a council at Wurtzburg, where they were to preach up another crusade, and to demand for his holiness the fourth of all the ecclesiastical revenues in Germany for fix years. This rapacity of the holy fee exasperated the members of the council so much, that it was thought the legates would have been torn in pieces, had they not been rescued by an imperial guard sent by Rodolph. to protect them. About the year 1287, Edward I. king of England, endeavoured to procure the liberty of Charles the Lame, eldest fon of Charles of Anjou, upon a cession being made to fames of the crown of Sicily. The pope, though he appeared zealous for the freedom of the young prince, VOL, X. difapproved

disapproved of Edward's interposing in an affair which concerned a fief of the holy fee, as he pretended Sicily was, Soon after Honorius died at Rome, and an epidemical distemper breaking out in Italy, the pontifical chair remained vacant for near eleven months.

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Treaty for the recovery of the

In 1288, it was filled by pope Nicholas IV. The war concluded was all this while raging between the houses of Arragon, and Anjou, or rather between the former and the pope, who exercised an uncontrouled authority over Naples, in the name of the imprisoned king. Loria, the Sicilian admiral, liberty of had again and again defeated the Neapolitans, and ravaged the king their coasts, but at length he gave them a total overthrow, of Naples and took forty two of their gallies, with above five thou-This produced a two years truce befand men on board. tween the Neopolitans, and the Sicilians. It did not however extend to Calabria, which was invaded by the king of Sicily, who, for fifteen months, is faid to have belieged Gaeta. The negotiations for the liberation of Charles the Lame, were still going on, and the pope being afraid they would be concluded without him, pretended great forwardness in the treaty; and fent ambaffadors all over Europe, but more particularly to the kings of England and France, exhorting them to lend their affiltance to the good work. A treaty was accordingly held in 1289, near a village of the Pyrenees, under king Edward's mediation, and Charles obtained his concluded liberty. The terms were of a pretty extraordinary nature. Charles, engaged to prefuade Charles of Valois, to relinquish his claim upon the crown of Arragon; to bring about a peace between that king and the king of France, and to prevail with the pope to relieve the king and kingdom of Arragon from their interdict. Charles engaged farther, if he should fail in the performance of these articles, that he should in three years time again deliver himself up to his captivity, and in the mean while, he gave his fecond fon, his two brothers, and fixty Provencial knights as hostages for the execution.

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Charles, on recovering his liberty, found himself unable to no effect. make good the articles of the treaty to which he owed it. The house of Valois rejected all proposals of accommodation with that of Arragon, and the pope preached up a new crufade against the reigning king of Sicily, whose crown he bestowed on Charles, as well as that of Naples, absolving him, at the same time, from the oath that bound him to the performance of the treaty. The king of Sicily was still employed in the fiege of Gaeta, and found himfelf, by this recruit of crufaders, together with an army of Neapolitans brought against him by Charles, in danger of having his retreat cut off. Edward I. of England, interposed. He accused the pope of being the firebrand of Europe, and threatened, if he did not restore peace to Spain, and Italy, he would oblige him by force of arms. His menaces

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menaces had the defired effect; for, to the great difgust of the French, a truce for two years was concluded between The rest of the reign of Nicholas, was emthe parties. ployed partly in vindicating the right of ecclefiastics from the encroachments of laics, (especially in France and Portugal,) and partly in receiving and answering ridiculous embaffies from the Tartars, and other barbarians, who pretended to have an inclination to become Christians.

The king of Partugal, finding some inconveniencies aris- Conduct ing from his remaining under the interdict, prevailed with of the the pope to take it off, upon his submitting himself to his pope. The king of Arragon felt the like inconveniencies, from the like cause, he never having been absolved from the sentence of excommunication and deposition, and applied to have it taken off. We shall reserve the particulars to the histories of France, and Spain. It is sufficient to lay, that Alphonfo died before he could perform the terms. While Nicholas was bufied in thus confirming his own power, by raising diffentions among the princes of Europe, and in endeavouring to fend fresh millions of Christians to be butchered in the Holy Land, where the infidels now carried all before them, he was overtaken by death in the Hisdeath.

The families of Urfini, and Colonna, being the chief at Succeeded Rome, held in suspence the election of a new pope for above by Celeftwo years. Their choice at length fell upon one Peter di tine V. Murro, who led the life of a hermit, in a cell, near Salerno, but was celebrated for his fanctity. A deputation being fent to notify to him his election, and the king of Naples, with his fon, the king of Hungary, and other Tovereign princes, pressing him to accept of the papal dignity, he consented, and took the name of Celestine V. He entered Aqulia on an als, and was there confecrated. Being the founder of the order of the Celestines, he confirmed it, and created twelve cardinals, most of whom were friends to the French, and the Anjouvine interest. As he was ignorant even of the common modes of life, he was quickly found to be incapable of the papal functions, and expressing a willingness to resign his dignity, he was encouraged in it so effectually by cardinal Cajetan, who expected to succeed him, that he read the decree of his own abdication in the faid college, and divested himself of the pontifical robes.

An incident happened during the pontificate of Celestine, History of which we should not have introduced into this history, had the chapel it not, ridiculous as it was, proved to be the foundation of of Loretta. immense wealth to the holy see, and fully demonstrated the inconceivable credulity of the times. The Christians being then expelled out of the Holy Land, it is possible, that the infidels, many of whom were as unreasonable enthuliasts as the Christians, demolished their monuments of plety, particularly the famous chapel at Nazareth, faid to

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have been the house of the Virgin Mary. So far back as the year 1291, it was thought to have been carried by angels in the night time, during the month of May, through the air, from Galilee to Terfato, in Dalmatia. While it stood on a little eminence near the shore, a curate in the neigh. bourhood pretended he had a revelation discovering it to be the true house of the mother of God; and the governor of Dalmatia was so weak, as to send four persons to enquire whether it was still standing at Nazareth, where they found no vestiges of it. On the 10th of December, 1294, it was fet down in a wood, in the district of Recanati, about a thousand paces from the sea. The votaries of Rome, who relate those miracles, are absurd enough to say, that the trees and shurbs in the wood where it was seated, bowed their heads in reverence, and remained in that posture till they withered and decayed. The owner of the spot was a pious lady, one Loretta, by whose name the house is now diffinguished; but the troubles of Italy having rendered the access of the pilgrims to the house dangerous, the angels again removed it to a hill about a thousand paces nearer to Recanati, on an estate belonging to two brothers. At first they received the miraculous present with infinite satisfaction, but the vast profits accruing from the votaries who visited it, occasioned the two brothers to quarrel, and they fought a duel, in which both of them were killed. neighbourhood being thus poluted with blood, the angels, by command of the holy virgin, carried the house a bowthat farther up the country, to the place where it now stands, about two thousand geometrical paces from the sea. We shall not enlarge upon the monstrous fictions to which this holy house has given rise. It is certain, that it has been often the occasion of the greatest dangers to Italy, on account of the immense wealth it contains, and therefore fome account of it claimed a place here.

Boniface VIII. pope.

Upon the abdication of pope Celestine IV. the cardinal Cajetan, who took the name of Boniface VIII. was chosen to succeed him, and one of the first acts of his government, was his abolishing, or reversing, all that had been done by his two immediate predecessors. The ill will that this created him, obliged him to purge himself by a solema declaration of his conduct, and upon his return from St. Peter's church, where he was confecrated, the kings of Hungary, and Sicily, on foot, held the reins of his horse. Being conscious of the indirect practices he had made ule of for to attain the papal dignity, and that many were diffatisfied with the validity of his election, he employed a number of his creatures, who feized Celestine, as he was endeavouring to escape to Dalmatia, and after obliging him to renew the act of his abdication, he shut him up in 1 strong castle, where he died. Boniface then applied himself to reconcile the differences that were then raging among

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the princes of Europe, particularly between the French, and the Arragonians; and this brings us back to the history of the Two Sicilies.

Upon the death of Alphonso, king of Arragon, his brother Affairs of James, king of Sicily, had succeeded to that throne, but had Sicily. left his brother Frederic, his lieutenant in Sicily. Frederic had the prudence to divert the Genoese from taking part with the French, and Loria, the Sicilian admiral, reduced the islands of Corfu, Malvasia, and Chios, and preserved his superiority over the French by sea. The latter were at this time involved in disputes, and king James refused to confirm the treaty which his brother had made with the French. Charles the Lame, willing to close the war between the houses of Anjou, and Arragon, entered upon terms of accommodation with James. The abdication of Celestine, and the elevation of Boniface VIII. who was an enemy to James, and to the papal throne, broke off the negociation, by his ordering James to refign to Charles the kingdom of Sicily, under the pain even of excommunication and deposition. James would have despised his menaces; but to prevent a new confederacy, formed by the French against him, from taking place, he sent ambassadors to Rome, where a peace was An ac-

concluded, by which James consented to restore Sicily to commo-Charles of Valois, whose daughter he was to marry, upon dation.

the diffolution of his marriage with the princess of Castile.

The consent of the Sicilians, who were headed by don Frederic Frederic, Loria, and John Procida, were wanting to this chosen accommodation. The pope endeavoured to bring Frederic king of over by the magnificent, but empty, title of emperor Sicily, of Constantinople. Frederic found the Sicilians to averse to the late treaty, that he endeavoured to prevail on James to renounce it. Instead of that, James renounced the crown of Sicily; upon which, the inhabitants unanimously declared Frederic their king, who was crowned on the 25th of March, 1295. It is faid, that the reason why James abandoned the protection of the Sicilians was, his having obtained a grant of the islands of Corfica, and Sardinia. The dowager queen Constance, in whose right the crown of Sicily was held by the house of Arragon, approved of Frederic's elevation, and so determined were the Sicilians to support him, that, when the pope offered to give them their own terms, if they would refume their allegiance to the house of Anjou, his messengers were obliged to sly out of Sicily for fear of their lives. After this, all hopes of an accommodation vanishing, Loria carried Frederic over to Calabria, where he reduced many important places; but hearing that his brother James had declared himself the champion of the pope, and the Anjouvine family, he returned to Sicily, while Loria reduced Lecce, and Otranto, which he fortified. Some differences, about this time, fell out between Frederic and Loria, and the latter declared himself for

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Charles, who immediately raised him to a great estate, and createded him admiral of both Sicilies. Blasco de Alagona, was then general for Frederic, in Calabria, where he checked the progress of Loria's arms, by the latter being entirely defeated, wounded, and obliged to fly. Frederic replaced the loss of Loria, by giving Conrade Doria, a Genoese, the command of his fleet. The king of Arragon invaded Sicily with a powerful armament, and many places either were reduced by him, or yielded to him; but he lost eighteen thousand men in the siege of Syracuse; which obliged him to return to Naples. During his absence, Frederic recover-is deseat ed all that had been taken from him. James equipped a new fleet, and beat that of Frederic, who behaved very gallantly in the engagement, but lost twenty two gallies, the officers of which were put to death by Loria, out of private revenge. James, instead of pursuing this blow, returned to Arragon, by which he faved his brother from ruin.

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Frederic escaping from this defeat, found the Sicilians fecuted by more attached than ever to his fortunes; and when the duke the pope. of Calabria, fon to Charles, attended by Loria, landed on this island, they at first found a vigorous resistance. All the Sicilians not being equally zealous for Frederic, they afterwards reduced a great part of the island, which saved their army from perishing for want of provisions. The pope hearing of their good success, endeavoured by his legate Gerard of Parma, to detatch the remaining Sicilians from Frederic; but in yain, and the latter defeated and took prisoner the prince of Tarento, who had arrived with a reinforcement to the duke of Calabria from Naples. war in Sicily, after this, became very hot. Frederic defeated the duke of Calabria by land; but Loria beat Doria's fleet, and the duke of Calabria, who was married to Frederic's fifter, agreed, by her influence, to a conference at Syracuse, where a, truce for fix months was concluded. returned to Naples, and there being no appearance of an accommodation, both parties prepared to renew the war

Arrival of with redoubled vigour. During those transactions, the Charles de pope had artfully engaged Charles of Valois, by feeding him with the hopes of placing him on the imperial thrones of Valois. Germany, and Greece, to take upon him the chief weight of the war against Frederic. To encourage him in this, he created him vicar of the empire in Italy, the pacificator of Tuscany, and governor of the ecclesiastical states; and he accordingly went, with an armed force, to Florence, where he behaved so absurdly, that the Florentines, in a manner

drove him out of their city.

While dispositions were making against the Sicilians, Boni-Infolence and ambi- face, who affected to be the temporal, as well as spiritual, tion of the master of Europe, interposed in the quarrels between Edward, of England, and the people of Scotland, and between the same Edward, and the king of France; but without and

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fuccess. Edward despised him, when he could no longer serve him; and the king of France prohibited all foreign ecclesiastics to enter his kingdom, and all Frenchmen to leave it, without his allowance. As to Edward, he in a manner threw off all regard to the pope, and obliged his churchmen to pay whatever taxes he was pleased to impose. The like spirit of independency manifesting itself among the other powers of Europe, Boniface thought it was high time to check them. Possessed of all the spirit that had filled the most arrogant of his predecessors, he issued a bull, mutually prohibiting all princes from taxing ecclefiaftics, and all ecclefiaftics from paying fuch taxes, though required; and this under pain of excommunication to both parties, if they acted without permission from his holiness. He afterwards foftened that bull, by allowing that fovereigns, in extreme exigencies of state, might tax their ecclefiaftics.

The family of Colonna, having opposed the elevation of Who inhis holiness to the popedom, and still refusing to acknow- terposes ledge him as the true pope, he deprived the two cardinals in the of that family of their dignity, and ordered a crusade to be preached up against them, and discovered a most unchristian and inveterate acrimony against all who gave them protection. To qualify this feverity against two cardinals, he published other bulls in favour of the facred college, and fuch as tended to make the persons of those who did not oppose him, sacred. In 1298, after the emperor Adolph, of German Nussau, had been dethroned by the Germans, and killed by affairs his competitor Albert, of Austria, Boniface declared the See latter a traitor to the holy see, and refused to confirm his Vol. IX. election to the imperial throne; but both he and the king p. 8. of France, united out of hatred to Boniface, and confirmed et seq. their union by mutual marriages. This did not daunt the haughty pontiff, who even ordered Edward, of England, to appear by his ambassadors at Rome, to justify himself for invading the rights of the crown of Scotland, which he pretended to be subject to the holy see.

It is almost incredible, that this pope should find support, General as he did, after so many instances of a frantic conduct; restection, but he had many resources. Though the princes and states of Italy began, at this time to have some dawn of a liberal way of thinking; though the kings of England, France, and Arragon, detested the usurpations of the popedom, and the princes of the empire hated him, yet he sounded his greatness on the prepossessions of the middling and lower ranks of people in favour of the holy see, and the successor of St. Peter. They had seen him and his predecessors, disposing of crowns and empires, and they had heard of the proudest temporal princes crawling before their tribunal, which they attributed to a divine right inherent in the popedom. But those prepossessions were not his only sup-

ports,

GENERAL HISTORY

The Roman see had almost invariably reserved to itself a right to judge of the titles to sovereignty, and this right had been to often successfully (though arbitrarily and wickedly) exercised, that uninformed as the common peo. ple of those times were, they could consider it only as a mark of divinity stamped upon the character of St. Peter's successor. Their leaders, however they might defpife those weaknesses, still found it their interest to adopt them, according to their various views; so that a papal votary, though, in his claim without the least shadow of justice, if authorized by the holy see, was always sure of The subsequent part of finding followers, and abettors. our history will justify those observations.

The jututed.

The year 1300 afforded a plaufible handle for Boniface to bilee insti- extend his empire over the heads of the Christians. Every one knows that, in the times of heathenism, the Romans, and Italians, celebrated the return of a new century with fecular games, celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the introduction of christianity into Italy, the people there still retained many vestiges of antient idolatry and usages, as may be easily discerned by those who are conversant in their history, and theology. The renewal of the secular games, though under another denomination, was of infinite service to Baniface, who this year instituted the celebration of a jubilee, in imitation of the Romans. On this occasion he published a bull, remitting the fins of all who should, upon confession and penitence, visit the churches of St. Peter, and St. Paul, at Rome; a devise, palpably calculated by him to bring immense profit to his own dominions, which are said to have been then visited by two hundred thousand strangers. He excepted however, out of his bull of indulgence, all who traded with the Saracens, Frederic king of Sicily, and the cardinals of Colonna. Notwithstanding this unusual resort of strangers to Rome, all provisions there were found in great plenty, and cheap. This jubilee has been, by the successors of Boniface, observed at the end of every fifty years. The zeal of Boniface for crusaders, seems to have fallen short of that of his predecessors, on account of his earnestness to advance his own power in Italy, and the coldness, with which the princes of Europe now entertained fuch projects. He joined however with the king of Naples, in obliging the Saracens, who were fettled at Lucera, either to be baptized, or leave the country; but only a few of them chose the former, and these were called Marrani.

Infolence of the pope.

When the emperor Albert of Germany, defired the pope to confirm his election, the infolent pontiff, when he gave audience to the embaffadors, appeared with a fword by his fide, and rejecting their suit, he told them that he was Cæsar as well as pope. Philip the Fair, of France, having, in imitation of the king of England, taxed his ctergy without

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eave from Boniface, and even employed for his own use he money that had been raised for a crusade; the pope, by way of punishment, enjoined him to undertake an expedition into Syria, and sent the bishop of Pamieres, a native of France, but who had been driven out of it for seditious practices, to be his legate there, and to threaten Philip with excommunication if he proceeded in collecting the tythes, or revenues of the church. The bishop discharged his commission in so indecent a manner, by disclaiming all allegiance to Philip, that the latter accused him of treason, before an assembly of his nobles, and prelates, and he was committed prisoner to the custody of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne. Boniface was inexpressibly enraged at the imprisonment of his legate, and iffued a bull, declaring himself to be sovereign, both in spirituals and temporals, over all the states and kings in the world. He issued, at the same time, summonses for all the He sum-French bishops to appear before him at Rome; and if the mons the king of France did not immediately fet his legate at liberty, French he threatened him with excommunication and depolition. bishops to When the nuntio, who was likewise a Frenchman born, Rome. presented his bull, and credentials, the count of Artois threw them into the fire, and both he and the imprisoned legate were fent out of the kingdom. Philip then called a parliament to vindicate the rights of his crown from the encroachments of the holy fee. But he and the other princes of those days, were capitally mistaken in admitting the authority of the church of Rome, while, at the same time, they disputed the power of the pope, and in respecting his pontifical, while they rejected his personal authority. Those distinctions, which perhaps, were in some measure necessary for the temper of the age, obliged Philip to proceed with great moderation, and laid him under many difficulties.

He guarded his frontiers indeed against all communication His with the pope's agents; but he sent one of his counsellors breach to plead his cause at Rome, which he did with so much with the freedom, that Boniface was more exasperated than ever. king of He suspended the king, and kingdom of France from the France. benefit of all the favours and indulgences that had been granted them by his predecessors; he prohibited all ecclehaltics from making payments of any kind to the temporal power; he summoned the French clergy to a general council, and forty of them actually went to Rome, whose temporalities the king seized. In 1302, the French king and nation were weak enough to fend a fresh deputation of three bishops to plead their cause before the pope. His holiness was at this time in treaty with the emperor Albert, about confirming his election, and not having it as yet in his power to employ the temporal fword with fufficient efficacy, he behaved towards the king of France with un-

usual moderation; offering, if he would fend him a depu-

tation of noblemen, he would retract all he had done to

See p. 12.

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toner.

Vol. IX. his prejudice. This proposition not being agreed to, B. niface came to an accommodation with the emperor Albert, and at the same time sent to Philip a new set of claims for establishing his own power over ecclesiastics, independently of the temporal, or any other; with feveral other infolent demands besides. Those articles were rejected by Philip. and he was excommunicated by the pope. Philip, upon this, again called his parliament together, and an accusation was there preferred by the nobles against Boniface, of fimony, facrilege, magic, and other enormities. At the same time they had the weakness to profess an entire sub. mission to the holy church, and the authority of the future pope, to whom they appealed. The pope answered Philis by renewing his excommunications, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, giving his kingdom to the emperor Albert, and exhorting all the neighbouring princes to attack him. The cardinals of the Colonna family had fled to France. taken pri- where they laid a scheme with one Nogaret, a Frenchman, for carrying off his holiness from Anagni, where he then refided. They fet out for Italy, where they privately engaged about three hundred French horse, who had been in the retinue of Charles of Valois, and they proceeded with fuch fecrecy, that they surprized the pope in his palace, The watch word given was "Let the pope die and the French live." Boniface, though surprized, was undaunted, and kept up his dignity to the full. Perceiving that he was a prisoner, he drest himself in his tiara, he grasped his keys in one hand, and his crosser in the other, and ordering the doors of his apartment to be thrown open, presented himfelf before Colonna, and Nogaret, with the same majesty as if he had been upon the papal throne; upon which Colonna fruck him, and commanded him to refign the popedom, "I am (replied Boniface firmly,) pope, and I will de pope," and according to some authors who lived nearest that time, he even returned the blows, and made fo gallant a relistance, that the conspirators left him to secure to themselves the plunder of his palace. By this time, the Anagnians observing how despicable the number of the French was, took arms, rescued the pope, and drove them out of their city. Some writers have said, that his holiness was detained prisoner for a few days; but it is certain, that

medict X.

on his return to Rome, he died with vexation. Bucceed. He was succeeded by Benedict, whom some call the 10th, ed by Be- and some the 11th, of that name. This pontiff was acknowledged by the king of France, though he summoned Nogaret, Colonna, and all who were concerned in the furprizal of his predecessor, to appear before his tribunal, and receive judgment for that heinous offence. He affected great moderation in his principles, and gave a favourable reception to the Tartar, and other, ambasiadors who recog-

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nized his authority; and he fent a legate to reconcile the livisions of Florence, a city that now becomes a principal bject in the history of Italy. Its government was popular, but divided. The natives were more ingenious and more actious than any people in Italy; and the pope wanted to fignalize his pontificate, by bringing them under his jurifiction, under pretext of uniting them. His legate, cardinal Nicholas, of Prato, artfully took the part of the people against the nobility, and new modelled the government; so that it became more democratical than ever. His great aim was to restore the exiles to their rights of denization, by which he thought, their gratitude would bind them to the papal interest. He might have succeeded in this view, had he not proceeded too hastily, and authoritatively; fo that the quick fighted Florentines perceived his defign, and forced him to fly to the pope his master, who was then at Perugia. The cardinal's refentment made him represent the Florentines in so unfavourable a light, that Benedict ordered twelve of their principal citizens to appear before his tribunal; which they accordingly did, with magnificent equipages. The legate took that opportunity of encouraging the exiles to make a forcible entry into the city. This they attempted, but were driven out by the citizens; and, in the mean time, the pope dying, the Florentine deputies, returned to their city, which still remained under an interdict laid upon it by the legate.

While the pope remained at Perugia, hostilities continu- History of ed in Sicily, between the Anjouvine party and Frederic. The Sicily. latter was inferior in force, but acted so cautiously, and distressed the French army so much, that Charles of Valois was obliged to propose an accommodation between him and Charles king of Naples. After various conferences, a treaty was concluded, by which Frederic was acknowledged to be the lawful king of Sicily, which he was to hold under the name of Trinacria; and that he should evacute all the places he held in Calabria. Charles of Naples, undertook to prevail with the pope to ratify this treaty. In the mean while, Charles Martel, the eldest brother of the duke of Calabria, dying, the latter became heir to the crown of Naples, and in 1303, the pope ratified the late peace; but imposed upon Frederic, for the possession of Sicily, a yearly tribute of fifteen thousand livres, besides obliging him to yield to the holy fee all the ecclefiaftical jurisdictions within his kingdom. This peace had been effected chiefly through the prospect which Charles of Valois entertained of being affished by Frederic, and Charles of Sicily, in obtaining the empire of Constantinople; but in this he was disappointed, by the differences between his brother the king of France, and the pope, which we have already recounted. The remaining part of Benedict's life was divided between acts of ambition and piety. He obliged the king of Arragon to pay him

homage for the possession of Sardinia, and Corsica. He took off the sentence of excommunication against the king of France. He fent a legate to England, to reconcile differences between the English and the Scots, and earnest Death of laboured in reconciling the Venetians to the Paduans. But the pope. while he was thus intent on the duties of his function, he

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was poisoned at Perugia, on the seventh of July, 1304. The college of cardinals, upon the death of pope Bene. ceeded by diet, was divided in regard to their choice of his fuccessor, Clement V. The one party was intent to elect a pope who should be in the king of France's interest, and consequently a friend to the Colonna family, in which they were most obstinately They at length (after a dispute of opposed by the other. nine months) came to a coalition, and agreed to chuse three Frenchmen one of which, should be returned as pope within the space of forty days. Notwithstanding this agreement, the party rage revived, and the enemies of the king of France prevailed, by electing the archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was supposed to be the king's professed enemy. king of France being apprehensive of his success, had previously adjusted matters with the archbishop, who agreed to all his proposals, particularly an oblivion of all violences against Boniface, and to grant him the tenth part of his revenues for five years. The archbishop was soon after confecrated pope, in the city of Lyons, and assumed the name of Clement V. Clement fulfilled his engagements faithfully in every respect with the king of France; and upon his assuming the papal chair, he concerted measures to recover Palestine from the infidels; for which purpose he sent the bilhop of Durham, under the title of patriarch of Terusalem, to the emperor, and other potent princes, demanding their affiftance; he also obtained a confiderable fleet from the Venetians, to recover Constantinople from the Greeks. The party of the Guelphs had for some time disturbed the peace of Italy, and, in conjunction with the Florentines and Luquese, under Robert, son to the king of Naples, were at this time making war upon the Gibelines. Two nuncios were fent by Clement to order them to defist, which orders were obeyed by the Guelphs, but contemned by the others; whereupon Clement, who was still at Lyons, appointed cardinal Urfini, his legate over Italy, with an unlimitted commission. This cardinal being in the interest of the Gibelines, his authority was so far from having any effect over the Florentines, that they drove him, with his whole retinue, out of Bologna; whereupon he pronounced fentence of excommunication against the city, and deprived it of its liberties. The king of England being at this time in Flanders, com-

who excommunicates the Florentines, and preaches up a crufade.

plained to Clement, of some irregularities committed by the archbishop of Canterbury; in consequence of which, Clement fuspended him, and went to Poitiers, to reconcile the differences between England and France. At this time every

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thing was prepared for the fiege of Constantinople, under Charles of Valois. The emperor Andronicus was excommunicated, and one Haythonius, a friar, was employed by the pope to draw up a remonstrance to the powers of Christendom, proving it to be their duty to attack the Saracens, as those infidels were at difference amongst themselves. the arguments of Haythonius, though backed by the intreaties of the pope, produced no effect. The missionaries of the pope, having had great success in making proselytes in Tartary, Clement wrote a letter of thanks to the khan, for his kindness towards them, exhorting him at the same time, to embrace the christian faith. He also consecrated his legate, archbishop of Cambalu, in that empire. Clement, having not yet fulfilled his promise with the king of France, in regard to Boniface, the king reminded him of it, and infisted upon his burning the bones of Boniface, as those of an heretic. But Clement excused himself from this rigorous injunction, by promising the king to call a general council, without which no pope could be condemned; pacifying him at the same time, by deposing those cardinals who had been appointed by Boniface.

A circumstance happened at this time, which astonished Europe. The Knights Templars, were, by several of their bre-Knights thren, accused of the most enormous impieties, and thro' Templars the remonstrances of the king of France, the pope published are aboa bull for the extirpation of the order, and condemned lished. those knights who had made the voluntary confession of their crimes, to be burnt to death by a flow fire; one Dulcinus, who deviated from the opinion of the pope and

bishops, was also burnt in this year.

The emperor Albert, being affassinated by his nephew, the Election duke of Swabia, the king of France, set out for Poitiers, to so- of an emlicit the pope to transfer the empire to France; but Clement, peror. who was informed of the king's purpose before he arrived, and knowing fuch a decree would disoblige the Germans, privately fent messengers to the electors, and informed them of it, adviling them, at the same time, to elect another emperor with all expedition; they, upon this remonstrance, elected Henry, duke of Luxemberg, which election was confirmed by the pope. This year the pope removed his court to Avignon in Provence; and upon his arrival in that city, he was informed that the Venetians had seized upon Ferrara, which belonged to the church, whereupon he excommunicated the Venetians. Ferrara was foon after retaken by an army of crusaders, confisting of French, Florentines, and Bolognese; and in confideration of this affistance, the pope annulled the fentence of excommunication the two latter then lay under. Charles, king of Naples, dying at this time, was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Robert, who, afterwards was created by the pope, count of Romaniola, upon his making a vow to undertake an expedition to the

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Holy Land; Robert, at the same time was discharged of the debt, his father had contracted with the apostolic see, but obliged himself, in consideration of his sief, to pay an annual

tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold.

The following year, the pope annulled all the decrees of annuls his Boniface, against the king of France; and great disputes at predecef- the same time happened, on account of William Nogaret, for's acts. and William Plegsianus, traducing the memory of Boniface, before the pope, in a general council. The kings of Caffile and Arragon, with great warmth, remonstrated against such proceedings; whereupon Nogaret, with his coadjutors, were banished for life, into the Holy Land. The Venetians also, this year, begged for absolution, offering, at the same time, to make ample reparation for the outrages they had committed against the territories of the church; but Clement gave no ear to their intreaties. Clement also summoned a general council to be held at Vienne, in Dauphine, on the first of October following. In this year, the Knights Hospitallers made an expedition from Cyprus, whither they had retired upon the loss of Palestine, and made themselves masters of Rhodes, at that time in possession of the infidels. The emperor Henry, upon the pope confirming his election, having promised to come to Rome, within two years, to receive the imperial crown, fet out for that city, with a numerous army and a most magnificent retinue, to fulfil his engagements; and upon his arrival at Lousanne, he sent ambassadors to the pope, renewing his oaths of allegiance, and confirming the donations of former emperors to the apostolic see. In his journey through Italy, he was received in every city with proper respect. Although this emperor, by the advice of his fubjects in Germany, favoured the party of the Gibbelines, who were still at variance with the Guelphs, yet he decided a cause confirming the territory of Montserrat, in favour of a Guelph, who disputed it with a Gibbeline; this greatly offended the Gibbelines, and gained him the hearts of the principal Guelphs. On the fixth of January following, he arrived at Milan, where he was crowned by the archbishop of that city, with the iron crown.

Henry, upon his coronation, applied himself affiduously in restoring tranquility between factious parties, and recalled several of them from exile; but a violent fedition happening at Milan, in which the emperor was near losing his life, and the Guelphs joining the king of Naples, who was likewife at variance with the emperor, they opposed his journey to Rome.

A council

Clement being to attend the council at Vienne, which was at Vienne, held this year, gave a commission to five cardinals to crown the emperor at Rome. At this council the king of France affifted in person, with upwards of three hundred archbishops and bishops, all of whom confirmed the suppression of the Templars, and gave their possessions among the several orders of religious knights. A crusade was also agreed aportand the king of France promised to serve in it. Clement also confirmed the decree of Gregory X. in regard to the suture elections of popes; he likewise ordained the Hebrew and other dead languages to be taught, in all the universities in Europe; and dismissed the council the May following.

Henry met with great opposition from the Guelphs, who Disturbhaving got possession of St. Peter's Church, rendered it im- ances in possible for him to be crowned in it, notwithstanding all Italy. his efforts, affished by the king of Sicily, to expel them from thence. Upon this, he prevailed with the cardinals to crown him in the Lateran Church, and his coronation was afterwards approved of by the pope; Henry, at the same time, renewing his oaths of fidelity. The pope commanded him to swear to a truce with the king of Naples, whom Henry would have attacked for affilting the Guelphs. refused, because, as he alleged, the pope had no religious, or civil, right, to command the emperor to make a truce with his valials; but out of the great regard, which he bore to Clement, Henry agreed not to attack the king of Naples for a twelvemonth; after which he fet out upon his return to Germany, and ravaged Florence in his way,

The next year, Henry reassumed his intentions to conquer Naples, and, at the intercession of the king of France, Clement was prevailed upon to threaten him with excommunication, in case he persisted in that undertaking. He privately hinted to Henry, at the same time, that his being in possession of Naples, would not displease him. This year The pope the pope sent two cardinals into England, to interpose his sends a leauthority in reconciling the barons, who at that time were gation to in arms against the king; but this embassy had no manner of England. weight with the barons, they refusing to acknowledge the pope's supremacy. The emperor, was now taken with a violent sever, in his march to Naples, and soon after he died

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Clement being apprehensive that, upon the emperor's death, it would be in vain to encourage the expedition against Naples, he countermanded any farther proceedings in regard to it, and thought it most prudent to re-establish his amity with that king, by condemning the sentence pronounced against him (as a traitor) by the late emperor, appointing him likewise his vicar, and a senator of Rome. Clement, at this time sent crosses to the kings of England, France, and Navarre, enjoining them to an expedition to the Holy Land. He was soon after seized with a dysentry, and died on his Death of

Way to his native country, Bourdeaux. the pope The death of the pope revived the differntions of the car- Vacancy dinals and bishops, and the disputes ran so high, that the of the Gascons actually set fire to the conclave where the cardinals holy see.

were assembled; and the papal chair continued empty for two years. The Pisans, assisted by the Germans, this year, deseated the Guelphs, and made themselves masters of Luc-

ca, where they seized upwards of a million of gold floring, Guido Turriano, affisted by the king of Sicily, obtained a confiderable victory over the Visconti, in Lombardy. This occasioned the archbishop of Milan, then seventy years of age, to be excommunicated, which fentence he despised, and

assumed the title of prince of Milan.

At this time, a new feet arose in Germany, called Lol. lards, from one Lollar, a diffenting priest, whose teness were adapted to the genius and inclination of his country. men and followers, particularly that of abolishing fasts, and permitting them to eat flesh any day; with several other fingularities, some of which were rational, others impiously absurd.

See Vol. IX. P. 13. et Jeg. Tohn XXII. pope.

The papal chair being still vacant, the king of France fent his brother, the count of Poitiers, to Lyons, where he reassembled the cardinals, and forcibly shut them up in a monastery, telling them, at the same time, he would confine them there till they should agree in the election of a pope, The cardinals continued in this confinement near fix weeks. when they referred the election to the bishop of Porto. The bishop proposed himself, and the cardinals confirming him, on the ninth of September he was crowned pope, and affumed the name of John XXII. Soon after, John received ambassadors from the dukes of Bavaria and Austria, competitors for the empire, each of them begging a confirmation John, not inclining to favour either, of his election. excused himself, pretending he would consider of it, but fuperfeded the king of Arragon's fon, in the bishoprick of Ferragona, and gave it to the bishop of Saragossa.

State of affairs in Italy.

The difference of the different parties of the competitors for the empire, still continuing in Germany, John resolved to crush the growing power and interest of the Gibbelines in Italy. He renewed all the despotic claims of his predecelfors, over Italy, and erected schools where they were to be inculcated, as articles of faith upon the rifing generation. The reader, in a former volume, will find the hiftory of Italy, as connected with that of Germany, to the year 1317, when upon the death of the emperor, Henry VII. an interregnum of fourteen months enfued. During this period, the pope claimed the administration of the empire, and threatened excommunication to all who should dare to act during the vacancy. He granted the vicariate of Italy, to Robert, king of Naples, and endeavoured to destroy the family of Visconti, at Milan, and the other princes of Italy who favoured the duke of Bavaria's pretentions to the empire. The state of Italy, at this time, affords great matter for historical reflection. The different cities and commonwealths, who had struggled for their liberties, equally against the emperor, and the pope, had fallen under the dominion of their own citizens. The Visconti, ruled at Milan; the Donati, at Florence; the Scaligers, at Verona; the Bonacorfi, at Mantua; and in short,

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VOL. X.

every petty state had its tyrant, who oppressed it under pretence of preserving its independency. The popes were the real friends of liberty, out of hatred to the emperors, and would have chastized those usurpers, had they not sheltered themselves under the imperial authority. John Consedewas so indefatigable in afferting the authority of the poperacy adom, that he brought upon himself several conspiracies of gainst the Gibelines; and we are told, that the bishop of Cahors, poper being convicted on that account, was flayed and burnt alive. John sound much greater success in England than in Scotland, where Robert Bruce possessed the throne; but his holiness, as well as Edward king of England, refused to give him the title of king.

The papal legates at the English court, after sleecing the He is op-

subjects there, were ordered to travel to Scotland, and fent posed by their credentials to Robert, who rejected them, because they the Scots. were addressed to him only as governor, and even threatened to hang them both up, if they entered his kingdom. The legates were startled at this menace, and not daring to proceed, endeavoured to negociate by writing an accommodation between the two kingdoms. Robert refused to comply even with this proposal, or to enter into a negociation of any kind, but under the title and character of king; upon which he and his party were excommunicated. About this time, his holiness found it his interest to propa- His acts gate the doctrine of the existence of magicians, and necro- of reformancers, under one or both of which denominations, he mation. comprehended the most obnoxious of his enemies, and levelled all his thunders against them. Some of the Franciscans having dared to affert, that his holiness, his court, and clergy, did not live up to the purity of the gospel, and having maintained leveral other tenets of reformation, they were declared to be heretics, the flames of persecution were lighted up against them; and four of them were burned at Marseilles. Some of the Italian Gibelines, the viscount of Milan in particular, out of hatred to the pope, protected those heretics, and was himself declared to be one of them, for having prohibited the tortures of the inquisition in his dominions, and checking the overgrown ambition and avarice of ecclefiaftics; and he was accordingly, with all his party, excommunicated. Visconti, who had power equal to Confede. his abilities, renewed the league of the Lombard cities racies aagainst his holiness; and Canis Scaliger, who was called the gainst him doge of Verona, was appointed general of the confederacy, which foon grew to be very formidable. The Genoese being declared Guelphs, and headed by the king of Naples, invited those of Florence, Sienna, and other parts of Italy to join them; but Visconti's son, Galeazzo, carried the war to the very heart of their territory, where he spread inconceivable desolation, and laid siege to Genoa itself. The Genoese

being thus diffrest, applied to his holiness for relief, and he

prevailed

prevailed upon Robert, king of Naples, to fend them twelve hundred horse. Robert likewise carried twenty five gallies to their assistance, and the Genoese, in return, declared him the governor of their city for ten years. This reinforcement, with others raised by the Lombard Guelphs, turned the scale of the war against the Gibelines, and they were obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss, upon which Robert sailed to Avignon, to visit his holiness. In Lombardy, the spiritual arms of the popedom, though exerted with great vigour, and acrimony, had no effect; and John was obliged to employ Philip, of Valois, against Visconti, who was then besieging Vercelli. Philip found himself unable, with all the reinforcements the pope sent him, to raise the siege; and, after a conference with Galeazzo, he returned to France, under pretence of his not having been properly supported according to his agreement.

His stea-

The affairs of the popedom, at this time, wore a gloomy aspect, and nothing but the steadiness of John could have prevented them from going to ruin. All his flattering promises of making Philip of Valois, lieutenant general of the church in Italy, could not bring him back to his service. The Albigenses, and the Waldenses, again appeared in France, and were again consigned to the slames; as were the Jews, and other heretics of all denominations. John attached himself more closely than ever to the kings of France, and Naples, and to please the latter he excommunicated Frederic, king of Trinacria; which brings our history back to that of the Two Sicilies.

Affairs of Naples.

Frederic, king of Trinacria, had been a zealous leader of the Italian Gibelines, and his treasury having been exhausted in their fervice, he revived the antient claims of the kings of Sicily, by taxing the ecclefiaftical livings within his dominions, for which he had been excommunicated. was fo far from intimidating Frederic, that in a full affembly of the Sicilian barons, he ordered his fon to be crowned. Robert took on himself the execution of the pope's sentence. He returned from Avignon to Genoa, and proceeded from thence to Naples, where he prepared a great fleet for invading Sicily. Frederic is accused of some wicked practices, not only against this armament, but against the person of Robert, and his fon the duke of Calabria, on the discovery of which some persons were put to death at Naples. duke of Calabria, landed at Palermo, with three thousand horse, and a numerous body of infantry; but after many attempts, all he could do was to lay waste, in an unmanly manner, that noble country; and he returned to Naples.

See Vol. IX p. 24. In 1326, as the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, was preparing to come to the affiltance of the Gibelines, the pope again appointed Robert to be vicar of the empire in Italy. Robert, still mindful of his refentment against Frederic, after sending some succours to the Lombard Guelphs, again invaded

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and ravaged Sicily, and marched to the affiftance of his fubjects the Genoese, against Castruccio Castruccani, of Lucca. The emperor Lewis, who despised all the fulminations and thunders of the pontiff, was by this time arrived at Trent; and it was natural for the king of Naples to imagine he would bend his chief force against his dominions, as he was the principal support of the Guelph faction in Italy. He endeavoured in vain to oppose the emperor's entering The em-Rome, where he was crowned, and where he loitered away peror his time in disputes with the pope, whom he sentenced to crowned death, though he was still at Avignon; fo that Robert had at Rometime to provide for the fafety of his dominions. He gave ibid. the command of his army to the duke of Calabria; and p. 26. though the emperor was favoured by Frederic of Trinacria; who invaded Naples, yet for want of money he could not proceed in his expedition, and was obliged to return to

Germany.

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The Romans, partly through their own inconstancy, and Revolupartly through the misconduct of Lewis, and the antipope, tions whom he had created, now detefted the imperial and Gibe- there: line factions, and invited the pope to return to their city. He excused himself on account of his great age, but sent thither a legate, who reverfed all that had been done by the emperor, and the antipope; and before the year 1329 was expired, John found no opposition in Italy, and even the antipope was fo completely deferted by the emperor, that he surrendered himself a prisoner, and the miserable remains of his life was spared upon his shewing proper figns This æra of the Italian history is extremely Reflection of repentance. Though a more favourable conjuncture could remarkable. not have presented itself for the abolition of the Guelph faction in Italy, than when Lewis invaded it; yet it is certain, that he mistook the sentiments of the Gibelines, who meant no more by joining his standards than to affert their own independency upon the pope, and regain possession of their lands held by their enemies the Guelphs; nor did they doubt of Lewis's speedily returning to Germany, and his leaving them absolute masters of Lombardy, and Tuscany, occasionally paying a very moderate acknowledgment to the em-The manner in which Lewis proceeded, proved to them, that if he should establish his power in Italy, they would have in his person a matter, who would unite the imperial and papal power, by which they would become This confideration influenced their conduct, doubly flaves. and they withdrew their affistance from Lewis. Upon the latter's return to Germany, the pope proceeded with great. asperity against the Franciscans, who had animated the Germans to all their violences; and every where in their fermons inveighed against the papacy. Michael Cofena, was their general, and was seconded by William Oakham, an Englishman, in publishing all the violent sentences that had

passed against John. They were accordingly excommunicated, and the pope threatened to abolish their order. John remained still at Avignon, and issued out monitories against the emperor's father-in-law William, of Hainault, who, under pretence of marching against the Moors in Spain, was advancing with an army towards that city.

The pope

John was now every where victorious; but his restless victorious, implacable temper rendered him the firebrand of christendom. The emperor Lewis applied to him in the most earnest and submissive manner, for a reconciliation; John, instead of granting it, ordered the electors of the empire to proceed to a new choice, and the king of Bohemia to de-That prince, instead of obeying the pope, throne him. fecretly leagued himself with Lewis, and as imperial vicar, marched with an army into Italy, where he reduced the greatest part of Lombardy. The weakness of the emperor in Germany, flattered the Bohemian king with a notion, that it was practicable for him, with the pope's affiftance, to erect his new conquests into a kingdom for himself and his New con-family. A fecret negociation followed between him and the federacies pope in the year 1331, which being foon discovered by its

p. 27.

take place effects, alarmed Lewis, and united the Guelphs, as well as the Gibelines, against the pope and the Bohemians. latter being obliged upon a confederacy formed against him in Germany, to return to Bohemia, left his fon his lieutenant in Italy, while Lewis again offered to be reconciled to the pope, who perfifted in rejecting all terms of an accommodation. Perceiving that the king of Bohemia was either unable or unwilling to fulfil his engagements, and that he was returning to his connections with the emperor, he artfully detached the duke of Austria from the confederacy. The Bohemian proving victorious over all his enemies in Germany, returned with an army to support his fon in Italy; but he found him a conqueror over the united forces of the Guelphs and Gibelines. The reader may form some computation of the internal strength of Italy, by the following proportions which each state contributed to the general The Florentines were to furnish fix hundred confederacy. horse; the Neapolitans the same number; the prince, (or as he was called the doge) of Verona, eight hundred; Azo, or Otho, viscount of Milan, one hundred; and the dukes of Ferrara, and Mantua, two hundred each; and we may reasonably suppose the infantry that were to be raised were in the fame proportions.

The pope mian troops defeated rara.

Though the king of Bohemia's arms were thus crowned and Bobe- with fuccess, this confederacy against him was so strong, that he could do nothing decifive towards establishing the plan he had in view; but the pope and he continued feemingly on as good terms as ever. The doge of Verona became near Fer. master of Brescia, and Bergamo; Azo surprized Pavia, but not its citadel; Charles of Bohemia, laid waste the Milanele,

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and attempted to retake Pavia, but was by Azo forced to return to Parma. His ally the pope's legate, after beating the Ferrarese, laid siege to their city, and seized all the country of the Romagna, and the Bolognese. The inhabitants of Ferrara applied to the inhabitants of Florence for relief, which they found extremely difficult to fend them, as the Rohemian troops were in possession of all the passes by Modena, and Parma. Two young gentlemen, Stroza, and Scala, undertook to conduct the reinforcement, confifting of four hundred horse, and they brought them to Verona, from whence they bravely threw themselves into Ferrara. king of Bohemia, had by this time, brought from Parma 2 reinforcement of Germans to the legate's camp, and they were preparing to form Ferrara just at the time the Florentines entered it. The latter, who acted with a greater spirit, and upon truer principles of liberty than any of the other Italian states, encouraged the Ferrarese and their confederates in the city to make a fally, which they did with fo much success, that their enemies were totally defeated, and most of them who escaped the swords of the confederates were drowned in the Po.

This victory proved fatal to the Bohemians affairs in Italy. Success Romagna revolted from the pope, and it was with difficulty of the that the German horse overawed the Bolognese from follow-Lombard ing the example. The sons of Castruccani took Lucca, but confede it was retaken by the Bohemians. The successes of the con-rates.

federates gave them such spirits, that they renewed their engagements with one another, and their chiefs held an assembly at Lerice, then in the Genoese territory. Though they had previously agreed upon the allotments which each prince or state was to posses, yet several of them were still to be conquered. They determined however, to prosecute the war till the purposes of the confederacy were answered. The viscount of Milan was to posses Gremona; Parma was to fall to the share of the Veronese; Reggio was allotted to the duke of Mantua; Modena to the duke of Ferrara, and Pisa to the Florentines. The pope omitted nothing that could break the force of this confederacy. He treated by turns with the kings of France, Naples, Arragon, and England, but his chief confederate, the king of Bohemia, found it very difficult for him to keep his footing in Italy.

After the battle of Ferrara, the legate, who was a com-Defertion pound of avarice, arrogance, and tyranny, fled to Bologna, of the where he was so much hated that the people besieged him Germans in the citadel he had built for overawing them. The Flo-from them rentines retained so much regard for the legate's character,

that they sent three hundred horse to meditate between him and the Bolognese; and it was with the utmost difficulty that upon his surrendering the citadel, he was permitted to depart alive out of the city. Parma was the next object of the consederates, and it was besieged by them. The Floratest the consederates, and it was besieged by them.

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rentines being then at war with the Lucquese, befieged their capital at the same time, and in a general rendezvous demanded that a detachment from the main army should be fent to affift them in reducing Lucca. The strength of the confederates at that time, confifted in some German mercenaries, that had been furnished them by the emperor, who was still passionately fond of a reconciliation with his holiness; and the legate tampered with them so effectually, that they mutined, and instead of besieging, they defended, This defertion disconcerted the affairs of the confederacy so much, that the two sieges were raised; but foon after refumed. The king of Bohemia, who was in the French interest, endeavoured to save Lucca, by making a donation of it to the king of France; but the Florentines paid no regard to the deed, and continued their preparations. In the mean while, the Veronese were carrying on the fiege of Parma, which was defended by two noble brothers, of the name of Ross, to whom, and an other brother, who commanded in Lucca, the king of Bohemia owed large sums of money. The doge of Verona, who was reckoned the most politic, but the most treacherous and masters of ambitious prince in Italy, offered terms to the Venetians, who were his implacable enemies, and protected Parma; and Lucca. but they were rejected. He then applied to the two brothers, who furrendered Parma, upon his engaging to repay the money owing them by the Bohemian; and it was likewise agreed, upon the same terms, that he should be put in possession of Lucca by the third brother, which he accordingly was, and upon promifing to pay the money, he became master of both places. By this time, the duke of

War in Tuscany.

Modena. Florence, being thus the only party in the confederacy that was disappointed in the terms agreed on, required the Veronese prince to put her in possession of Lucca. demanded the money he had paid, which he pretended amounted to an immense sum, no less than one hundred thousand pounds. The Florentines offered to raise it, but perceived the Veronese was only trifling with them, which drew on a war between them. The general hatred borne by all Italy to the Veronese, who was now the most powerful prince in Lombardy, greatly encouraged the Florentines, who proceeded in the war with proper steadiness. They ravaged the territories of the Veronese allies, and hearing that that prince was marching with an army against the city through Romagna, they attempted to give him a diversion, by transferring the feat of war to Lombardy. Venetians were the only people of Italy who joined the Florentines on this occasion; but the assistance they gave them was inadaquate to their strength; if it is true, that Venice at this time could eafily raife eighty thousand fighting mens

Mantua was possessed of Reggio, as the Ferrarese were of

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The Veronese prince deceived the Rossi, as he did all with whom he was concerned, and one of them (Peter) who was an excellent officer, was taken into the service of the Florentines and Venetians. Escaping from Pontremoli, where he had been befieged, he came to Florence, where he was put at the head of eight hundred horse, with which he undertook to reduce Lucca. He was encountered by the Veronese governor of that city, whom he defeated, and purfued with great flaughter to its gates. Though Roffi was unsuccessful in his main design, yet his reputation was fo great, that he was trufted with the command of the combined army against the Veronese, whom he defeated in various skirmishes, but without being able to bring that prince to a decifive action. The Venetians, who had entered into the war only to preferve the ballance of power in Italy against the Veronese, had been sparing of their own citizens, but had taken into their pay a body of German, and other mercenaries; whom the Veronese, seeing his capital in danger from Rossi, prevailed upon, by the force of money, to join him. Rolli, at this time, had an eye upon Padua, and notwithstanding this desertion, he proceeded with great vigour against Bovolenta, which lies within seven miles of that city, while Lucino Visconti, marched with an army confifting of Milanese, Ferrarese, and Mantuans, against Verona itself, and was joined by two thousand four hundred horse, under Marsilio, Rossi's brother. The fate attending almost all confederacies, attended this, through the want of unanimity among the parties. When Lucino was within two miles of Verona, the Veronese offered him battle; but though superior in numbers he declined it, and his army disbanded itself. Rolli being thus left fingly to oppose the whole power of the Veronese, was at first reduced to prodigious straits, from which he extricated himself by his address, and was joined by a body of troops which had still kept together under his brother Marsilio.

The scale of war now preponderated against the Veronese, The Vewho had been so industrious in destroying Rolli's provisions, ronese dethat he had left none for himself; so that his army was daily feated, diminished by desertion, and he was obliged to abandon a very advantageous camp he had chosen. Padua thus fell into the hands of Rossi, the cities of Feltri, Brescia, and Bergamo, were reduced by the confederates, and Alberto, brother to the Veronese prince, was sent prisoner to Venice. The joy of the confederates for those successes was damped by the death of the brave Ross, who was killed in storming Monselice. He was succeeded in his command by his brother Orlando; the other brother Marsilio, dying of grief. lando prosecuted the war with great vigour and success, and after defeating the Veronese in several battles, he laid siege to Vicenza. The doge of Verona having thus lost all his ill K 4

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GENERAL HISTORY

and reduced to aik for peace.

acquired conquests, was obliged to sue to the Venetians for peace. They granted it, on condition, that the marquifate of Treviso, one of the finest estates in Italy, should remain to themselves; that Feltri, with other two places, should be ceded to Charles of Bohemia, who had affisted the confederates, and that the Florentines should enjoy their conquests in the Lucquese, with Pescia, and Bugiani. The latter disapproved of those terms; but the Venetians, who thought that the Veronese prince was sufficiently reduced, forced them to accept of them; and thus the peace of Lambardy, and Tuscany was restored for some time.

History of Italy.

The progress of the arts, ought always to find a place the arts in in history, especially that of Italy, the first nation that emerged from barbarism, after the long Gothic night, that had for some years before this period overspread Europe. The use of reading glasses resembling spectacles, was now discovered by one Spina, a Dominican monk, in Pisa. Windmills are pretty much of the same date, but the discovery probably came from the Greeks, or the Saracens, to whom they had been long known. Faenza was distinguished for its manufacturing of certain earthen ware, refembling por-Glass manufactures had been erected, but the commodity was yet scarce, though the Venetians had carried it to fuch perfection, that at the time we treat of they made Even clocks and clockwork were not then unknown in Italy; and though the magnet had been long known, yet the use of the compass in sailing, if known, was a secret, and confined to very few. Padua, about this time, had the honour of introducing the manufacture of paper, by pounded rags. The inhabitants of Italy were then strangers to many other conveniences of life; they were awkward even in the cultivation of their vines, and tapers and candles were rare. The common people were just beginning to wear linnen shirts; but the culture and manufacture of filk, and embroidery was known, though worn only by persons of high distinction; as were utenfils of gold and filver.

Money.

The value of the current specie of Italy at this time, was very uncertain, and its possession unequal. The vast trade of the Venetians to Afia, certainly supplied them with great quantities, which circulated through the manufacturing and trading states of Italy, particularly Florence, as appears from the immense sum which they engaged to pay to the doge of Verona. The Florentines, however, had other refources. They were the only people of Italy who traded with France and England, and they had twenty per cent. interest for their money, which was always acceptable to those nations, as they were always embroiled in wars. The art of building, with stone and marble materials, was almost confined wholly to the Italian cities, and villas, and the in-

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ant revival of painting and architecture, was owing to the Inventines, who, of all the other Italians, had the truest enius for the fine arts, which they cultivated amidft their The fine not destructive wars. As a proof of this, the famous qua- arts. langular marble tower, which Giotto erected at Florence, in 135, and which is still standing, may be appealed to. frunnelleschi, at the same time, and in the same city, revivdand practifed the true principles of civil architecture. Painting owed its revival to Ciambue, another Florentine, who was the father of the modern painters, and the master of Giotto. Many of their pictures are yet beheld with admiration, and discover true taste, with an amazing strength ofgenius. The language of the Italians began now to form welf into ease and elegance, under Petrarch and Dante; the former the subject, and the latter, a native, of Florence. Pararch was courted and rewarded by all the princes of his we; and Dante, who was elder in point of time, makes no inconsiderable figure in the history of his own country. To them succeeded Boccace, who compleated the purity of the

Sustaire, in treating of the manners and customs of the Observabirteenth and fourteenth centuries, says, that all those tions on leautiful inventions were owing to the Italians only, and Voltaire.

he strength of their genius; and that the Greeks, who afterwards came over to Italy, could only teach the Florentines their language. His opinion is owing to his inattention to the Italian historians. It is certain, that the intercourse beween Greece and Italy had, for some ages before this, been ofrequent, that we cannot imagine the Italians to have ken ignorant of the Greek arts; and there is little doubt that the Italian's adopted many of them. The barbarity into which Greece afterwards fell, and the progress which Italy, on the other hand, has made in literature, have itified thole has, and left the Italians at liberty to engross the whole mit of being the sole revivers of the arts. As to the ignomice of the Greeks in all but their own language, that Morian must own himself to be mistaken, when he reflects that true philosophy was yet unknown in Italy, and that it was introduced by the Greeks, who taught it in their own anguage, because they knew no other. For the truth of his, we need but appeal to the elegant history of Aretine, was one of their first disciples. But it is now proper methould return to our history.

Pope John, still residing at Avignon, and having rejected terms of accommodation with the emperor Lewis, the mices of Europe began now to detest him. We have al-ibid.

Tady mentioned that emperor's proceedings against him, p. 29.

The died just at the time when he was making advances Death of ma reconciliation with Lewis, on the fourth of December, the pope.

The incredible sums he left behind him, and the meanth of his birth and character, have likewise been already mentioned.

mentioned. He was succeeded, in a most unaccountable manner, by one Tournier, a Ciftertian monk, who took upon himself the name of Benedict XII. He made the cared by Be- dinal electors, who were in number, twenty-four, a premedicaXII. fent of one hundred thousand golden florins, and he sent fifty thousand to Rome. He began his pontificate by abolih. ing feveral fimoniacal practices of his predecessor, and introducing others of his own. He issued bulls and letters, for suppressing heresy, particularly in Germany and Bohemia: and the Romans, at last, agreed to govern their city in his name, as their mafter; a resolution which they came to through their intestine divisions.

His go-

vernment, tion, from which Benedict refused to absolve him; but upon the former offering him, in a manner, his own terms, he would have agreed to an accommodation, had it not been that the kings of France, Naples, and Bohemia, found it their interest to keep the emperor embroiled, to prevent his joining Edward III. of England, who had invaded The negociation breaking off, the pope applied himself to ecclesiastical and monastical regulations in Italy, and excommunicated the Bolognese for contumacy. deavoured to make peace between the kings of England and France; but though he was respected by both parties, he ibid. ibid. was successful with neither. Benedict then offered to be reconciled to the emperor, if he would abandon Edward, but met with a refusal, and underwent many mortifications from Lewis and the German princes. Frederic king of Tri-

The emperor remained under fentence of excommunica-

nacria, was now dead, and Benedict laid his subjects under an interdict, because they refused to accept of him as their master; but he gave the investiture of Sardinia and Corsta to the king of Arragon. About this time, the Greek emperor renewed his applications to the holy fee, for an union between the Greek and Latin churches; but the pope perceiving that this was only a bait thrown out for his obtaining affiftance against the Turks, the negotiation came to no-

and power in Italy.

The troubles in which the emperor was involved in Germany, rendered Benedict very powerful in Italy. Azo, of Milan, was now dead, and his brother, and successor, Lucino, purchased the vicariate of Italy, from Benedict, at the rate of fifty thousand florins in gold, and an annual tribute of ten thousand. The other princes and states of Lombardy and Tuscany, deserting the cause of the emperor, obtained from his holiness a confirmation of the rights and posseltions they had usurped, which erected them, in fact, into 10 many independent fovereignties. The doge of Verona, whole true name was Escala, or Scaliger, paid him five thousand florins, for the vicariate of Verona and Vicenza; Gonzaga bought that of Mantua and Reggio; the Carrara family, that of Padua; and Este, that of Ferrara and Modena. All thele

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are facts that immediately concern the history of Italy; but were we to extend it to the history of the popes, it would comprehend that of all Europe, and therefore the reader must consult such parts of this work, as those particulars fill under. Benedict died at Avignon, in April, 1342, and was succeeded by Clement VI. The emperor, by this time, had refumed the profecution of his rights in Italy, and had appointed imperial vicars, in opposition to those of the pope. This alarmed the Romans so much, that they invited his holiness to repair from Avignon, to Rome; but he excused himself on account of the engagements he was under to finish the disputes between the kings of England and France. At the request of the Romans, who sent him deputies for that purpose, among whom was Petrarch, (the poet laureat whe king of Naples) he fixed a new jubilee to the fiftieth, hat is, the middle, year of the century. He preached up A new anew crusade against the Turks, and he excommunicated crusade. the emperor, who resigned himself entirely to his will; but the rights of the empire were vindicated by the diet of Frankfort. His agents were either imprisoned in or expelled out of England, for their infolent demands of money; but he had the glory to make a Spanish nobleman king of the Canary Islands, the knowledge of which had been then recovered in Europe, on condition of his converting theinhabitants to popery.

Robert king of Naples, after the emperor's departure from Affairs of Germany lost his only son the duke of Calabria; this did not Naplesand prevent his profecuting the war with the Sicilians, but without Sicily. any remarkable event happening; and he married the daughter to the duke of Calabria, (who had died without male issue) to Andrew, the second for of his own nephew, by an elder bother to the king of Hungary, tho' the bridegroom was but seven years of ge and the bride five. The Sicilian war Ill went on, but Peter the fon of Fredericking of Trinacria, proving a weak prince, Robert endeavoured to end the war between them, by persuading Peter to relign to him the kingdom of Sicily, in lieu of Sardinia. This proposition had no effect, and in the year 1338, the Neapolitans again in-Naded Sicily under his nephew Charles of Durazzo, who was obliged to return to Naples after reducing Tremole. war thus continued for feveral years, without any confiderable effort on either side till the death of Peter in 1342.

The history of Sicily and Naples at this period exhibits Death of alively image of the love of independency and the effects king Roof papal power. The family of Anjou had no right to bert of the crown of Naples but what was given them by the Naples. pope's donation, and if that was invalid, they were usurpers. Possessing the flavish prejudices of the time, that all Europe considered

them as lawful monarchs. They had the fame original light to Sicily as to Naples, but the Sicilans vindicated their liberties

A GENERAL HISTORY

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liberties by the general massacre of the French and Prove cals, and had for fifty years, with amazing intrepidity, main tained upon the throne the princes they had chosen in protect their liberties against the pope, the older branches of the house of Arragon, and the house of Anjou. Upon the death of Peter, this glorious spirit subsided. The Sig. lians were divided by the arts and gold of Robert, who gained a great party of them to his interest; and though a regent of the kingdom had been appointed, they furprized Melling, which they loft again by not being timely support. ed by Robert. That prince died in the year 1343, and he is celebrated in history, as excelling, in civil and literary ascomplishments, any king of his age.

Jean.

He was succeeded by his grand-daughter, Jean, who by queen though still a minor, was crowned queen, while her half band, Andrew, had no higher title than that of duke of Calabria. His preceptor Robert, a friar, had, in fact, all the executive power of the kingdom; and would have brought about a match between Fean's fifter, the princess Man, and Lewis, king of Hungary; who, in right of his ancestor's primogeniture, was heir to Charles II. his great grandfather, and consequently to the crown of Naples. This match was prevented by Charles of Durazzo marrying the lady. The queen dowager of Hungary, in a visit she paid to Nather, after performing all the ridiculous superstitions of the time, which were then termed acts of piety, thought the differvered in her daughter Jean, a most immodest behaviour. The Neapolitans, in general, were for crowning Andrew, & king, in his own right. The pope, who had appointed his legate Americanus to take care of the affairs of the kingdom, refused to grant the bull of coronation till the king of Hungary, as is said, bribed him with 44,000 marks. This was a vast disappointment to other princes of the blood, and they entered into a conspiracy to murder Andrew. Some pretend that the queen was accessary to this conspiracy. The this is not very probable, yet there is room for thinking that the was difgusted with her husband, and it is certain he was barbarously murdered by the princes and the nobles at Aversa. Jean returned to Naples, from whence the wrote a vindication of her own innocence as to the murder of the king of Hungary; but by this time the public had been poisoned with prejudices against her on account of her indifference towards her husband. accused of a criminal intercourse with the prince of Tarents and other persons about her court; and about three months after her husband's death, she was brought to bed of a fon, who was created duke of Calabria.

Murder of her husband,

> In the mean while, the public was seized with horror at the murder of Andrew, which was attended with the most shocking circumstances of cruelty to his person; and a commission passed, appointing the count of Novello to en

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mire into the murder, and to bring the guilty to condign mishment. This commission was confirmed by the pope, and many of the murderers were judicially put to death. The profligate manners of the Neapolitans at this time were beyond description, and the springs of Andrew's murder are nthis day unknown. Charles of Durazzo, and the nobi- of which liv, accused the queen, but she was in possession of the she is accattle of Naples, and the royal treasures. Both parties cused. took arms, and robberies and murders filled every corner of the kingdom, during a total celiation of justice and gotemment. Lewis of Hungary, now afferted his hereditary night to the crown of Naples. He concluded an alliance with the regent of Sicily; but on account of his connections with the emperor, the pope refused to grant him the bull of investiture. Notwithstanding this, he pursued his right of fuccession, and invaded Naples, where he had a vast number of friends, and many principal cities and forts were delivered into his hands. He was opposed by the duke of Du-10020, and in the mean while, queen Jean married Lewis, the second son of the prince of Tarento, the same with whom the had been caluminated in her husband's life time; but as they were cousin germans, and had not obtained the pope's dispensation, the marriage was looked upon as in-The strong preposlessions which on that account lay against Jean, especially among the ecclesiastics, renders her history very doubtful, and it must be read with caution. Heraversion for her husband had been inspired and somented by wicked agents about her own person, particularly by her savorite the samous Philippa of Catanea. Some political her favorite the famous Philippa of Catanea. Some political considerations contributed to confirm it. Friar Robert entirely governed Andrew, who was befet with Hungarians; the Neapolitans looked on them as barbarians, and the friends of Jean, by her own consent, opposed his being declared king in his own right.

The king of Hungary, who had now dropt all thoughts The king of the crown of Naples, accused her publicly of his bro- of Hunther's murder, and her husband raised an army; but the gary reprogress of the Hungarians was so great, that it was soon duces disbanded. The queen at first sollicited the Florentines for Naples. affiliance, but they were too much divided among themselves to give her any; and she and her husband escaped with a few gallies to Provence, while all the kingdom of Naples submitted to the king of Hungary. The reader is to observe, that Jean was queen of Provence, in right of her ancestor Charles of Anjou, as well as of Naples, and consequently Avignon, the residence of the popes, was part of her inheritance. Clement VI. purchased the property of that city for eighty thousand florins in gold, which were never paid; but the bargain being struck, made the pope her friend. The Provencals, when Jean arrived among them, were afraid that she intended to dispose of their whole

country

country likewise to the king of France; and so greatly did they hate a French government, that they put her under confinement, till they became sensible that their apprehen-

fions were groundless.

and returns to Hungary.

In the mean while, the king of Naples was in possession of his nephew the young duke of Calabria's person, who was about two years old, and had fettled the affairs of the kingdom as a conqueror; but greatly to the diffatisfaction of the Neapolitans, because he put them into the hands of Germans and Hungarians. He displaced all the magistrates of Naples, and made the bishop of Waradin, the governor of the city, and lieutenant of the kingdom; while he gave the command of the army to one Wolf, a German nobleman; after which, on the 24th of May, 1348, he returned to Hungary.

Queen Fean is ed innocent.

Affairs of

Sicily.

Fean being freed from her confinement, was received at Avignon by the pope with the greatest honours. He imme. pronounc- diately granted her a dispensation for her marriage, and two Hungarian embaffadors having arrived there to accuse her. the pope appointed her a day for clearing her innocence before his confistory. She appeared accordingly, and plead. ed her cause with such eloquence and strength of reasoning, that she was declared innocent, not only by the pope but the general voice; and an authentic act was drawn up, by which she was pronounced to be innocent and free from the fuspicion of murder. We shall not deny that her acquittal might in a great measure be owing to her making his holiness her friend. It is certain, that from that day her affairs took a remarkable turn in her favour; but the magnanimous conduct of the king of Hungary is not to be forgot. Jean had consented to offer him three hundred thousand crowns to purchase his friendship, and to indemnify him for the expence of his expedition. His answer was, "That he would not purchase the price of his brother's blood, but revenge it, which having done, as far as lay in his power, he was fatisfied." The Neapolitans were fo disgusted with their new Hungarian government, that they took the fift opportunity to invite their queen back to their capital, where the was received with extasses of joy, her husband having been created by the pope, king of Sicily; which brings us back to the history of that island.

The regent of Sicily by this time was dead, a famine raged in the country, and, a most cruel civil war broke out among the heads of the parties who pretended to succeed him. Jean's husband, who was now called king of Naples, was a candidate for his own nominal kingdom, but found great difficulty in recovering many places of Naples Itself, which were held by Germans, who had followed the fortune of the king of Hungary, and had no other reward than the possessions they acquired by the sword. The pope's legate interposed, and purchased Capua, Aversa, and other places

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hey held, for one hundred and twenty thousand florins; upon which they returned to Germany. The king of Hungary being distatisfied at the acquittal of queen Jean, again invaded the kingdom of Naples, where he made a confiderable progress, and spent four months in the siege of Aversa. Being unable to continue the war in a country where his government and nation were detefted, he agreed to an accommodation, which stipulated, that fean should be again tried for the murder of her husband, and if found guilty, that the king of Hungary should enter into possession of the kingdom of Naples, and that if innocent, he should receive three hundred thousand golden florins, on condition of his evacuating all the places he held in Naples The Queen queen confessed that she never had loved her husband, but Jean imputed her dislike to the power of fascination; a defence, again acwhich was admitted by the cardinals who tried her, and she quitted. was again declared to be innocent. In the mean while, her young fon Carobert, died in Hungary, and that king was fo well fatisfied with the determination of the cardinals, that he not only fet at liberty all his prisoners, and delivered up the places he held in the kingdom, but refused to accept of the three hundred thousand florins.

In those days, a pacification between principal parties did Commonot always restore tranquillity to a country. Numbers of tions by adventurers embarked in every expedition, and if not fatis- rebellions fied, either by being paid their wages, or occupying the in Sicily places they had conquered, they equally plundered both and Naples parties. Even after the king of Hungary had evacuated Naples, the Germans who attended him continued to desolate the country, and though they were defeated by the king, yet Wolf refused to deliver up Nocera, unless he received thirty thousand florins, which were accordingly paid him; and upon his leaving the kingdom, the king recovered Aversa. A noble Sicilian, one Matthew Palizzi, was at this time mafter of Sicily, and the person of its young king; but his government was fo intollerable, that the inhabitants put him, his wife and children to death. He was succeeded in his power by the count of Claramont, the head of the opposite faction, who put himself under the protection of the king of Naples. Sicily was then most miserably diffrest by famine, and in danger of being depopulated by the inhabitants removing to other countries. They were relieved by Lewis, king of Naples; upon which great part of Sicily acknowledged him for their fovereign. He had not power fufficient to support his new acquisition, and he was at this time in danger of losing his kingdom, by the duke of Durazzo, who had broken out in rebellion, and headed the malecontents and Germans, who still remained in the kingdom. This rebellion arrived to a great height through the indolence of the king. By this time, the king of Sicily, who was now seventeen years of age, had made

fome noble efforts to recover his cities from his rebels, and the Neapolitans. He befieged Palermo, but could not take it, and foon after, he died, as did his fecond brother John; and his third brother Frederic, who was but thirteen years of age, became king, under the tuition of his eldest sister Euphemia.

suppress-

The king of Naples, with great difficulty prevailed with the malecontents and Germans to quit his kingdom, or lav down their arms; and having never laid afide his defign on the crown of Sicily, he became, by the affiftance of one of the parties in that island, master of Messina, and was acknowledged king of Sicily by the inhabitants, in the year 1357. Simon, count of Claramont, was the great instrument in this revolution; but being thought to enterrain some aspiring views, by demanding the fifter of the young king, who was a prisoner, in marriage; it was believed that he was taken off by poison, and his friends declaring themselves against the Neapolitan interest, the king of Naples was obliged to return to his own kingdom, where a rebellion, headed by his eldest brother, and Charles of Durazzo, was raging. This rebellion being with great difficulty suppressed, Lewis promised the Messineans to return to Sicily, but was too much immerfed in pleasure to fulfil his word, Frederic, the young king of Sicily, had been married to the king of Arragon's daughter, and took advantage of the indolence of Lewis, to reduce the greatest part of the island to his obedience; and in the year 1362 Lewis died.

Charles IV. emperor.

The disputes between pope Clement and the Germans, raged in the year 1345; but next year he received a vifit at Avignon, from John king of Bohemia, to request him to favour the pretensions of his son, Charles, marquis of Moravia, who was a candidate for the German empire. Clement laid hold of that opportunity to extort from Charles a promise, that, if ever he should obtain possession of the imperial crown, he would annul the decrees of all former emperors that had passed to the prejudice of the holy see, and renounced all pretentions to the fuccession of the countels Those terms were sworn to both by Charles, and Matilda. his father, and proved fatal to the imperial interest in Italy. Charles was chosen emperor, and having confirmed his oath to the pope, the pope confirmed his election. The residence of Clement at Avignon, which we are now to consider as his own property, rendered that city and its neighbourhood, the most agreeable spot in Europe. The papal revenues far exceeded those of any temporal prince, and the prodigious refort of all ranks of mankind, from all quarters of the world, to that court, was of infinite fervice to the French in general. His holiness there held the ballance of Europe, uncontrouled by the turbulence of the Romans and Italian states; and the superstitious credulity of the times preserved his authority facted.

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The Romans, on the other hand, had never forgot their History of former greatness, and upon the smallest respite from do- Rienzo, mestic faction, their republican ideas returned. They had heen so much harrassed by their dissentions, that they more than once had invited the pope to return to their city. One Rienzo, a man of the lowest birth, but of a good education. volatile, active, and eloquent, was among the deputies fent to Clement with an invitation, which his holiness declined. Upon the return of the deputies, the people were affembled, and Rienzo harangued them. He affured them, that the feat of the pontificate was perpetually transferred to Avignon, that their city, once the mistress of universal empire, was in a deplorable fituation, by having the pope, a mafter, who had no regard for her liberties or interest, and governed her by proxy. His audience believed him, and named him their tribune. By a fatality not uncommon in history, this defender of liberty (as he called himself) was invested with, and exercised, the most despotic power. expelled from the senate all the members who had been nominated by the pope. He banished the Colonnæ, the Urfini, and many other noble families, as being the excrefcences of the republic; and he even put some of them to death for peculation and oppression.

It is incredible with what fuccess this fanatic extended The Rohis authority by the powerful flattery of sounds, and an man triaffected adherence to justice. He fignified his election to bune.

the other cities of Italy, who acknowledged Rome as their mother, and in the person of Rienzo selicitated her on the near prospect she had of recovering her ancient liberty and empire. Some foreign states paid a reverential obedience to this upstart, through the magic of the titles he assumed; which were those of the "Severe and merciful deliverer of Rome, the stickler for the liberties of Italy, and the lover of all mankind." Lewis, king of Hungary, became his ally, and even pleaded against queen Jean, in person, before his tribunal. He was appealed to by other fovereigns, in the same manner as the European, and Asiatic states used to appeal to the ancient Roman republic. He issued his decrees of liberty to all the Italian states, whom he enobled by creating them denizens of Rome, and they returned him their thanks by fending him gold rings, as marks of their acknowledgment. He was pitched upon by the queen of Naples, to be the mediator between her and the king of Hungary; and his declining that office was almost the only proof of fanity which he exhibited during his exaltation. Even the emperor Lewis of Bavaria courted his friendship, and pope Clement, from Avignon, fignified an approbation of his conduct; but intimated, at the same time, that he conindered him only as his substitute. He was then at such a height of fancied greatness that his brain turned. He declared himself independent of the pope; he revived the Vol. X.

rites of knight errantry in their most extravagant forms; he declared Rome to be the mistress of the world, and he summoned the competitors for the German empire to appear as vaffals before his tribunal.

His fall.

in Italy.

Even those extravagancies, great and incredible as they were, would not perhaps have hurt Rienzo, had he not bathed himself in the baptismal font of Constantine the Great, as a preparative for his receiving the arms of knighthood from the syndic of Rome. This was a proof of his infanity. that struck the meanest of the people, and the pope laid hold of it, by publishing several bulls, and condemning him for herefy and schism. His adherents began now to flink from him; and the banished nobility entering Rome by surprize, Rienzo fled to the king of Hungary, who was then at Naples, and who confidered him with as much contempt, as he had formerly done with reverence. It is faid, that after leading, for some months, a most miserable life in disguise, he was carried prisoner to Avignon, and afterwards facrificed to the refentment of the Roman nobility. At this ful plague time a most dreadful famine raged all over Europe, especially in Italy, which had most terrible effects. The famine brought on a plague, and those two calamities carried off near one hundred thousand persons in the city of Florence The Florentines were then the wifest, the most flourishing, and perhaps the most virtuous people, in Europe. They not only opened their public granaries, but bought up vast quantities of corn from Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia, for the relief of their poor. Their charity extended even to the subjects of other states, and was a public blessing to Italy. But this vifitation proved a scourge to the inhabi-

tants, and, instead of reforming them, corrupted their man-

but few in proportion to the wealth they inherited, plunged themselves into all manner of vice, and the contagion was communicated to the ecclesiastics, who had been enriched by the bequests and legacies of those that were car-

The furvivors of the great and rich families, being

Affairs of Rome,

ried off in the general mortality. In other countries the people took another turn. fect of Flagellants arose, or rather was revived, and they scourged themselves so furiously, especially in Germany, and Hungary, in their public processions, that the pope was obliged to interpose his authority for putting a stop to the frenzy. Cantacuzenus, the Greek historian and emperor, about this time cultivated the friendship of Clement, and proposed to effect the union of the two churches by a general council, confifting of prelates of both perfuafions. It is thought, that in the year 1350, during the jubilee, above a million of foreign pilgrims vifited Rome, and that fearcely a tenth part of them returned to their own countries; fo much did the plague still rage in Italy. The Romans were the chief gainers by those superstitious pilgrimages, which

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the pope was at last obliged to check, for which they exnelled his legate from the city; and some fay, that he and his relations were poisoned in Campania. But even this check brought vast wealth to the pontifical coffers; for it confisted in dispensations, which the legates were empowerto fell to all who defired to be excused from performing the pilgrimage, or to return home before the time prescribed

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The affairs of Lombardy now underwent a great alteration. Lombardy, Giovanni, or John, Visconti, in this year was both bishop and lord of Milan. His ambition was not unknown to the pope, the Florentines, and other states, and a confederacy was fet on foot against him, but he found means to defeat it, and to make himself master of Bologna; upon which he was excommunicated by the pope. Visconti's profound difsimulation procured him many friends, both in Lombardy and Tuscany; and, under pretence that the Florentines had an intention to fieze Bologna, he fent an army to attack them, confifting of ten thousand horse, and fix thousand foot, belides a number of auxiliaries, and volunteers. Olegiano, one of his kinfmen, was his general, and he depended upon the diffentions among the Florentines for his admission into that noble city; but was disappointed. He next practifed with the Pisans, to break their alliance with Florence; but Gambacurti, a noble Pisan, exposed his ambition to his countrymen so effectually, that Visconti was baffled in all his attempts. The Florentines augmented their and Tufarmy, and obliged that of Visconti to return to the Bolog- cany. nefe. It was during this campaign, that the illustrious family of Medici began to distinguish themselves in that republic, from whom they received public rewards and honours, which excited the jealoufy of the other nobles. When the campaign was over, the Florentines found that. through the power and practices of Visconti, they had no confederates they could depend upon but the Arezzians, the Perugians, and the Siennese. They sent deputies to the pope at Avignon; but they returned only with fair promises; Visconti's money having gained him over. Charles IV. of ibid. the house of Luxembourg, was then emperor of Germany, p. 35. and the Florentines turned their eyes towards him. Charles was well disposed to affift them, as he secretly intended to revive the imperial interest in Italy, but he sought leave from the pope. His holiness, though he mortally hated Visconti, thought him a less formidable enemy than Charles would prove, if he became master of Lombardy; and he not only diffuaded Charles from the expedition, but came to an accommodation with Visconti. He even relinquished to him the possession of Bologna; and the Florentines were forced to offer Charles a sum of money for his affiftance.

Visconti still imagined, that he could reduce Florence either by policy or arms, but he failed in both. The L 2

Florentines

Florentines out negociated him with their neighbours, and the vast riches which flowed in upon them from commerce, enabled them to keep considerable armies on foot. Visconti had not sufficiently considered the last mentioned circumstance, and was in daily hopes of their riches being exhausted. Finding himself thus deceived, he employed Gambacurti, at Pisa, to negotiate for him an accommodation with the Florentines, which took effect, greatly to the credit of the latter, and lasted during the remainder of Visconti's life.

Affairs of England

and Tuf-

cany.

In the year 1351, pope Clement received a most dreadful mortification from England, by the parliament voting perpetual imprisonment to be the punishment of any one who should accept an English benefice by the pope's gift. and many other measures of the same kind, were owing to the partiality which the pope had all along discovered for the French, in their wars with England. Clement, the fame year, was embarrassed by the Romans, who became again proud, and factious, through the immense wealth they had obtained by the jubilee. Towards the end of the year, he had a message from the emperor Charles of Luxembourg, acquainting him of his intention to revive the imperial claims in Italy; and at the same time the confederate states of Tuscany applied to him against Visconti. That great commander and politician was now mafter of Milan, and determined, if possible, to reduce Florence. His general, Olegiano, again marched into Tuscany with an army of fixteen thousand men; and he had prevailed with the pope, and the French court, to remain neutral. The Florentines then threw their eyes on the emperor for relief; but while the negociation was in dependence, they found they had been deceived by the pope, and they acted with so much vigour that they obliged Visconti to agree to an advantageous peace with them. The Florentines, upon this, dismissed their foreign mercenaries, who consisted of French, and German banditti; but this was far from contributing to the tranquility of Italy. Those mercenaries chose one Moriali for their head, and being in number above twelve thousand veteran troops, they laid all Tuscany under contribution. In the mean while, Clement died at Avignon in the month of December 1352, and was succeeded by Innocent VI.

Innocent VI. pope.

This pontiff began his reign by the shew of a vigorous reformation in the lives and morals of ecclesiastics; and sent Aware, a Spaniard, as his legate to Italy. At Rome, one Baroncelli, had again assumed the tribuneship, and St. Peter's patrimony was parcelled out among the neighbouring temporal princes, who had no other right to it than the longest sword. The army of the banditti under Moriali daily encreased, and all Italy became such a scene of consustant it is impossible to reduce its history at this time, into any order. Notwithstanding those public calamities,

mities, Innocent remained tranquil at Avignon, where he received ambassadors from all parts of the world, disposed of crowns, burned heretics, and exercised other offices of pontifical jurisdiction. The famous Visconti was now dead, and the emperor Charles was in Lombardy with a weak army. The Visconti family however, gave him some money for conferring on them the vicariate of the empire in Lombardy, and the estates they possessed. He received the iron crown at Milan; he was afterwards crowned at Rome; but finding his authority despised in Italy, he returned to Germany. The ravages which continued to be committed by the banditti are inexpressible, and they invaded Naples itself, where they took Pescara, Villa Franca, and San Fabiano. In the year 1355, Moriali being dead, they were commanded by the count de Lando, and were then known under the title of the Grand Company. They obliged Lewis, king of Naples, to promife to pay them one hundred and five thousand florins, of which they received only thirty five thousand; Naples but they indemnified themselves for the remainder by plun- plunder-

dering his subjects.

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Lewis, in the year 1356, having prevailed with the Grand Queen Company to evacuate his dominions, got possession of Mef- Jean fina, where he was received as of king Sicily. In 1362, he marries lost all possession of, and interest in, Sicily. Urban V. then James of succeeded to the popedom, Lewis died, and queen Jean Majorca. married for her third husband James of Majorca. This married for her third husband James of Majorca. princess continued to be pestered with censure, and her fate was very fingular. She was accused of having hastened, by poison, the death of her husband Lewis, and soon after her marriage her third husband James being taken prisoner in Spain, the was obliged to ranfom him for fixty thousand florins. Whatever peculiarities of fortune might attend queen Jean, the was far from being deficient in understanding. She obliged Frederic king of Sicily to conclude a peace with her that was both honourable and advantageous to her dominions; but her third husband dying, she tell under suspicion of having poisoned him likewise. Being a widow, the visited pope Urban, who now resided at Rome, and was received with fovereign honours, in the year 1368, at which time her neice Margaret married Charles of Durazzo, who was the only remnant of the Anjouvine family in Naples.

Galeazzo Visconti, was at this time duke of Milan, and War in his fon John had married the French king's daughter; but Lombardy. the pope being jealous of his greatness, excommunicated him and all his family, and invited the emperor and the king of Hungary to exterminate them. Barnabo Visconti, natural brother to the duke of Milan, was the Milaneje general, and despiting all the fulminations of the pope, he compelled him to agree to pay an annuity of twenty thoufand floring, for five years, to the Visconti family. Even this

did not purchase the quiet of the ecclesiastical state, which Barnabo continued to molest; but he was, by Malatesta, obliged to raise the siege of Bologna. The Romans at this time renewed their factions, despised the pope, and underwent various forms of government. Pope Innocent, then refided at Avignon, and was on no good terms with the emperor, who encouraged the Romans again to expel their nobility. They then proceeded to chuse one Lelius Bona. dota for their governor; but they were foon reduced by the nobles, who re-entered Rome with an army. Upon the death of Innocent, Urban V. was chosen pope. He affected to be a thorough reformer of the lives and discipline of churchmen, and fet them an example in his own person, by living with the same austerity he had practifed before his exaltation.

where a peace is concluded.

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p. 40. et

Seg.

This exemplary conduct procured Urban great respect. He was visited by the king of France, and Barnabo of Milan defired his friendship. Urban threatened to excommunicate him if he did not immediately deliver up all the places he had feized belonging to the holy fee. Barnabo was favoured by the French king, but despising the menaces of the pope, he was actually excommunicated, and his army defeated in the Modenese by the Guelph party. This humbled Barnabo so greatly, that he gave up all the ecclesiastical possessions he held in Bologna, Modena, and Romagna; upon which he was absolved from his excommunication, and the pope engaged to pay him a great fum of money for the fortifications he had raised in the ceded places. Urban, like his predecessors, employed his time chiefly in exhorting the Christian princes whom he was most afraid of, to undertake expeditions against the infidels, and in sending legates to all parts of the known world, to make profelites to the church of Rome. As those transactions seldom or never terminated in any effect, we shall not here be particular in The Visconti family becoming again formirelating them. dable to his holiness, he granted the emperor Charles, the tythes of his ecclefiaffical livings in the empire, on condition of his undertaking an expedition into Italy against them. He desired the Venetians, and the Genoese, to lend him their gallies to conduct him to Rome, where the people were now disposed to receive him, all the land passes being occupied by the banditti, or the Visconti troops. The gallies were accordingly fent to Marseilles, in the beginning of the year 1367, and the pope having left Avignon went on board them. He was, upon his landing at Cornetto, in Tuscany, received with raptures of joy, and the warlike cardinal Ægidius, at the head of a deputation of Romans, presented him with the keys of the castle of St. Angelo

The pope I his removal from Avignon to Rome, was more benefical returns to to the holy see than to the cardinals, and the great officers Rome. attending the court of his holiness. They had left Avignon

with

with great reluctance; but cardinal Ægidius had been fo successful against the Visconti, that the pope was now a great temporal prince, and was enabled to form a powerful confederacy of the Italian and other states, against those aspiring masters of Milan. Urban, upon his arrival at Rome, renewed his attention to the reformation of church discipline, and excommunicated Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, who threatened to throw off the papal voke, and actually was preparing to invade the ecclefiaftical state; when Urban

thought proper to absolve him.

In the year 1368, Urban appeared in great splendor at Rome, where he was visited by the queen of Naples, and the king of Cyprus. This accommodation was the more necessary, as the power of the Visconti was daily encreasing. and the emperor Charles was actually in Italy at the head of The pope's troops, at this time, amounted to twenty thousand men, who received orders to join the imperial army, and to act against the Visconti. The latter foon lost Verona, and Vicenza; but peace was mediated between them and the pope, and Charles returned to Germany. The emperor Paleologus soon after arrived at Rome, and made a folemn profession of the faith of the Latin church; but his fincerity is justly questionable, as his real business was to follicit fuccours against the attacks of the infidels, in which however he failed. A new power at this time got footing in Italy, of which it is necessary to give some ac-

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The Florentines were the only people that had the History of courage to oppose the German banditti, who continued to the Flofill Italy with ravages and desolation. Florence was then at rentines. a high pitch of prosperity by the immense trade she carried Her inhabitants had fortified the passes of the Appenines against the banditti; great numbers of whom they destroyed in those mountains. They however encreased so much, that under one Conrade Lyndo, or Lando, they proposed to invade Tuscany through the champaign country, by the way of Perugia, declaring publicly, that their intention was to plunder and destroy Florence. The Florentines, instead of becoming, like the other states of Italy, their tributaries, chose Malatesta for their general, and they marched out to fight the banditti, whom they actually defeated, to the admiration of all Italy. As there was then a general peace on the continent of Europe, the numbers of the banditti, who generally confifted of reduced foldiers, daily increased. In 1360, when the peace of Bretigni was concluded between England and France, both parties disbanded their armies, and many of the English were rendered defperate, by being obliged to give up the settlements they had acquired in France. From causes foreign to this history, they and the French disbanded soldiers mustered about fixteen thousand men, and resolved at hist to plunder Avignon,

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and of Sr John Hawkwood.

In their march, they were guilty of fuch excesses and cruelties, that four thousand English horse, and two thoufand foot, separated from the main army, under Sir John Hawkwood, an officer of reputation, and offered their service to the Florentines, who at that time carried on a vast trade with England, and had supplied Edward with money in his wars against France. The terms were too high for the Florentines, and they entered into the service of the Pisans, their enemies. Their manner of fighting was very different from what the Italians had been used to, so that they soon turned the fortune of war against the Florentines, who were before thought to be the best troops in Italy; and Hawkwood threatened to besiege Florence itself. The English were now become rich by the plunder they acquired; but the Pisans appearing jealous of their new mercenaries, the latter embraced the offers of the Florentines, who had repented of their ill-judged frugality. Hawkwood had so nice a fense of honour, that he remained in the Pisan service, with some troops of horse. A treaty was set on foot between the Pifans and the Florentines, who were afraid of Barnabo, and a peace concluded. The emperor Charles was poor, and pretended that the Florentines had invaded his rights, in hopes that they would buy off his demands with money; which it is faid they actually did.

Though the Florentines had refused to join in the confederacy formed by the pope, and the emperor, against Barnabo, yet he declared against them; and when the Pisan war was finished, he took Hawkwood and the English into his pay, and the Florentines were again defeated; but they were faved by going over to the pope's party. The ballance of Italy, at this time, was in a most critical situation, and though peace was made between the pope and Barnabo in 1370, yet his holiness was alarmed by a projected alliance between the king of Sicily, and the Visconti family, which with great difficulty he prevented. The peace still continued between the Neapolitans and Sicilians; but a rebellion, headed by the duke of Andria, broke out in Naples. The duke, though at first victorious, was obliged to fly to pope Urban, who was now returned to Avignon, and queen Jean took the mercenaries he had hired into her own pay. About this time, Urban made some ineffectual attempts to revive the claims of his predecessors upon England, and pretended great zeal for establishing peace between that kingdom and France ; but he died on the 19th of December.

Gregory

He was succeeded by Gregory XI. who trod in the steps XI. pope. of Urban, and fent his clergy throughout all the courts of Europe, to mediate differences, to extort money, and to preach up crusades of various kinds. He threatened excommunication to Waldemar, king of Denmark, who difpifed his authority, by returning him the following laconic rather organizer Acress.

netter, "Waldemar, king of the Danes, Goths, and Vandals. Ac. to the Roman pontiff, health. My life I received from God; my crown from my subjects; my wealth from my. ancestors; from your predecessors I hold only my faith, and if you attempt to take advantage of it, I hereby restore it to you. Adeu" The pope was too much engaged in the affairs of Italy to refent this freedom. The emperor had made him imperial vicar in Italy, by which all the nower of the empire was transferred to him; and the Vifconti growing more powerful, and more difregardful of their promifes than ever, forbade all persons of rank or eminence to contract any alliance with their family.

Queen Jean was once more a widow at the age of forty Marriage fix: and being jealous of Charles of Durazzo, whose wife of queen was heirefs of her kingdom, the married Otho of Brunswick, Fean to a prince of great accomplishments both in body and mind. Otho of He had ferved in most of the wars in Europe that had hap- Brunswick pened during his time; and being conducted in great state, by the Neapolitan gallies, to Castello Nuovo, he was there publicly married to Jean, who created him duke of Tarento. Charles of Durazzo and his wife, expressed great discontent at this match, and immediately laid the plan of Fean's destruction, though she had in fact adopted him as her heir, failing iffue of her own body. An event happened which gave a new turn to affairs all over Europe, and finished the ruin of Jean, who had been hitherto supported by the

friendship of the pope.

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Gregory, at this time, refided at Avignon, where he exercis- Affairs of ed his pontifical power to the utmost, by publishing bulls Lombardy. for the reformation of ecclefiaftical discipline, by multiplying infolent demands upon the princes of christendom, the king of England particularly, and by suppressing, and sometimes burning heretics: transactions that need not be particularized, as the reader would receive from them no additional information. Having a great inclination to return to Italy, he made a new accommodation with the Visconti, and intimated his intention to the princes of Europe. partiality of the emperor in his favour had raifed him to great power in Italy; but the oppressions of his legates there, had rendered the papacy detestable to the Florentines, and other Italian states. Of those tyrants, the legate of Bologna was the most intolerable. He had taken into his pay a body of the German banditti, whom he intended to employ against the Florentines, whose lands and harvests he laid waste. The Florentines had always behaved with an equal mixture of magnanimity and policy, and had generally declared for the Guelph party, against the tyranny of the Germans. They however, on this occasion, prevailed with the neighbouring states to unite against the legates, Whom they out bid in their pay to the banditti, and thereby

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engaged many of them in their fervice. Hawkwall was then in the pay of the pope, and all Tuscany and the the pope's ecclefiastial state were soon filled with blood, and com. motion. Gregory, who was still at Avignon, excommunicated the Florentines, and hired a body of Bretons to reduce them under the legate of Bologna, but without success We cannot recount every incident that happened in the course of this war. It is sufficient to say, that Bologna, and Perugia, with above fixty cities and towns in Campania and Romagna, revolted from the pope; who renewed the excommunication of the Florentines, and returned to Rome in the year 1377.

General confede. racy in Italy.

Gregory.

The spirit of dissaffection had spread itself to that city, and every day gained ground. The Romans restored their republican form of government, in contempt of Gregory, who was obliged to enter into a sham reconciliation with the Florentines, that he might ruin them more effectually, Howkwood had then entered into the pay of Barnabo, and a Death of congress was agreed upon to be held at Seranza. None

pope.

of the parties were fincere in this negotiation, and during its continuance, Gregory died, in March 1386, from which zera we are to date the famous western schism, which so long divided the Christian world. The Roman republicans threatened the cardinals with death, if they did not elect a pope who should relide in Italy. The French cardinals, who were by far the most numerous party in the conclave, being intimidated, took little or no concern in the election; and Urban VI, they fuffered the archbishop of Bari to be chosen. For fome time this acquiescence continued, and the new pope, who took the name of Urban VI. had for some days no competitor. The French cardinals, however, took the first opportunity of retiring to Anagni, where under a guard of Bretons, whom they took into their pay, they required Urban to refign the popedom; which refusing to do, they chose the bishop of Cornea, who took the name of Clement VII. Urban was recognized by the Portugueze, the Hungarians, the Poles, the English, the Bohemians, the Danes, the Swedes, and many other of the German princes. Clement, on the other hand was owned by France, Spain, Scotland, Cyprus, and Sicily. Some states declared themselves neutral; but all concurred in wishing for a general council, that would put an end to the schism, which every day encreafed.

Naples.

Affairs of Urban was at first supported by queen Jean and her hufband Otho of Brunswick, who affisted him with a body of troops. He had thoughts of annexing the crown of Sicily, to his own family; and he fecretly entered into all the views of Jean's enemies, though, even before his elevation, both the and her husband had laid him under the strongest obligations of gratitude. Jean being so basely treated, acknowledged the authority of Clement, and Urban now openwkwand

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ly pursued his measures for dethroning Jean. He sent her enemy the duke of Andria with a message to Charles of Durazzo, offering him the investiture of her crown; and he conferred the archbishopric of Naples upon Bozuto, one Jean was not wanting to herself on of his own partizans. this occasion. She fent her husband to raise troops, and the thut herfelf up in the castle of the Egg, at Naples, fending orders to her friends to retire to fortified places. While Otho was raising an army, Margaret, wife to Charles, fled to Urban, who prevailed with the king of Hungary to affift Charles, and at the same time he deposed and excommunicated Jean. This provoked her to adopt for her heir Lewis of Anjou, brother to Charles V. of France. history of Jean, from this time, is a continued chain of misfortunes; Lewis being declared regent of France, during the minority of his nephew, Charles VI. could not fet out for Italy, where Charles was carrying all before him, at the head of an Hungarian army. Proceeding to Rome, he entered into a negotiation with the pope, concerning the terms of his investiture; and it was agreed that he should give the dutchies of Capua, and Amalphi, with other large Neapolitan possessions, to Prignano, who was nephew to his holinels, from whose family they never were to depart. Charles wanting money, ordered the church plate to be melted down for his use, and he was thereby enabled to raise and pay a great army, which he carried to Naples, where he took possession of the city, and besieged the queen in Castello Nuovo. Her adoption of the French prince hurt her in the affections of her subjects, few of whom followed her hufband's standards; and though he behaved with the greatest courage, he was defeated and taken prisoner in an attempt Otho of he made to relieve his wife. She was obliged to furrender Brunfwick Castello Nuovo, and become a prisoner but a few hours be- taken prifore a Provencal fleet arrived to her affiftance. The confe- foner. quence of the queen's captivity was, that her kingdom, all but the counties of Fondi, Caserta, and Ariano, submitted to Charles, who, with his queen, Margaret, was crowned in the capital. Soon after Charles refused to fulfil any of the Queen articles of agreement he had made with the pope; and un- Yean put derstanding that Lewis of Anjou, was making great pre-death. parations in France to take possession of his kingdom, he ordered the unhappy queen Jean to be put to death, by being either strangled, or smothered with a bolster, in Cas-It is certain, that her dead body lay unburied stello Nuovo. and exposed to the people for several days. The pretext for this barbarity was, her having been concerned in the murder of her first husband Andrew, of which she had been acquitted at the tribunals before which she was tried. It is plain that Charles had an immediate interest in her death, and the prefumptions in favour of her innocence, by the accounts of contemporary authors, are stronger than those of

her guilt. She was murdered in the fifty fixth year of her age, being the thirty ninth of her reign; and she is allowed. by her enemies as well as her friends, to have been a princess of extraordinary accomplishments both in body

Naples invaded by the duke of Anjou.

Charles

again

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The gift of Naples to the duke of Anjou, who had been crowned king at Avignon by pope Clement, still remained in full force. Charles had behaved with great tyranny in his new kingdom, so that he could not prevent Lewis of Anjou from entering Abruzzo, towards the end of the year 1382, with an army of forty thousand men. The feverity of the feafon, and the scarcity of provisions, through the cutting off his convoys by Charles, reduced him to great difficulties. In the year 1383, Urban went to Naples, thinking that to be a proper juncture for obtaining from Charles the stipula. tions he had obtained for Prignano, and his family. Charles received him at Aversa with great respect, and conducted him to Castello Nuovo, where his holiness found that he was a prisoner. Charles durst not detain him, and entered with him into a new accommodation, which was in danger of being broken by Prignano's ravishing a noble nun. The ravisher was condemned to death, his uncle pronounced his crime to be venial, and he was pardoned; in confideration of which lenity, Urban ordered a crusade to be published against the duke of Anjou, by which Charles obtained several advantages against the French; but he was prevented from improving them by an epidemical distemper, which feized himself, and carried off numbers of his soldiers. In the mean while, the duke of Anjou, who had made confiderable progress in Naples, died at Biseglio, on the 10th of October 1384, and his troops returned to France in a most miserable plight.

Death of the duke of Anjou.

Lewis of Anjou, left behind him two fons, Lewis, and Charles; nor did his death put an end to the troubles of Naples. The differences between Urban and Charles were renewed, and the pope went to Nocera, then held by Prignano. Many Neapolitan barons in the French interest, refused, at the same time, to submit to Charles, who besieged Nocera; while both he and his queen were excommunicated by Urban. The latter was delivered by two noblemen of the Anjouvine party, Romandello, and Sanseverino, in hatred to Charles, they being Clementists, and the pope rewarded Romandello with the city of Benevento, the county of Lecce, and other ample possessions. Lewis of Hungary, by this time being dead, his daughter Mary was proclaimed queen in honour of her father's memory; but Charles of IX. p. 51. Durazzo was invited to the throne, by a strong party of the malecontents. The reader, in another part of this murdered work, will see the tragical event of this contest. Charles in Hungary was murdered foon after his coronation by the adherents of

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Mary, and in the mean while, the Venetians, in refertment of an injury they pretended to have received from his queen Margaret of Naples, seized upon Durazzo, and the island of Corcyra. Charles left a son, Ladislaus, or Lancelot, of ten years of age, who was proclaimed king of Naples, and his mother put him under the protection of Urban. The Clementists, with Sanseverino at their head, proclaimed Lewis II. of Anjou king, and the confusions in the state rose to such a height, that the queen and her son sled to Gaeta. Sanseverino having been joined by Otho of Brunswick, who had been set at liberty by the late king Charles, remained in possession of the capital, and was declared regent of the kingdom.

It was thought that all those misfortunes fell upon the Conspi-Durazzo family, through the implacable disposition of racy a-Urban, who could never forget the treatment he had re-gainst the ceived from the late king Charles. This pontiff had be-pope. haved so haughtily, that during his residence at Nocera, the cardinals attending him had, at the instigation of cardinal Reali, drawn up a charge against him of herefy, avarice, ingratitude, and other crimes, and had come to a fecret refolution to depose and murder him. The conspiracy being discovered, the cardinals were put to the torture, and when the pope escaped from Nocera, to Genoa; he carried them with him, and put them to death. His crimes and cruelties gave great advantages to Clement, who was now joined by the kings of Navarre, and Arragon, and offered to submit the disputes between him and Urban, to the decision of a general council; but this proposal was rejected by Urban, who supported himself with amazing intrepidity. While the papal power was thus divided between the two competitors, and while Naples and Sicily were torn with civil distractions, John Visconti, the fon of Galeazzo, bade fair to become mafter of all Italy. He had put his uncle Barnabo to Affairs of death, and had fecured to himself the Milanese, with its Lombardy. capital. The death of Charles of Durazzo, who had always befriended the Florentines, happening at the same time, those repulicans endeavoured to oppose Galeazzo, by reviving the Tuscan league. In 1386, the turbulent pope Urban, took possession of Perugia, to the great disquiet of the Florentines, who were thwarted by Galeazzo in all their schemes for public liberty. They were not, however, wanting to themselves. They offered an asylum in their territory to the discontented Milanese subjects. They supported Barnabo's fon, and they ordered their general Hawkwood, whom they had taken into their pay, to enter Lombardy with their army. Galeazzo omitted no means to break the force of the league proposed against him, and intercepted the ambaffadors who had been dispatched by the Florentines to implote the protection of the king of France.

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The Florentines apply to king.

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The French king hearing of their intentions, offered to affift them, provided they would acknowledge Clement for pope: but they rejected the condition, on the principles of the French honour and good faith, and a declared war followed between them and Galeazzo, who foon after died. The Florentines, who were not without ambition, and who thought the Visconti family no better than prosperous usurpers, formed a design of conquering Milan, and invited Stephen, duke of Bavaria. to affift them. As they were then excessively rich, and the Germans very poor, the duke embraced the offer, and marched with an army into Lombardy, while Hawkwood having secured the Bolognese, the faithful allies of the Flo. rentines, laid fiege to Parma, and Reggio. The Florentines would at this time, in all probability, have become mafters of the Milanele, had it not been for the rapaciousness, and misconduct of their needy German mercenaries. The Flo. rentines complained of the duke of Bavaria, and he laid the blame on the Venetians, but made a fresh demand of money: which was rejected by the Florentines, who saw that he had never really intended to serve them. His refusal however to act without money, gave such advantages to the Galeazzo party, that they at last consented to send him some; but it did them no service. Padua was then besieged by their enemies, and Galeazzo remained in the neighbourhood without attempting to relieve it. The Florentines ordered Hawkwood to march to its relief; but his Bolognese horse mutinied, the duke of Ferrara refused him a passage through his dominions, and the Venetians, who were the allies of Galeazzo, to lend him shipping.

The republic of Florence must, at this time, have been

They are faved by Sir John Hawk. wood.

ruined, through the powerful confederacies that had been formed against it, and the debility of its allies, had it not been for the courage and conduct of Sir John Hawkwook, who was now aged, but active. Upon the return of the Bavarians to Germany, he forced his way to Padua, and faved it, and he took up his winter quarters in the Paduan. The count of Armignac, one of the most powerful princes in France, undertook the cause of the Florentines, and passed the Alps with an army, notwithstanding all the intrigues and opposition of Galeazzo. The latter marched towards Pavia to fight the French, while Hawkwood rendered himself master of the open country of the Milanese, and advanced within fixteen miles of that capital, when his march was interrupted by the swelling of the Adda. The intense heats of the feason distressed the French cavalry, and the imprudence of their officers ruined their army fo completely, that scarcely a man of them escaped being either killed or taken prisoner by Galeazzo's troops. So total a defeat, in which Armignac himself was killed, encouraged him to march against Hawkwood. He waited for them in his camp, and taking advantage of their fecurity and want of discied to

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pline, he defeated them, and made twelve hundred of their cavalry prisoners. Galeazzo being in his own country, soon His masrecruited his army, and Hawkwood was obliged to retreat, terly rewhich he did in a manner so mafterly, that it gained him treat. the reputation of being the best general in Italy, if not in Europe. While the Florentines thought his army was furrounded or cut in pieces; and while they were every day expecting to be belieged in their own capital by Galeazzo's generals in Tuscany, Hawkwood joined their army, and once more faved Florence. The particulars of the Tufcan war that followed, are too minute for this history; it is sufficient to fay, that Galeazzo, and the Florentines, at last agreed to negociate at Genoa, under the mediation of the pope's legate. and concluded a peace, which was very ill observed on the part of Galeazzo. By this peace, it was stipulated that the town of Padua was to remain in possession of the prince of Carrera, the ally of Florence, and that his father, who was Galeazzo's prisoner, should be set at liberty; and in general the places taken on both fides were to be restored; Galeazzo promising that his armies should never approach but within a stated distance of Florence.

Pope Urban, all this while, not only maintained his ground A jubiles in Italy, but got together an army, with which he proposed ordered. to march to Naples; but being bruised by a fall from his mule, he was carried to Tivoli, and his troops disbanded themseves for want of pay. From Tivoli, being recovered. he went to Rome, where being in danger from an insurrection of the Romans, who still maintained their liberties, he published a bull, ordering that a jubilee should be celebrated there, and continued every thirty third year, being the term of our Savour's life. Before he faw the effect of this Death of bull he died, as was thought, by poison, and the cardinals pope of his party chose for his successor a Neapolitan, who took Urban. the name of Boniface IX. and who of course was excommuni- Succeedcated by Clement at Avignon. By this time, Urban's jubilee, ed by which was intended only to bring money to Rome, and the pope Bopapal coffers, took place, and the shameful extortions prac- niface IX. tised on the pilgrims shewed the impious venality of the papal court. The Italians found their interest in supporting Boniface, and he crowned, at his own, and his mother's request, young Ladislaus, and his wife, king and queen of Sicily.

Nothing can give the reader a stronger idea of the attach- An acment of those times to forms and places, than the difference commobetween Boniface and Clement, whose party dwindled every dation day, because his competitors had been elected at Rome, and proposed, were in possession of the papal chair. Many former popes resided indeed at Avignon, but no fanctity was ascribed to that city, and they were contented with the glory and profit of acting as the heads of the church, and publishing bulls, for which they got money, and which served as so many

passports to Rome, Loretto, the favourite churches in Italy, and sometimes to Palestine, and Jerusalem itself. This gainful trade was now engroffed by Boniface, who had the public prepossession on his side, and established his sooting, not in Italy but Germany. As a mark of his zeal and intrepidity for the good of the church, after his legate had mediated the peace between Galeazzo and the Florentines, he ventured to fend two nuncios to the French court. They Stopt at Avignon, where they were imprisoned by Clement; but at the request of the university of Paris, the king of France procured their liberty. Upon being admitted into his miscarries. presence, he gave them the strongest assurances of his zeal for the good of the church; and public supplications and processions were made at Paris to promote the abolition of the schism between the two popes; but the French king, Charles VI. falling in the mean while into a state of lunacy, those professions came to nothing.

Boniface prevails,

but it

Boniface endeavoured to engage in his quarrel Richard II. king of England, by alarming him with an information that the French intended to invade his dominions, and to make themselves masters of all Italy; but Richard, at that juncture, was on too ill terms with his people, to accept the honour of becoming the champion of the church. By this time, his holiness had been driven out of Rome, by the bannerets, (as they were called) a fort of magistrates, who had been elected by the people, as their tribunes. His party found means to restore him; but he would have been again driven out, had not the king of Naples, who was then at Rome, interposed, after the Romans had forced open the door of his bed-chamber, and dragged from thence some of the clergy, who had retired to it as a fanctuary. Though Boniface was thus opposed at Rome, his party was gaining ground in other parts of christendom. The university of Paris favoured him, and they had orders from the court to propose a plan for putting an end to the schism. For this purpose they offered three expedients. One was, that both competitors should refign the popedom; another, that they should agree to a new election; and a third was, that the matter should be referred to a general council. Those expedients were rejected, through the intrigues of Peter de Luna, Clement's legate, who was supported by the duke of Bari, the king's uncle. In the mean while, Clement died; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of almost all the powers of christendom who were of his party, to delay the election of a successor, they chose Peter de Luna, who

Death of

took upon him the name of Benedict XIII. As this new antipope appeared zealous for putting ed by Be an end to the schism, and as the doctrines of the nedict XIII Lollards, and the Wicklifites, were daily gaining ground, especially in England; it was proposed by the kings of

England and France, that both competitors should refign

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the popedom. They were seconded by the German diet of Frankfort; but neither of the competitors chose to accept of the terms. The emperor Wenceslaus joined with the king of France, and each of them threatened to withdraw his obedience from that competitor who should refuse to resign. Boniface offered to comply, if Benedict could be prevailed upon to abdicate first. The latter proving refractory, the French marshal Boucicaut, entered Avignon, and put him under arrest, in which he continued for near five years. The other princes of Europe, the king of England particularly, inclined for an entire vacancy of the papal throne; but this could not be effected on account of their jarring interests and prepossessions. Boniface, all this while remained tranquil at Affifi, where he published the famous bull for perpetual annates, by which every person appointed to a vacant abbey, or bishopric, was obliged to pay into the apostolic chamber the first years rents of his living; but the English never would submit to this exaction, though they

sometimes suffered their bishoprics to be taxed.

The fourteenth century was now near its close, and a Boniface grand jubilee was expected. The Romans continued to becomes be at variance with Boniface, and being sensible how great master of losers they must be if he did not return to Rome; they sent Rome and him an invitation for that purpose. He offered to comply, the Roprovided they would accept of Malatesta of Pesaro, for their manists. governor under him, and abolish the authority of the bannerets. They not only agreed to both, but fent him money to defray his expences to their city. His return put an end to the republican spirit of the Romans, which had often proved fo fatal and dangerous to the popes. Boniface took advantage of the universal joy with which he was received, to fortify the castle of St. Angelo, and the strongest places about Rome, in such a manner, that he became absolute master of that city. The approach of the awful ceremony of the jubilee affected the minds of the prilgrims, who reforted to it from all quarters in a most extraordinary manner; and the infection communicated itself to the people of Italy. All were dreft in white; nothing was feen Enthubut processions of white pilgrims, moving in bodies of ten, siasm of twelve, and sometimes forty thousand, from town to town, the pillinging hymns, carrying tapers, and performing the most grims and frantic acts of devotion. The more crafty, or enthusiastic the Itaamong them, assumed to themselves scripture names, and lians. one, who is faid to have been a Scotchman, pretended to be Elias. In short, all feuds and animosities seemed now to be forgotten and forgiven, and a perfect state of equality took possession of all Italy. This unaccountable madness continued for two months. The pope was alarmed at seeing such a number of enthusiasts approach to Rome, and he knew not what disturbance some of their leaders might give him. They stopt at Viterbo, where the spirit of their

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devotion

devotion began to evaporate, and Boniface sent a body of horse, who apprehended the pretended Elias, and carried him to Rome, where he was burnt.

Affairs of Naples.

Ladiflaus, king of Naples, continued to be zealously sunported by Boniface, chiefly because Clement had crowned Lewis of Anjou, king of Sicily, at Avignon. Lewis foon after arrived at Naples with a fleet and an army, and eafily reduced that city, while Ladislaus remained destitute of troops and money. In Sicily, the princess Mary, upon the death of Manfred di Claramonte, together with her husband Martin of Monblanco, fon to the duke of that name, who was brother to the king of Arragon, reduced Palermo, and subdued the Claramonte party; but it was given out, that some amorous connections were formed between the duke of Monblance, who had attended his fon in the expedition, and the widow of Manfred di Claramonte, who was mother to Constance the wife of young Ladislaus. Constance had brought a prodigious fortune to her husband, and it had faved his affairs from total ruin; but his mother Magaret, a mercenary and ambitious princess, persuaded him that it was beneath his dignity to have for his wife the daughter of a woman who was fuspected of living criminally; and the pope was prevailed upon to grant him a divorce. The blame of this black ingratitude was aggravated by the virtues of Constance, and the refignation with which she bore her misfortune.

Ladislaus divorces his wife.

> By the pope's affistance, Ladislaus again found means to make head against his enemies, and in the year 1394, he besieged Naples; but it was relieved by a Provençal sleet. His competitor Lewis tried to debauch from his service the duke of Sella, by offering to marry his daughter; but the match, when far advanced, was broken off by Boniface, who was now in a condition to supply Ladislaus with large fums of money, which enabled him to carry on the war against Lewis fo effectually, that he became master of Naples; and Lewis, though one half of that kingdom remained still faithful to him, returned to Provence. Ladislaus proceeded vigorously to crush the remains of the French faction in his kingdom. Before the end of the year 1400, he was without a rival, master of his dominions; and by the advice of his friend Boniface he married Mary, fifter to the king of Cyprus. That pontiff either had not appointed a jubilee at the beginning of this century, or had discouraged it, on account of the vast resort of French, and his other enemies, to Rome. That he might not, however, lose the benefit of it, he fold to the Germans, Danes, and other people, indulgences, by which they were allowed the fame privileges if they visited certain churches in their own dominions, as they would have obtained, had they actually repaired to Rome.

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Notwithstanding the peace of Genoa, the ambitious Ga- A confeleazzo still disturbed the tranquility of Italy. The Florentines deracy were the only bulwark against his designs; and it is formed by almost incredible how those illustrious, yet factious, repub- the Flo., licans continued, amidst a most expensive war, to carry all rentines the arts of peace higher than they were found to be among against any other people in Europe. The emperor of Constantinople Galeazzo. was then in Italy, and had brought over with him Chrysoloras, a noble Byzantine, and an excellent scholar. Aretine, the elegant historian of Florence, was his disciple, and the Florentines fent him a folemn invitation to repair to their city, and there to open Greek lectures. He was received there with the double honours that were due to his rank and his learning; and had a noble appointment. In a few Greek weeks his school was crowded with the most illustrious lectures pupils from all parts of Italy, and he continued teaching for established two years at Florence, when he was obliged to attend his at Florence master to Constantinople. We have been the more particular upon this fact, to combat a received opinion, that the revival of learning in Italy was owing to the refort of the Greeks thither after their expulsion by the Turks from Confantinople. Aretine is himself an evidence, that the Latin language was then written at Florence, with a purity equal to any that has appeared fince: but we now return to the affairs of the field and cabinet.

Hawkwood was now dead, and Galeazzo, under pretence Ambition that he was unable to restrain the banditti, privately en- of Galecouraged them to fill all Italy with alarms. The Florentines azzo. engaged the inhabitants of Rimini, Faenza, Ravenna, Imola, and Citta di Castello, into their confederacy. These were but feeble states, and depended on the power and money of Florence, whose citizens were now embroiled among themfelves. The emperor Wencestaus offered them his assistance; but he was more formidable to them than Galeazzo himself: they therefore civilly declined it, and depended on their own power, which became now fuspicious to many of the other Italian states, particularly Bologna, Ravenna, and Imola, whom Galeazzo secretly abetted in their jealousy. By this time, Galeazzo, who had hitherto only designed himself count of Virtue, purchased from the German emperor, as lord paramount of Italy, the title of duke of Milan, and openly affifted the Pifans against the Florentines. The latter turned his arts upon himself, and a declared war at last broke out between them, both in Tuscany, and in Lombardy. Malatesta, the Florentine general, defeated Galeazzo's army before Mantua; and he was obliged, for that reason, to evacuate Tufcany. The Florentines being either too fecure, or trusting too much on the negotiations for peace under the pope's mediation, that had been begun at Imola, loft the advantages they had gained by their victory in the Mantuan. Galeazze raised his demands in the conferences at Imola, and M 2 refumed

A truce.

The war

again

refumed the liege of Mantua. This alarmed the Venetians. and they required him either to raise the siege or to look upon them as his enemies; while the Florentines were hiring troops both in France, and Germany. The artful Galeazzo. dreaded a union between the Florentines and the Venetians, and agreed to a truce for ten years. The Venetians being thus delivered from any apprehensions from Galeazzo, left the Florentines to defend themselves, and in the year 1409, Galeazzo, by his arts, revived the war in Tuscany. He had made himself master of Pisa, and was on the point of seizing breaks out Sienna, and Perugia likewise, had he not been opposed by the pope. In fhort, his fuccesses were such, that it was plain he intended, either by his fword, or his money, to

acquire the title of king of Italy.

Galeazzo was not the only enemy the Florentines had to oppose. Their allies had been intimidated, and every little state about them was their foe. To add to their distresses, a pestilence broke out in their city, which in a few weeks carried off thirty thousand of the inhabitants. The Florentines had still one support, which was their money, and they befriended Bentivoglio, who had become master of Bologna, against Galeazzo, whose power became every day more formidable, and his views more undifguifed. Upon the accession of Robert, (or Rupert,) count palatine, to the empire, during the life of Wenceflaus, the Florentines thinking that prince to be far less formidable than his predecessors had been, (as indeed he was) joined with the pope and the Venetians, to invite him to invade Galeazzo's dominions; to which he was by no means averfe. As he was very poor, he depended upon the Florentines chiefly for his being paid, and they engaged to advance him two hundred thousand ducats, part in ready money, and the remainder when he should invade Galeazzo's dominions. The reader has already feen the event of this agreement; but the Italian historians have added, that Robert was entirely defeated by Galeazzo's generals near Brescia. Be that as it will, he omitted no art to procure the remainder of the money, but into Italy. all without success; the Florentines charging him with not having fulfilled his engagements. They infifted, that his army was weaker than what he promised to bring; that it had not acted offensively against Galeazzo, and had made a shameful retreat at the very appearance of danger. The pope, and the Venetians, being disappointed in their expectations from the emperor, who had now returned to Germany, dropt all hostilities against Galeazzo, who defeated the Florentine army that had been fent to the affiftance of Bentivoglio, became again master of Bologna, while Bentivoglio lost his life in the dispute. The Florentines thought that the new enormous power of Galeaxzi, in Italy, would be a fufficient motive for the pope and the Venetians to renew their confederacy against him; but they could prevail with neither.

Vol. IX. p. 48.

ibid. The emperor Robert marches .

Galeazzo regains Bologna.

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In the mean time, for reasons that have never been sufficiently accounted for, while Galeazzo had gone to far in his delign of making himself king of Italy, or, as others fay, Lombardy, that he had ordered a crown, and other regal ornaments to be prepared; he, all of a fudden, altered his conduct, and his ambassadors at Venice proposed a treaty, in which the Florentines were to be included. is uncertain, whether this pacific conduct was dictated by his feeling the approaches of death, and his being willing that his children, who were young, should succeed peaceably to his dominions, or whether it was not a pretext for amusing the Florentines, as above thirty thousand of his best troops were then in march against that city, which was in no condition to oppose them.

The death of Galeazzo, which happened at this very Death of critical period, delivered the Florentines, as well as the rest of Galeazzo Italy, from their difmal apprehensions; and the impolitic diffribution he had made of his territories among his children, confirmed their security on the side of the Milanese. The Florentines were not backward in fomenting the differ- Confeences that broke out between the tutors and relations of the quence of Galeazzo family; and leagueing themselves with pope Boni- the same. face, they choic Nicholas of Ferrara to head their armies, who were to recover all that Galeazzo had acquired from either. To prevent the effect of this confederacy, a congress was agreed upon, in which Malatesta acted for the Milanese, and Gianelli, the pope's brother, for the confederates. During the conferences, Malatesti had the address to detach Gianelli from the interest of the Florentines, by agreeing that Bologna and Perugia, should be restored to his holiness, which was accordingly done, to the apparent satisfaction of the Florentines, who seemed not to resent their being betrayed in the negociation. Sienna, likewise, threw itself under the pope's protection, and the Florentines congratulated the Siennele upon their change of mafters.

The friendship of Boniface towards Ladislaus was detrimental to his holiness, who by encouraging him in his unsuccessful attempt upon the crown of Hungary, lost the emperor, the king of Bohemia, and other German princes, while his antagonist Benedict, being freed from his imprison-ment, was gaining ground in France. The disposition of the great princes, however, for putting an end to the schism, was so strong, that Benedict having obtained from Boniface a lafeguard for two nuntios, sent them to Rome, to propose an accommodation. The few conferences they had with Boniface on that subject, rather widened the breach; but Death of In the mean while Boniface died, the nuntios were imprison- Boniface, ed, and obliged to purchase their liberty with five thousand florins. The schism thus continuing, a Neapolitan cardinal was chosen, by the eight cardinals who entered the con-

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Innocent

clave, to fucceed him; and he was confecrated on the 4th VII.pope. of November 1404, by the name of Innocent VII. By this time, Ladislaus had returned from Hungary to Naples, and hearing that Galeazzo, and his benefactor pope Boniface, were dead, his ambition prompted him, now that he was freed from all personal ties of gratitude, to adopt the schemes of the former. With this view he entered into fecret connections with the heads of the Gibelines at Rome, who were the families of Colonna, and Savelli, and arrived in that city with a confiderable body of troops, on pretence of congratulating the new pope upon his election. The Gibelines endeavoured then to restore the government of the bannerets, but were opposed by the Guelphs, with the Ursmi at their head. Both parties appealed to Ladiflaus, and he favoured the Gibelines, who thereupon infulted the pope to fuch a degree, that he was obliged to raise a body of guards, and shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo. The more pacific part of the Roman citizens endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between him and the rioters; but upon their return from the caftle, they were, without Innocent's knowledge, murdered by his nephew. The Romans were so much driven out exasperated at this, that Innocent fled with his guards, to fave his life, to Viterbo; and the troops of Ladiflaus took

who is of Rome.

possession of Rome.

At this time, a reconciliation was on foot between the two popes, by means of a general council, which was to have been held at Rome. Benediet arriving, with a confiderable body of troops at Genoa, the Genoese, though they received him well at first, imagined he had a defign upon their liberties, and he was forced to return to Provence. He fent, however, letters to Innocent, demanding a fafe conduct, which was rejected by the latter, and therefore Benedict accused him of intending to keep up the schism; but probably both of them were infincere in their propopals for an accommodation. The Romans became fensible of the ambitious views of Ladislaus, and, at the persuation of the Florentines, they invited pope Innocent back to their city; to which he returned, and excommunicated Ladiflaus. That prince, who had owed his crown and fafety to the papal protection and friendship, was so much terrified by this sentence, that he employed all his friends to bring about a reconciliation, which was at last effected by the Death of mediation, chiefly, of the Ursini family. Upon the death of pope Inno- Innocent, which happened on the feventh of November, 1406, the cardinals, or at least such of them as were in earnest for terminating the schism, for some time deliberated whether they should chuse him a successor; because, if the pontifical chair should continue vacant, the antipope could have no pretext for continuing the schism. feditious Romans obliged the cardinals to proceed to an election,

Ladislaus excommunicated.

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election, and it fell upon Corrario James Fournier, com- Gregory monly called cardinal of St. Prisco, who took the name of XII. pope Gregory XII. This new pontiff is celebrated, even by protestant writers, as a man of great probity, zealous for the reformation and reunion of the church, and free from the vices and blemishes which had dishonoured his predecessors. Before the election all the candidates had feverally taken an An acoath, that he who should be elected should abdicate the commopapacy, if Clement, or Peter de Luna, would do the same. dation Gregory intimated those terms to Benedict in a letter; and a proposed. meeting was proposed between the two competitors at Savona, in the Genoese territories. The interview, though greatly pressed by the partizans on both sides, came to nothing, chiefly through the obstinacy of Benedict; but in reality neither fide were cordial in their professions, for each refused to relign, unless his rival should give security that he would refign likewise; but Gregory at last set out for Savona, with a fincere defire to terminate all differences.

Ladislaus king of Naples, had never lost fight of his am- Ladislaus bitious projects, and was still intent on getting possession of takes With this view, in the year 1407, he obliged the possession pope to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo; but for that of Rome. time, he was forced to return to Naples. When Gregory left Rome to go to Savona, he appointed Urfini to be governor of that city in his absence; but in April 1408, Ladistaus approached Rome with an army of fifteen thousand horfe, besides a numerous infantry; and having made his terms with Urfini, he took possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and was crowned in that capital, king of the Romans, under a canopy of gold. After this, the greatest part of the ecclefiaftical state fell into his possession, and he took the titles of Ladislaus by the grace of God, king of Hungary, Jerusalem, Sicily, Dalmatia, Crotia, Rome, Servia, Salicia, Lodomiria, Comania, and Bulgaria, and count of Provence, Forcalquire, and Piedmont. Notwithstanding all this, Ladiflaus endeavoured to keep fair with Gregory, whom he offered to protect, if he would refuse to abdicate the popedom; being afraid that his right to the crown of Naples might be called in question by a pope of greater power and authority. Gregory proceeded in his journey to Savona, but halted at Sienna, and still found pretexts for postponing his abdication. Benedict, by this time had come to Savona, The counand many mellages had passed between him and his compe-cil of Pisa titor; but their trifling became so egregious and apparent to deposes all the world, that the powers of Europe, the king of France both in particular, were disposed to withdraw their obedience popes. from both; and Gregory's cardinals were so tired out with his shuffling, that they retired to Pifa, which was thought upon as a proper place for a general council, where the schism might be ended, and a new pope created. French king, without regard to Benedict's remonstrances

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and threatenings, ordered his general Boucicaut to fecure his person, but he escaped to Spain; and his cardinals had a meeting with those of Gregory at Leghorn, where they finally agreed upon holding the council at Pifa; and letters were published accordingly.

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The two popes, though thus deserted, published bulls, Alexander appointed other councils, and created cardinals, as if each had been in full possession of the pontifical power. In 1400, the general council opened at Pifa. It confifted of twenty two cardinals, three patriarchs, one hundred and eighty prelates, three hundred abbots, or their representatives, and two hundred and eighty two doctors in divinity; besides ambassadors from temporal princes. The emperor of Germany pretended that a council could not be held in Italy without his consent, and ordered it to be transferred. The council, without regarding this injunction, deposed both the rival popes, and elected in their stead, a Greek, one Peter Philargi, who took the name of Alexander V. and annulled all the proceedings of the other two. While those transactions happened at Pifa, Lewis, duke of Anjou, came to that city to profecute his right to the crown of Naples; and was acknowledged as such by Alexander, the Florentines, the Siennese, and Cossa, the warlike cardinal legate of Bologna. All these had confederated against Ladislaus, who was still in possession of Rome, and having done all he could to obstruct the meeting of the council at Pisa, had marched with an army into Tuscany, where he became master of Cortona. Alexander put himself at the head of the confederacy, confirmed the claim of Lewis to the crown of Naples, and marched with an army towards Rome, where Ladislaus was become so excessively hated, having been excommunicated by the council of Pifa, that he was obliged to retire to his own dominions.

Who is XXIII.

The church of Rome had now three heads, for Gregory succeeded was acknowledged by Ladislaus, and some of the Italian by John - States, as Benedict was by the kings of Spain, and Scotland, and the powerful count of Armignac. Alexander, however, was more generally received than either, but died in the eleventh month of his pontificate, on the third of May, The cardinals then at Bologna were in number seventeen, and they elected Cossa, the cardinal legate of that city, who took the name of John XXIII. to be Alexander's successor. He had formerly been an active partizan under pope Urban. Being a profest pirate, he had by his depredations acquired money enough to purchase dignities in the church, and it was owing to his courage and conduct, that Bologna had been recovered from the Visconti family to the holy see. As the cardinals were surrounded by his troops, and he was warmly recommended by Lewis of Anjou, who was upon the coast with a powerful fleet, they could not avoid chung him pope; but indeed the times

times demanded fuch a head of the church. He advanced. by the way of Florence, to take possession of Rome; while Lewis of Anjou having landed, was joined by Urfini, and the other Florentine general, and by advice of the latter, who was, perhaps, the best foldier of his age, fince Hawkwood's death; Lewis passed the Garigliano to fight Ladislaus, whose army was superior in number, and encamped at Rocco Vecchia, on the frontiers of Naples. Lewis, Ladiflans by the valour and good conduct of Sforza, proved victorious; defeated. but his victory was not decifive. Urfini and the other Florentine generals envied the glory of Sforza, who was born a mean pealant, and they not only refused to pursue Ladislaus,

but repassed the Garigliano.

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Ladislaus was far from being disconcerted by his defeat. He but redetached the Florentines from Lewis, by offering to restore trieves his Cortona, and he knew that all the influence of the pope in affairs. favour of Lewis, could not conquer the aversion which the Neapolitans had towards a French government. Lewis experienced this, and being equally difgusted with the conduct of the Florentines, the spirit of mutiny that broke out in the pope's army, and the defection of the Neapolitans, who had invited him to take their crown, returned to France. His departure did not discourage the pope, who continued to thunder out excommunications against Ladiffaus. That prince, on the other hand, grew cool towards the Florentines, who suffered their troops to re-enter into the pope's fervice; but, though he had agreed to pay them, he could not raise the money. This disobliging Sforza, who was a foldier of fortune, and at the head of an in-dependent body of troops, he separated himself from the pope's army. John had thought to fatisfy him, by creating him count of Cotignola; but Ladislaus knowing his worth, engaged him in his fervice, by giving him his own terms. Ursini was now the sole papal and Florentine general, and Account having offered repeated affronts to Sforza on account of the of Brachia meanness of his birth; the latter attacked him in the mar- and Sforza quisate of Ancona, drove him out of the field, and belieged him in Rocca Contrada. Brachio, a Perugian, was thought to be the only match then in Italy for Sforza, in military prowess; and he accepted the command of the Florentine army. Both of them were extraordinary men, and the superiority which Sforza had over Brachio in the held was scarcely perceptible; but that of Brachio over Sforza in civil virtues and accomplishments, was univerfally acknowledged. They had ferved as subalterns in one army, and then they were intimate friends; but now they were raifed to higher commands they were mortal enemies.

Pope John, after his election, seemed to lose all the spirit Brachio's and activity that had so greatly distinguished him in the brave exformer part of his life, and he abandoned the relief of ploits. Ursini, who continued still shut up at Rocca Contrada, to

Brachio. He performed that service so bravely by deliver.

rentines make

ing Urfini and his garrison, who had been reduced to the utmost distress by famine, that his success was looked upon as miraculous; and he afterwards took Todi, an important generals and nobility, being now as jealous of Brachio, as they had been before of Sforza, he was so poorly supported. that Ladislaus again drove the pope from Rome, and he took refuge in the Florentine territory, at the archiepiscopal palace. The Flo-Those politic republicans were disconcerted by his arrival. and they resolved, upon debate, not to provoke Ladislaus farther; nor did even give his holiness an invitation to their He had now become contemptible in the eyes of all Ladislaus. Europe, and a general council, though against his will, was indicted at Constance, for farther settling the affairs of the The war still continued between the Florentines, who were no more than three thousand men, under Brachio. and Ladislaus, who had besieged Todi with twenty eight thousand men. Brachio did wonders with his handful, and

> obliged Ladislaus to suffer him to retire in safety, while he took possession of Todi, the garrison of which had been reduced to the greatest extremities, and forced to surrender. The insolence of the Neapolitans was such, that they had no fooner taken possession of the place, than the inhabitants drove them out, and recalled Brachio to their defence. The fiege was renewed, and Brachio; by the great actions he performed, won so far upon the esteem of Ladislaus, that he offered him very high terms if he would enter into his service; but they were rejected, and Ladislaus not being able to take the place, he retired to Perugia, and from thence to Naples, where he died in August 1414. The reader has been already informed of the disputes

p. 52. flance.

Vol. IX. between the Venetians and the emperor Sigismund, who was about this time in Lombardy, and had an interview with the History of pope at Placentia, where the meeting of the council of the coun- Constance was finally adjusted. The two antipopes, Benedict cil of Con- and Gregory, protested against it; but it was opened by the pope in person, on the fifth of November. One of the great causes for assembling this council, next to that of settling the popedom, was to check the progress of the Hussites, and the Wickliffites; and the reader needs not be informed how basely John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were facrificed to the flames by this infamous affembly, after obtaining the emperor's fafe conduct to and from the council. The emperor Sigismund, though a bigotted prince, had fome difficulty in agreeing to this execution; but managed the chief point he had in view, that of deposing John from the popedom, with vast address. He admitted nuntios from the two antipopes into the council, drest in their pontifical habits. Those of Gregory required that John should not preside in the council, but they offered his abdication to

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the members, if they thought proper to accept of it. nuntios of Benedict proposed an interview between the emperor and the king of Arragon, and the whole was managed with fuch art, that the abdication of John was the only measure wanting to put an end to the schism. To this he at last agreed, partly through the menaces of the council, who threatened to proceed against him as a person guilty of all mortal fins and abominations; and partly because he hoped by his compliance to retain his dignity, which they promifed he should do, if the other two popes did not abdicate likewise. The last mentioned condition, made John fall upon various expedients for delaying the time of his abdication; and in the mean time he fled difguifed like a groom from Constance, in hopes that the council, being destitute of the presence of the pope, must be dissolved of The council afferted its own authority, even though the pope was absent, and declared itself superior to to him; while John sent manifestos through all the courts of Europe, complaining of the council, and that he had been forced to consent to promise to abdicate. Sigismund endeavoured to seize the pope's person, which was done, and he was deposed, and stript of all his pontifical ornaments, upon a charge of fifty four articles that were preferred against him. Pope Gregory XII. as he called himself, next, by his deputies, abdicated the popedom; but Benedict XIII. still held out, though the emperor Sigismund, in person, undertook a journey to Spain to persuade him to relign. The emperor returning to Constance, the members of the council found themselves greatly embarrassed by this fleady refusal of Benedict; but he was deposed, and Otho Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. was chosen pope, by twenty cardinals and thirty deputies of the nations who attended. This happened on the eleventh of November 1417, and in the April following the council was diffolved.

Martin fought to bring Benedict to abdicate the pope-Martin Valom, but in vain, and after his election he went to pope of reside at Florence. There he endeavoured to reconcile all Rome. the differences of Italy; but he found his authority too weak to succeed. The late pope John, who was now called Cossa, in breach of the public faith given him by the emperor, and the council, was then languishing in prison, from which he was delivered by the generous interposition of the Florentines with pope Martin, at whose feet he threw himself; and died some months after. Brachio, in the mean while, having been left by pope John, legate in Bologna, hearing of the revolutions of the popedom, sold to the Bolognese their own liberty for eighty thousand ducats, and then reduced to his obedience his native city of Perugia, which had been seized by the Neapolitans. He still retained his post of commander in chief of the Florentine army; and

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pope Martin employed him with great success in reducing the towns and cities that had revolted, or been alienated from the holy fee, and even the Romans submitted to him. Pope Martin, at last, by Sforza's infinuations, became jealous of him, and excommunicated him; but foon after absolved him.

Naples.

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band to abdicate

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History of Ladislaus king or Napies, was lated At the time of her Jane Jane, dutchess dowager of Austria. At the time of her was forty four years of age, and queen of accession to the crown she was forty four years of age, and the found Sforza the first subject of her kingdom. Being a woman of an amorous complexion, the introduced her favourite, Pandolphello Alopo, to the post of her first minister. and he shut up Sforza in prison; but the marriage of Jane, with James, count de la Marche, a nobleman of the house of Bourbon, rendered them friends. James took upon him-felf the title of king, recommitted Sforza to prison, and put Pandolphello to death; not fatisfied with this, he filled all the posts of the kingdom, civil and military, with Frenchmen, and imprisoned his queen on account of her lewdness. This created an irreconcileable enmity between them. The Neapolitans loved her, and fet her at liberty, and obliged James to abdicate the government, upon receiving a pension of forty thousand crowns. Jane thus regaining her sovereignty, freed Sforza from his fetters, and made him high constable of her dominions; but she herself was entirely vernment. governed by her lover Sergianni, who being jealous of Sforza, persuaded her to send him to command against Brachio. During Sforza's absence, Sergianni had persuaded the queen to imprison her husband, and to banish the French. Sforza, in the mean time, perceiving that he had received his commission only for his ruin, as Sergianni had neglected to pay his troops, returned to Naples, and obliged the queen to banish her lover to the island of Procida. Pope Martin interposed, and fent his nephew Antonio Colonna, to Naples, with proposals which put an end to all differences in that court; by perfuading the queen to fet at liberty both her husband, and Sergianni, and to deliver up all the places the held belonging to the holy fee. Colonna was succeeded in his commission by a legate, who

was impowered to crown the queen; but the king being now at liberty, had formed fo great a party, that he infifted upon being crowned at the same time; and not succeeding in this, he returned to France, where he entered into the Confede- order of Franciscans, at Besançon. Upon his departure, racy a- Sergianni, whom some call Caraccioli, recovered all his gainst her, power with the queen, and in the government; but behaved with fo much infolence and cruelty, that the Neapolitans entered into a conspiracy with Sforza against him. The pope had his reasons for joining in the concert, and he and Sforza took part with Lewis, the fon of the late duke of Anjou, who wanted to be declared heir to the queen, the being

heing now past hopes of having one of her own body. His ambassadors were then at Florence, where pope Martin Still held his court, folliciting this affair; and it was agreed, that if the queen should refuse to consent to the nomination, Sforza should act against her by land, and Lewis by sea. The queen proving obstinate, Lewis applied to the king of Arragon, who lent him, when it was too late, some Genoese vellels that were in his service, and in the mean while, Sforza resigning to her the badges of his offices, invested Naples on the eighth of June 1420.

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The fleet at last arrived, but not till the army of Sforza, Progress which had long waited for it, had been almost ruined by the of Aldelay. The queen knew that the great dependence of her phon/o in enemies was upon Alphonso, king of Arragon, and in order Naples. to detach him from their party, the offered to give him the adoption, for which Lewis was contending. Alphonso accepted of the offer, and fent a fleet to Naples, which obliged Sforza to draw off the remains of his army to Averla, while the queen put Alphonso's deputies in possession of great part of her dominions, and ordered her nobles and people to swear fidelity to him as the heir of her crown. This conduct influenced the fickle Neapolitans in favour of the duke of Anjou, and the queen not receiving from Alphonfo the affiftance the expected, was treating with the duke, when four Neapolitan gallies arrived at Naples; and she was informed that Alphonso was making great preparations for driving Lewis out of her kingdom. Upon this, she took Brachio into her pay with three thousand horse; and Alphonso arrived at Naples with a very considerable sea and land armament. The pope sent Tartalio, his general, with a body of troops to the affistance of Sforza, the only general who could make head against Brachio; but Tartalio betraved the cause for which his master was so sanguine. Alphonso, however, failed in the siege of Acerra, which he battered with a most tremendous train of artillery, and it was sequestered into the hands of Martin's legate. Alphonso felt the weight of the papal interest lying against him, and endeavoured to remove it by the only means that could have made an impression upon Martin; for he threatened to espouse the cause of Peter de Luna, who was still alive in This menace damped Martin so much, that he Sforza Spain. became cool in the interest of Lewis, and in the mean while, takes ferthe queen and Alpenso found means to engage Sforza in their vice under service, on the condition of his enjoying the dutchy of that queen Manfredonia. Sergianni, however, who had now regained his interest with the queen, had privately secured him to her interest, as both of them began to be jealous of Alphonso. Alphonso perceived this by the queen's and Sergianni's Castella Nuovo, without a safe conduct. Though Alphonso

Who abandons Alphonfo, and renews the adoption

had granted one to Sergianni, yet he difregarded it, and put him in irons, and endeavoured to furprize the queen in Castella Capuana; but she repulsed him, and summoned Sforza to her affistance. Alphonso did the like, but Sforza declared for the queen, and drove the Spanish troops who were belieging her, into Castello Nuovo. As Alphonso had fent to Spain for a powerful reinforcement, which accordingly landed at Naples, and easily took possession of that city; the queen, by Sforza's advice, retired to Aversa, where of Lewis. The annulled the adoption of Alphonso, in favour of Lewis of Anjou, who was then at Rome, but was received at Averla with the highest demonstrations of affection; being declared duke of Calabria, which had generally been the title of the heir apparent to the crown of Naples. Alponso being unable to withstand Sforza's troops, with those of the royal and Anjouvine party in Naples, left the management of his affairs there to his brother Peter, and returned to Spain. The city of Aquila had been granted by the queen to Brachio; but he had taken part with Alphonso, and the inhabitants therefore refusing to submit to him, he besieged it. was ordered to relieve it; but he was drowned in paffing the river Pescara, on his march, and his command devolved upon his natural fon Francis, who refembled and excelled his father in all his military accomplishments.

Sforza drowned.

Successes of young Sforza

Young Sforza, instead of proceeding to Aquila, returned to Aversa, where the queen gave him the command of her army; and ordered him to retake Naples from Alphonso. Being affished by a fleet sent at the persuasion of the pope, by the duke of Milan, he forced that capital, all but Castello Nuovo, to which Peter retired, to surrender, and then marched to the relief of Aquila, which was still besieged by Brachio. This drew on a battle, in which the latter was killed, and Sforza remained victorious. He returned to Naples, which was threatened by a fresh invasion of the Spaniards, who arrived in the harbour, but could not land, and all they did was their carrying Peter to Arragon; and leaving one Dalmeo to command in Castello Nuovo. phonfo began now to despair of succeeding in his designs upon Naples; but Sergianni thought it his interest that the queen should not enjoy a secure tranquility. He neglected to disposses the Spaniards of Castello Nuovo; he oppressed the great Neapolitan barons who had been in the interest of Alphonio; he engroffed to himself the estates that had belonged to Brachio, and being jealous of the credit of Lewis of Anjou with the queen, he fent him to command against the Spanish party in Calabria; and thus Sergianni was left without a rival about the queen's person.

Death of Peter de Lana.

Clement VII. or Peter de Luna, was now dead, and was fucceeded in his mock dignity by cardinal Ægidius, who took the name of Clement VIII. His exaltation was

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owing to Alphonso, who was willing to oppose him to Martin, who fent the cardinal of Foix to diffuade him from supporting this new antipope. Alphonso would not allow the legate to enter Spain, and the schism continued; but Martin laying the king and kingdom of Arragon under an interdict, he suffered the legate to enter his kingdom; but no accommodation ensued, and in the mean while, the Bolognese again revolted from the holy see, and were excommunicated.

In the year 1428, Martin again endeavoured to come to an accommodation with Alphonjo, and fent a legate for that purpose to Arragon. Alphonso was then engaged in a war with the king of Castile, and having received from the legate all the fatisfaction he could require, with the usual absolution and benedictions, Ægidius refigned his popedom; and the cardinals of his party chose Otho Colonna (pope Martin V) for the head of the church; and thus the schism was finally terminated, after lasting fifty years, and ten months. In 1431, pope Martin sent cardinal Julian, to prefide at the council then fitting at Bafil, in consequence of the resolutions of the councils of Constance and Sienna, And of

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He was succeeded by a Venetian cardinal, who took the name of Eugene IV. and who, before his election, was bound down to very hard terms by the cardinals. The Colonna, favoured by the late pope, were then possessed of immense power in Rome; and Eugene endeavouring to bring them to an account for some treasures, which he alledged they had fequestered from the church, they took arms, and attempted to become masters of the castle of St. Angelo; upon which Eugene applied to the queen of Naples for affiftance. Sergianni continued still her first minister; but, as the was now old and infirm, he was no longer her lover. His infatiable avarice and ambition prompted him to aspire at the pollessions the Colonnæ held in the kingdom, and he sent one thousand horse under the command of his brother Matinto, to Eugene's affiltance; but demanded of the queen the principality of Salerno, belonging to the Colonna. The queen, at the instigation of her female favourites, the dutchess of Sessa particularly, refused his request, upon which he abused, and, as some say, struck, her majesty. Sergianni fought to strengthen his interest by a family alliance with Caldora, a nobleman who commanded four thoufand troops in the Abruzzo; and this appeared to dangerous to the queen, that she gave orders for Sergianni's imprisonment. His enemies, afraid to trust to her firmness, and Sergiannis apprehensive of a return of her weakness for his person, put put to him to death, and next day his relations were imprisoned, death.

his estates confiscated, and the conspirators were pardoned. The dutchess of Sessa had all the ambition, and succeed- and is suced to all the power of Sergianni, and not only influenced ceeded in

by the dutchess of Seffa.

his power the queen not to recall Lewis of Anjou from Calabria; but entered into a private correspondence with Alphonso, who was still in hopes of succeeding to the crown of Naples. Alphonfo, at the same time, prevailed on the duke of Sella, who was at variance with his dutchess, to take his part; but this impolitic step destroyed all his schemes, as it made the dutchess his enemy, and he returned to Sicily, after concluding a ten years truce with the queen. In the mean while, Lewis of Anjou, who was still kept at a distance from the capital, married Margaret, the daughter of the duke of Savoy, and war was declared against the prince of Tarenta. by the instigation of the courtiers, upon a frivolous pretext. Death of though he had been always faithful to the queen. The Lewis of command of her forces was given to the duke of Anjou, who spent one hundred thousand crowns of his own money in the campaign, and died as foon as it was finished, greatly

Anjou

Fane.

lamented by the Neapolitans, but more by the queen, for his and queen gentle manners, and the probity of his heart. She survived him but a few months, and was the last of the Anjouvine race that had fat upon the throne of Naples. She died immensely rich, and adopted Renate, or Regnier of Anjou, in place of his brother, who had no iffue, with a council of fixteen barons to affift, or rather to direct, him in his government.

This council was augmented by twenty four other perfons, who were chosen four days after the queen's death, by the city of Naples. This innovation disgusted many of the chief Neapolitan noblemen, and they linked themselves with Alphonfo, who had supported the prince of Tarento, and was now landed at Ischia with a fleet and an army,

The Genoese defeat Alphonio, and take him prifoner.

The pape, in the mean while, did not fail to put in his claim, and fent a nuntio to require the Neapolitans not to acknowledge any king who was not confirmed by him. They paid no regard to this admonition, but Alphonso was still gaining ground. He was now master of Capua, and belieged Gaeta. The duke of Milan was at this time in possession of Genoa, and having an eye upon the crown of Naples, he consented that the Genoese should affift the Gaetans. They accordingly fitted out a fleet, which was attacked by that of Alphonio, with a vast superiority of force. The Genoese being more expert seamen than the Spaniards, obtained a complete victory, and Alphonso himself, with his brothers, the king of Navarre, and don Henry, were made prisoners. Only one of all the Spanish gallies escaped being taken by the conquerors. This unexpected victory encouraged the Gaetans to make a fally by land, and having routed their enemies, the fiege was railed. The Genoese, though they were in fact governed by the duke of Milan, still retained the form of a republican government, and therefore fancied themselves to be free. Their joy for this victory was extravagant, being in full hopes of having the glory

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glory of feeing two monarchs their prisoners, besides near one thousand Spanish and Neapolitan barons and knights. They were disappointed in all their pleasing prospects.

The duke of Milan, who inherited all the ambition of He is fet his ancestors; did not think it for his interest, either that the at liberty. Genoese Thould be able to avail themselves of their victory, or that the French should acquire the kingdom of Naples. Instead of carrying the illustrious prisoners to Genba, gave private orders to the admiral to conduct them to Milan. where he received them with the magnificence and respect due to their high rank; and entering into a strict alliance with Alphonso against Renate, all of them were set at liberty. The Genoese resented his conduct so much, that they concluded a treaty with Renate, who, for reasons that are foreign to this part of our history, was then prisoner to the duke of Burgundy, and had not yet visited his new dominions. Obtaining leave upon his parole, to repair to Anjou, where he met with the deputies fent by the regency of Naples, he refused to attend them to that capital; and having received their congratulations, he returned to the place of his captivity, sending his wife Elizabeth, and his second son, to govern the Neapolitans in his room. Caldora, and Antonio, then commanded in that kingdom for Renate, but finding their authority diminished by the arrival of Elizabeth, they suffered the Arragonians to become masters of Gaeta, that they might render their own services the more necessary; and this crifis naturally leads us to the history of other parts of Italy,

The progress of the Bohemian Hussites, had been for some Proceedtime a very ferious object of the pope's attention; and they ings of the defeated his warlike legate the cardinal Julian. They were council of not the only enemies of the papal religion, for a spirit of Basil. reformation was now gaining ground all over Europe; and was by churchmen in general imputed to the avarice, ambition, tyranny, and ignorance of the popes. opinion they were joined by most of the Christian princes, and it was resolved that the council of Basil should proceed to acts of reformation, independent of the papal authority. This resolution, with many other indications of their intentions, naturally induced Eugene to order his legate fulian to dissolve the council. Julian did not chuse to obey his holiness, and the emperor Sigismund, who was then in Italy, opposed the dissolution. The doctrinal proceedings of the council belong to a history of the church; but many of them had great civil consequences. Eugene finding himself disobeyed, and that the fathers at Basil had indulged the Hushtes in many of their demands, renewed his attempts to remove the council from Bafil to Bologna; but the members despised his bulls, and issued manifestos, declaring the council to be above the pope; and that they were refolved not to rife till they had completed the great work of refor-VOL. X.

mation. Being backed by the general sense of all Europe, their assembly daily increased in numbers, and they even cited the pope, and his cardinals, to appear before their tribunal. Eugene was then dangerously ill, and the council decreed that, in ease of his death, his successor should be elected no where but at Basil, and that no new cardinals should be made during the continuance of the council. At last, they, in fact, transferred to themselves the sovereignty of the church, and superceeded that of the pope.

Which censures pope Eugene.

Eugene, equally enraged and intimidated by their proceedings, craftily endeavoured to prevail upon them to adjourn their fessions to some town in the ecclesiastical dominions; where he promifed in person to recognize their supremacy. Instead of complying, the members formally impeached him of contumacy; because he had neither re-voked his former bulls of dissolution, nor had he made his appearance at their bar, threatening, that if he delayed it farther, they would proceed against him as a delinquent, and suspend him from the pontificate. The pope endeavoured to mitigate this spirit of opposition, and was seconded by the emperor, who remained still in Italy; but all was in vain, and on the eleventh of October 1433, Sigismund arrived at Bafil. His presence made no alteration in the proceedings of the council; and Eugene finding all the lenitives he had employed to be unsuccessful, declared all their acts and decrees to be null and void. Had the fathers of the council been properly seconded by the secular power, they might at this time have given a mortal blow to the papacy; but it was not the interest of the princes of Europe that it should be farther reduced, because they found it would be far easier for them to repress the usurpations of the bishop of Rome, and his cardinals, than those of all the bishops and ecclefiaffics in christendom. The emperor Sigismund, obtained, from time to time, a prorogation of the term appointed for Eugene's appearance; and the increase of the duke of Milan's power in Italy, secretly influenced many of the princes in favour of the pope. He had feized the. greatest part of the ecclesiastical possessions in Italy, and his general Fortebrace lay in the neglibourhood of Rome with an army, on pretence that the council of Bafil had appointed his master their vicar in Italy. Eugene continued to act with great prudence, well knowing that the separate interests of the princes, and members that composed the council, must in time operate to his advantage. He published a bull, revoking all that he had done against the council, and acknowledging its authority, which proved fatisfactory to the fathers, who admitted his legates to fit among them; but only as simple members, and without any marks of papal pre-eminency or jurisdiction. Mean while, the party of the Visconti, and the Colonnæ, getting poffession of the strong places about Rome, drove from thence

Prudent conduct of that pope.

the pope, who fled on board a small vessel, into which the malecc tents discharged several shot, which his holiness

narrowly olcaped.

We are here to observe, that about this time muskets, The counand other small arms, were introduced in Italy, and did such cil takes execution upon the Florentines at the fiege of Lucca, that his part. they were obliged to raise it. Bugene being out of danger, failed first to Pifa, and then to Florence, from whence he fent a moving account of his perfecution and fufferings to the council of Bafil, whose authority he again recognized; and it produced the defired effect. The Romans had, by this time, imprisoned his nephew, cardinal Condelmero, and feized all his effects, wherever they could find them; but were unable to take the castle of St. Angelo. calamities touched the members of the council, where his friends acted with infinite address. The fathers, in right of the papal power, which they had assumed, or usurped, fent two legates to persuade the duke of Milan to restore the church's patrimony. The emperor Sigismund began now to complain, that the council had arrogated powers incompatible with the imperial authority; that they paid more respect to the duke of Milan than to him, and that they had encroached upon the civil constitutions of the empire, in the dispute about the dutchy of Saxony. His discontent was highly serviceable to the cause of the pope, and an incident happened, which gave another favourable turn to his affairs.

The progress of the Turks against the Greek emperor, Account John Palæologus, had rendered him entirely dependent upon of the rethe Latins for support; and though he knew his subjects union of to be more averse to Popery than to Mahometanism itself, the Greek he fent deputies to treat both with Eugene and the council, and Latin concerning a union between the Greek and Latin churches, churches, This was a popular point, and flattered the vanity of the fathers at Bafil, who imagined themselves to be now the They gave a plaufible answer to the arbiters of Europe. Greek deputies, and voted that a fum of money should be fent to Palæologus, to defray his expences, if he should think proper to repair to Basil; but if that journey was inconvenient, or disagreeable for him, they were willing to call an occumenical council, at any place chosen by the emperor, where he pleased to attend with his clergy. Palæologus, at the same time, addressed Eugene, who confirmed all that the council had voted in his favour; and the fathers fent nuntios to Constantinople, to persuade the emperor to agree to the holding the occumenical council at Bafil, which the emperor agreed to. But at the same time he kept up a private The pope correspondence with Eugene, who informed him of what gains was indeed true, that Sigismund had withdrawn in disgust ground. from Bafil; that the Venetians, and several other powers had disowned the authority of the council there; that the

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members were splitting among themselves, and that the

force of all its decrees must soon be annulled.

Miscon-It happened as Eugene had foretold; diffentions, through duct of the the obstacles thrown in by the pope's legates and agents, council of took place in the council, about forms and methods of Basil. proceeding, and at last it was divided into two parties, each fitting and voting in places separated from the other. The most respectable members, finding there was no principle of unity under which they could act, adhered to the pope, who ratified their acts, though they were inferior in numbers; and they agreed that a fafe conduct should be given to the Greeks, who were to repair to the occumenical council, which was to be held in some part of Italy, though no place was yet fixed on. This employed the business of the session. Eugene and his agents, insisted that it should be held in some city of Tuscany, or the ecclesiastical state. The sense of the fathers, was, that it should be held at Basil, Avignon, or some place in Savoy. Without entering into a minute detail, it is evident, that the fathers, who had separated from Eugene and his cardinals fell into all the absurdities that they had blamed in the pope. They voted indulgences of the most ridiculous kind to be issued and fold for the maintainance of the Greek fathers, who were to repair to the council; and that a message should be fent to Constantinople, peremptorily fixing Basil as the place for holding the council. The pope's party, who held a separate session, appointed Florence, or Ferrara; and by opening the lock of a casket, where the seal of the council was deposited, they affixed it to their decree, and trans-

The Ferrara opened.

The Greek emperor was far from being ignorant of all council of those contradictory circumstances; and adhered to the pope and the minority, who brought him and his clergy to Venice, in nine gallies, in the beginning of December, 1437. The council was enraged at the pope's cool perseverance against all their fulminations. The members annulled the most material acts of his pontificate during their fession. They ordered him, and his cardinals to appear before them in fixty days, and they applied to the emperor Sigismund for protection. Sigismund was then on his death bed, and advised the fathers to more moderation; but when the fixty days for Eugene's appearance were elapsed, they resolved to chuse another pope, and they suspended him from the pon-Cardial Julian, and Eugene's other adherents, fensible of the madness of their proceedings, (which while they professed themselves votaries to the church of Rome, were certainly indefenfible,) left Basil; but the fathers continued their fession, while the pope, who had transferred them to Ferrara, opened a council in that city, composed

mitted it to Constantinople; while the antipapal messenger repaired to the same city, with the vote that had been past-

ed by the majority for holding the council at Bafil.

of the cardinals and prelates of his party. This council at Ferrara, annulled the acts of that of Bafil, and Eugene, with great moderation, animadverting upon the violence of the fathers at Basil, offered to submit his conduct to those at Ferrara. The council of Basil, had now very little credit among the Christian powers, and that of Ferrara was honoured by the presence of the Greek emperor, and his clergy; who were treated by the pope and his cardinals, with the greatest marks of honour and respect. On the its preninth of April, 1438, after the ceremonials between the two ceedings. nations had been adjusted, the Greek and Latin fathers met in council, and some days were spent in religious disputes about the beatitude of faints, the reality of purgatory, the procession of the holy ghost, and other matters of faith; though without either coming to any conclusion, but that

of obstinately adhering to its own opinions.

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The fathers at Basil, were enraged beyond measure, at The the steady contempt of the pope for all their proceedings; council but the German, and Gallican churches declared for a neutra- transferrlity as to both councils. It happened, unfortunately for the ed from emperor of Constantinople, that the invincible preposessions Ferrara of his clergy hurt his interest, and they delayed his relief to Floagainst the Turks, which was in fact the only end of his rence, appearance at Ferrara. All the persuasive eloquence of Eugene, and his cardinals, could not effect a coalition of fentiments between the Greeks and Latins, while they continued disputing; and in the beginning of the year 1439, the plague breaking out at Ferrara, the council was adjourned to Florence. In the mean while, the council of Basil deposed Eugene from the papacy; and he in return, by a solemn and severe edict, devoted all its members to hell and damnation. Eugene was now become rich, and respectable, and by his money he rendered the Greek fathers more tractable at Florence than they had been at Ferrara; while their union with the Latin church, was not a little forwarded by the death of the patriarch of Conflantinople. At last, it was The Greek entirely completed, and the Greek clergy, in every respect, church rebecame proselytes to the Latins.

So important an acquisition to the papacy, as that of a to the Greek emperor, and his clergy, raised the character and Latin. reputation of Eugene all over Europe. The council, which still continued to fit at Bafil, was now looked upon as the factious remnant of a venerable assembly; but the more despicable the members were, they grew the more arrogant, and repeated their deposition of pope Eugene. It was in Falix V. vain for the emperor Albert to interpose his authority for chosen moderation; for they proceeded to fill up the papacy, and pope by on the twenty feventh of October, they chose for pope the coun-Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who took the name of Fælix V. cil of The history and character of that prince, are to this day Bafil. riddles. He had some time before abdicated the govern-

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ment of his dutchy, that he might more freely indulge his pleasures at Ripaille, a beautiful retreat on the Leman Lake. He was a man of wit and gallantry, and was so far, in the preceding part of his life, from manifesting any affection towards an ecclesiastical life, that he had always held it in ridicule; and at the time of his election by the Besil fathers. he was a layman, and a widower. When the cardinal of Arles carried him the news of his election, he affected great unwillingness to accept of the honour; but was prevailed upon to be confecrated, and pontifically cloathed. Eugene. by this time, had completed the union of the Greek and Latin churches at Florence; after much altercation, and a kind of a juggle, which had been carried on between their emperor, and the pope, whom the Greeks acknowledged to be the true head of the universal church. Though this was a very splendid measure, and intended by Eugene to strike all christendom, but especially the fathers at Basil, with veneration for his character; yet it was far from anfwering his end, for the Greek deputies, upon their return to Constantinople, disclaimed all that had been done, and declared that every thing had been carried on by fraud and artifice, and refused to conform either to the doctrine, or the discipline of the Roman church. Had Eugene been contented with the comprehension of the Greeks alone, he might perhaps, have succeeded better than he did; but he fought to include in his scheme the Armenians, the Jacobites, the Abyssinians, and all the feets belonging to the Greek church, who were both too ignorant, and too politive to be convinced; while their zeal led them to expose the holy father.

The schism now gathered strength, Falix, at Bosil, and Eugene, at Florence, created cardinals, and each anathematized the other with the most insernal denunciations; but the fathers at Basil affected a superiority over their pope, and even repealed some of his acts; though in the mean while they omitted nothing that could contribute to his grandeur and support; and they endeavoured, but without effect, to bring the princes of Germany to recognize him. Eugene was still acknowledged as the true pope, by England, France, Spain, Italy, and Hungary. Falix was acknowledged in his own dominions, part of Swisserland, and Bavaria, while Britany, and the German empire, in sact, acknowledged neither pope, and declared for a neutrality.

Rise of the Medici family.

It was about this time, that the foundations of the greatness of the Medici family were laid in Florence. That republic had always considered the dukes of Milan as being formidable to their liberties. Philip Galeazzo, then possessed that dignity, and endeavoured to gain the friendship of the Florentines, while he was taking measures for acquiring the government of Genoa. Uzane, was at the head of the Florentine magistracy, and concluded a boundary treaty with Philip, his

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Philip, who thereby succeeded in his designs upon Florence. The Florentines had now quitted that warlike character, which had so long rendered their state the bulwark of the Italian liberties. Their excessive wealth enabled them to carry on their wars by foreign mercenaries, and every day rendered them more in love with the arts of peace, which they cultivated amidst all the luxuries of a delightful climate and territory. They had bought Leghorn, which is fince become fo confiderable a fea-port, from the doge of Genoa; and Philip confidered the acquifition as an infringement of the late treaty. The family of Medici was then in difgrace at Florence; but the growing power of the duke of Milan had rendered Uzano, and the acting magistrates, unpopular among the Florentines, who were factious to excess. Each great man fought to vindicate his own conduct, by throwing the blame upon his brother magistrate, till all were involved in the common odium; and the people grew impatient for a war with the duke of Milan, which was voted, contrary to the sentiments of John de Medici, the head of that house, and the wisest and most virtuous citizen in Florence.

The war proved unfortunate, and the Florentines were War in defeated, to the great consternation of their city, though Florence so harmless was the manner of carrying on war at that time between in Italy, that no more than three persons lost their lives in the plethe battle, not by their enemies, but by falling from their beians and horses. The brave Brachio was now dead, and had been the nobifucceeded by Nicholas Picinino, a soldier of fortune, but the lity.

ablest commander in Italy. The people, pressed by their taxes, and discouraged by the ill success of the war, grew more mutinous than ever, and a direct breach ensued between them and the nobility, who were for violent measures, and infilted upon employing force against the plebeians latter recollected, that John de Medici had opposed the war, and had always been their friend. They threw their eyes upon him for their deliverer, and he soon became the most popular man in Florence. He advised the noblemen to moderation, and though the liberties of his country in a manner lay at his feet, yet he refused to enter into any measure that was detrimental to the people. The duke of Milan made use of those diffentions to make farther attempts upon Florence; and brought the pope over to his party, while the Florentines were so infatuated, as to dilguit their general Picinino, who took service under the duke of Milan. happened luckily for the Florentines, that Philip, about this time, disobliged his best general Carmignola, who retired to Venice, The Plorentines having suffered defeat after defeat, and lost many of their towns, threw their eyes upon the Venetians, who were still jealous of Philip, and by Carmignola's advice concluded a treaty with them, which obliged Philip to recall his troops out of Tuscany, He lost Bre-15140

A GENERAL HISTORY

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scia, and Bergamo, to the Venetians; who gained so many advantages over him, that the pope was obliged to mediate a peace, which was accordingly concluded; after the war had cost the Florentines above three millions and a half of ducats. This vast expence occasioned a severe land tax to be levied, which fell so heavy upon the Florentine nobility, that a civil war broke out in their own territories, especially with the Volterrans, who were with difficulty subdued. In the mean while, John de Medici died, possessed in Europe, and was succeeded by his son Cosmo, who afterwards became so samous by the glorious title of "the father

Great losses of the Florentines.

Death of

Fobre de

Medici.

of his country." Cosmo was then young and unexperienced, and precipitately entered into the party which was for a war against Lucca; the chief man of which state was Guinigi. party for war carried their point, and the duke of Milan took part with Guinigi. The Florentines suffered in their reputation during its management, and must have been ruined, had it not been for the moderation of Sforza, the Milanese general, who accepted of Florentine money, and withdrew from their territory; while Guinigi was treacheroully fent prisoner to Milan, where he died. This did not prevent the duke of Milan from privately exciting the Genoese, who declared war against the Florentines, and took Picinino into their pay. The ill fate of the Florentines, rendered them now unpopular with the other Tuscan states; and they were afraid of a general confederacy being formed against themselves. They applied once more to the Venetians; but they did not chuse to disoblige the duke of Milan, who had offered his daughter, and the heires of his family, in marriage to Sforza. Pope Eugene interposed, and persuaded the Venetians to renew their league with the Florentines, while the Siennese joined that between the duke of Milan and the Genoese. Sforza had no dependance on the good faith of Philip, whose chief army he commanded, and his diffrust was so apparent, that he recalled Picinino to Milan, after he had subdued the greatest part of the Florentine territory, and had even reduced it to the walls of their city; excepting a few places which they still held in the vale of Alfa.

Their factions.

Picinino's recall gave a turn to the war in favour of the Florentines, who retook several of their own places, and were favoured by a strong diversion made upon the Po, by the Venetian sleet, against the dukes territories. The Venetians, however, were entirely deseated by Picinino; and though the Florentines had, in a great measure, recovered their losses, yet their state remained under terrible distractions. The sickle populace impeached such of the nobility as had been most forward in advising the war against Lucca; and among others Cosmo de Medici, whose name does honour to

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the history of Italy. This great patriot's modesty was fuch. that he had studiously avoided all direction in public matters, and his friend Puccio's name and credit had been always made use of in their most important debates and refolutions. Though Cosmo had approved of the Lucquese war, yet so disinterested was he in his conduct, that he had suffered his enemies to take the command of the Flarentine armies. This was carrying moderation, perhaps, to an excels, and his enemies did not fail to give out, that his natriotism was no better than affectation, and that he was the fecret spring of all the public measures and misfortunes: Rinaldo Albizi, was at the head of the party against Cosmo; which confifted of all the other leading men in Florence, excepting Uzano, who, during his life time, perfuaded the party to moderation; but upon his death, Albizi, taking the lead, filled his countrymen with such apprehensions, of the power and dangerous defigns of Cosmo, that they never appeared in public without armour. The gonfalonier, was then the highest magistrate in Florence, and had, by his post, which had been instituted to preserve the ballance between the nobles and the plebeians, almost all the executive power of the state. Albizi, whose only failing seems to have been his furious jealousy of the Medici, procured this post for one Bernardo, a needy dependant of his own, whose debts he paid; and Cosmo was put under arrest, to be tried by a commission issued for that purpose. It is pro-Cosmo de bable, that the event of the trial would have been death Medici to Cosmo; but he knew how to lay out his money so well banished. among his keepers, and upon the gonfalonier, that he faved his head, and he was sentenced to be exiled to Padua. Puccio, and others of his friends, received like sentences at the same time.

Cosmo, when his sentence was pronounced, prevailed with the gonfalonier to give him an efcort to protect him against his enemies, who, as he was informed, were waylaying him; and Rinaldo confidered the punishment he underwent, as a triumph over himself, and the other enemies of the house of Medici. He summoned them together, and inveighing most furiously against the plebeians, he exhorted the nobles of his party to make use of the arms that were yet in their hands, to seize the government. He was opposed by some of the more moderate nobles, who detested the tyranny and violences of their own order, and in 1434, the affairs of the Florentines took fuch a turn in favour of Cosmo, that the gonfalonier, and eight senators, all of them his friends, were chosen into the magistracy. Rinaldo, in The Mevain exhorted the nobility to affert their rights; but they dici again resolved to forbear from all hostilities until they were at-prevail. tacked by the plebeians. The new gonfalonier, cited Albizi, and the other enemies of the house of Medici, to appear before him; upon which, Albizi took arms, and he

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and his friends enlifted a number of banditti, and difband. ed soldiers, who happened to be at Florence. This shew of authority, however, daunted and dispirited his party, so that they did not make the appearance he expected; though they were fo numerous, and their pretexts fo frecious, that the magistrates granted them a conference, in which they declared, that they had no thoughts of recalling Cosmo. Some of Albizi's partizans were fatisfied with this declaration, and it broke their unanimity. Pope Eugene was then at Florence, and offered his meditaion between the contending parties; but he had very little weight with either, for though they feemed to agree to lav down their arms, yet the popular resolution to recall Cosmo de Medici was not to be diverted. A new balia, or commission, confisting chiefly of his friends, was issued, by which the fentence of his banishment was repealed, and the like sentence pronounced upon Albizi, and the chief of his enemies.

Albizi banished

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p. 60.

Lombardy

The pope had some reason to complain at being thus outwitted, and seeing his authority contemned. Albizi, bore his fate heroically, but blamed himself for imagining, that his holiness could protect him in Florence, when he could not protect himself in Rome. He had the glory of conforming to the laws of his country by going into exile, while his rival Cosmo was recalled in triumph, and declared, by the voice of his fellow citizens, to be "the friend of the people, and the father of his country." Sigismund was then in Italy, where his pockets were fo low and his pretentions for high, that he acted a part little better than that of an imperial beggar. The Florentines despised him, as they faw that he received even the means of his subsistence from the duke of Milan, who likewise affronted him, and they beat his Milanese escort at Topori. After this, they forced him to that himself at Lucca, from whence he escaped to Sienna, and from thence to Rome, where he received the imperial crown. The return of Cosmo de Medici to Florence, gave a new face to the affairs of Italy. The duke of Milan's coffers were exhausted by the prodigious expences continued. of his wars; and he so entirely depended upon Sforza and his other mercenary generals, that he could scarcely be faid to have a will of his own. The pope was pretty much in the same situation; only his condition was more defpicable, as young Sforza, and Fortebrace, Picinino's nephew, were then thinking of paying their armies by the spoils of the ecclesiastical state. Cosmo was free of all the difficulties under which the other Italian princes lived. The republic of Florence was, indeed poor, but he, and many of its individuals, were immensely rich, and to this, the ruin of their republic was owing, for though Cosmo continued to be the greatest patriot, and the best subject that any country could

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ever boast of, yet his riches and influence were undoubtedytoo great for that flate of constitutional equality that belongs to a free republic. The duke of Milan faw his own danger, from the mercenary disposition of his troops; and; contrary to his usual policy, he linked himself with the Florentines, and restored to them all he had conquered from them. This reasonable peace restored the balance of power in Italy, by breaking the friendship between the dake of Milan and the emperor, who now courted the friendship of the Florentines; but not succeeding, he made an alliance with the Venetians, and returned to Germany. Sforza, For- Progress ubrace, and Picinino, all of them mercenary officers, and at of Sforza. the head of mercenary armies, then fell upon the patrimony of the church; and Sforza made himself master of the marquifate of Ancona. He held the pope in fuch contempt, that his common stile was to date his papers from his own treasury there, " in spite of St. Peter, and St. Paul." The pope, at this time, was in danger of feeing all his The Flo-

possessions a prey to those rapacious mercenaries; but they rentines quarrelled among themselves, and the danger he was in and Veserved in the main to aggrandize his power. He made tians de-Sforza his gonfalonier, or general of his armies, and invok- feated. ed the affiltance of the Florentines, and the Venetians, against Fortebrace, who had persuaded the Bolognese again to revolt. The latter applied to the duke of Milan, who gave them affistance; and the Florentines and Venetians were defeated. Sforza being jealous of Fortebrace, took service under the pope, and defeated him, though Fortebrace was then mafter of Tivoli, Montefiascone, Castello, and Assi; in which last place he took refuge, but was befieged by Sforza. The duke of Milan ordered Picinino, if possible, to relieve Fortebrace, and he forced Sforza to raise the siege of Affisi; but foon after he made Fortebrace a prisoner, and he died of his wounds. This victory of Sforza was decifive in favour of A peace the pope, who thereby recovered all that had been taken concludfrom him by Fortebrace; and the duke of Milan, who in ed. reality was neither friend nor foe to either party, but wanted to hold the balance among them all, employed the marquis of Ferrara's mediation for obtaining a peace with the pope, which was accordingly granted him, and his holine's regained all that had been taken from him by the duke, together with Bologna. By this accommodation, the tranquility of Florence was restored; and Cosmo de Medici was now so popular in his country, and so powerful

with all the neighbouring princes, that he was in every

respect treated as a fovereign. His friends, who thought

that their own fafety must be owing to their severity, did

not make a very moderate use of their good fortune. Some

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death; proceedings to which Cosmo was obliged to give way, contrary to the natural goodness of his heart.

Affairs of Naples.

The schism between the two popes still continued. Alphonso, king of Arragon, at first sided with the council of Bafil, and consequently took part with Fælix; but, in fact. he put his interest up at sale to the best bidder, and Eugene, finding himself trifled with, gave the command of his troops, which confifted of four thousand horse, and one thousand foot, to Vitelleschi, a prelate of warlike abilities, who did him vast service. Caldera, and the other Neapolitan generals, beheld him with an evil eye, fo that he returned to the pope at Ferrara. Renate, by this time, had purchased his liberty from the duke of Burgundy, at an immense rate, and entered into treaty at Pisa, with Francis Sforza; but it was broken off by the obstinacy of Caldra, who refused to co-operate with any mercenary troops, Renate proceeded from Pifa to Naples, where he was at first well received; but he was so miserably poor, that his interest soon slagged. Caldora, instead of affishing him, marched to defend his own estates in Abruzzo, where Alphonso had made a very confiderable progress. The Anjouvine faction, however, was still powerful in Naples, and Renate was foon at the head of an army, with which he offered battle to Alphonfo; but the latter giving him the flip, laid stege to Naples, both by sea and land. The Neapolitans continued so faithful to Renate, that Alphonso, after losing the infant don Peter, by a cannon ball, raised the siege, when he had preffed it for thirty fix days; but his troops still remained masters of Castello Nuovo, which Renate befieged in his turn. Two ambassadors arrived from France to negociate an agreement between the two competitors, and Alphonfo being unable to relieve Castello Nuovo, confented that it should be put into the hands of the ambassadors; who being ill treated by the Spanish foldiers, delivered it to Renate. The inconstancy of the Neapolitans overthrew all that had been done both in the council, and the field. Each competitor endeavoured to bribe the great Neapolitan barons, by giving them investitures of lands belonging to the opposite party.

Where Alphonso prevails;

Alphonso was the most successful in this traffic. He gave Salerno, which he took, with the title of prince, to Ursine, count of Nola, and he besieged Aversa. Old Caldora being dead, his son, who took the title of duke of Bari, resuled to join with any party; and Renate, being unable to raise the siege of Aversa, was prevailed upon, with difficulty, by the Neapolitans of his party, to remain in Italy. Escaping from Naples to Abruzzo, where the strength of his party lay, he was at length joined by the duke of Bari, and defeated Alphonso. His victory must have been decisive, had it not been srustrated by Caldora's treachery, which Renate

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endevoured to punish; but found himself unable, and being obliged to fet him at liberty, he joined with Alphonfo. Ren ate, who had great personal bravery, but little perseveance, or resolution, would have immediately abandoned he kingdom to Alphonso, had he not been in hopes of being elieved by a confederacy of the pope, and the Italian states, n his favour. This confederacy came to nothing. shonlo punished Caldora's treachery to Renate, by giving his duchy to the prince of Tarento, and he died a beggar: while Alphonfo found means to perfuade the troops of the confederacy, who agreed but indifferently among themlelves, to conclude a truce, by which Renate was now left destitute.

The consequence of the truce was, that Alphonso be- and befieged Renate in Naples, which he entered by an aque-comes duct; and Renate was obliged to retire to Castello Nuovo, master of from whence he escaped to the pope, at Florence, where he that received a fresh investiture of his kingdom. Alphonso made crown. a wife use of his success. He rode on horseback through the streets of Naples, where he put a stop to the ravages of his foldiers; he pardoned all the Anjouvine party, and called a free parliament at Benevento. Then he required the nobility to swear allegiance to his natural, but now legitimated, son, Ferdinand; that he might, as he pretended, preserve the independency of Naples upon his other dominions; but at the same time he made that city the seat of his government, and omitted nothing that could gain him the hearts of the inhabitants. He knew that his possession of that kingdom must be precarious, without the friendship of the pope; but he for fome time remained in suspence to which pope he should apply, and treated with both. Both offered him advantageous terms, and to give to him the investiture of Naples; but the credit of the council of Basil, (the great support of Falix,) being then on the decline, he struck in with Eugene. The terms agreed upon were, that he should hold Naples, as former kings had done, from the holy see; that he should restore to the church all her possestions he held; furnish fix gallies against the Turks, and four thousand horse against Francis Sforza. On the other hand, the pope agreed to give him the investiture of the kingdom, to quit him of all the money he owed to the holy fee, and to legitimate his fon, Ferdinand. In consequence of this bull, Alphonso recognized Eugene as the true pope, and Eugene gave a dormant investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand, in cafe Alphonso should die without leaving any lawful iffue of his own body. Alphonso, in return, threatened to break up the council of Basil, by force of arms, if the fathers affembled there did not separate them-

Pope Falix, under pretence of a quiet retirement, was The then enjoying his pleasures in his favourite retreat at Ri-council of paille,

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See

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p. 66.

Bafil de- paille, which he refused to leave; and this, together with clines. an indiction of a lateran council, which had been public

an indiction of a lateran council, which had been publish. ed by Eugene, at the request of the chief Christian powers. in fact, put an end to the council at Bafil, whose acts were afterwards of fo little importance, that they are not recorded. Eugene now ventured to return to Rome, where he abolished the taxes against which the people had mutinied. and preached up crusades against the Turks; which ended fatally for Ladislaus king of Hungary. Next year, being 1445, the famous Eneas Sylvius, afterwards pope, arrived at Rome, as the imperial ambassador, to vindicate the conduct of the emperor, and the German diets, during the council of Basil; and to defire that a council should be convoked in Germany. Eugene accepted of the vindication, but refused to call the council; and, like his predecessors, fought to raife his reputation as universal pastor, by sending nuntios into the east, where he pretended, that the Maro. nites were daily submitting to the Roman see. Eugene was at this time on his death bed, and had drawn up many bulk for the pacification of the church, and the absolution of the fathers of Basil, provided they returned to their duty by a prefixed time. He was succeeded by Thomas of Sarzana, a Lucquese, who took the name of Nicholas V. In the mean while, Alphonfo, king of Naples, omitted nothing that could conciliate the affections of the chief Neapolitans to his government, by marrying feveral of them into his own family, and loading them with favours. Understanding that Sforza had defeated his troops, and those of the pope, he marched himself towards the Marche of Ancona; but when he had advanced to Tivoli, hearing of Eugene's death, he stopt short, and Nicholas V. proposed a congress for a general peace at Ferrara. This leads us to a detail of

Death of pope Eugene.

Nicholas V. pope.

War in Tuscany,

tween the duke of Milan and the Venetians. The Florentines were the allies of the Venetians; but as we have feen, they had, by Picinino, been obliged to raile the fiege of Lucca; and the Genoese admiral, Fornari, had almost stript them of their new acquisition of Pisa. Picinino, after this, marched into the Volterran, where he made a confiderable progress, till he was checked by Attenduls, the pope's general. Carmignola, still continued to command the Venetian forces, but was beat by Sforza, now the duke of Milan's general; while Picinino, his other general, had almost surprized Arczzo, belonging to the Florentines. The Venetians encreased their force by sea, and sent a squadron with ten thousand men, up the river, as far as Cremona, under their admiral Trevisano, who was to act in concert with Carmignola. The fleet and the army joining, composed a most formidable body, and Philip, duke of Milan, was obliged to call upon his best generals and troops to oppose them. He still was inferior in force to the Venetians,

the war which was all this while raging in Lombardy, be-

Venetians, but that disadvantage was compensated by the abilities of his officers, and the discipline of his army. An engagement followed, in which Grimaldi, a Genoese admiral, of great reputation, and Picinino, defeated the Venetians, with great loss and flaughter. The Venetians, who were at this time rich and powerful, remained undaunted amidst their loffes, and resolved to carry the war into the Genoese territories. They dismissed Carmignola from their service, and gave the command of a strong squadron to Loretano, who was joined by five Florentine gallies at Leghorn. The Genote fitted out a fleet, and gave the command to Spinola, one of their best sea officers; who engaged Loretano, but was totally defeated.

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By this time, the duke of Milan having joined his army and Lem. at Cremona, resolved to attack the Venetians at Sumo, where bardy re-Carmignola had been reftored to his command. A battle newed. was fought with uncommon bravery on both fides; but neither could boast of the victory. After this, Cavalcobovis

laid an excellent plan for furprizing Cremona, and in part succeeded; but not being properly supported by Carmignola, he was obliged to retire. The marquis of Montferrat, was at this time in the pay of the Venetians, and had lent three hundred horse to Adorino, a noble Genoese exile, who had railed a revolt from the duke of Milan all over the sea coasts of Genoa. Picinino was fent to command against him; and after defeating Adorini, he gave a loofe to the cruelty, rapaciousness, and lust of his foldiers, who committed unheard of barbarities. Not contented with putting the prisoners to death with exquisite torments, he fold for slaves the women, children, and priests of the country; and at last rendered it a perfect defart. After this, he fell into the marquisate of Montferrat, where he perpetrated the like barbarities. Picinino then returned to the Gremonese, where he obtained many advantages, even in fight of the Venetian army under Carmignola; who beheld his progress with unaccountable indolence. This was more than sufficient to render him suspected to the Venetians, and while he thought himself in perfect security, he was by a secret order of the lenate, seized, put to the torture, and beheaded; while the prince of Mantua succeeded to his command. A wound, which Picinino received at the fiege of Pontoglio, interrupted for some time the course of his victories; and the papal and Florentine generals Attendulo, and Tolentino, laid hold of that interval to defeat the Milanese troops under Bernardino Ubaldino, and to retake all that had been lost in the Pijan territory. It was about this time, that the emperor Sigifmund, as we have mentioned in a former part of our history, arrived in Italy, where his Hungarians had a skirmish with the Florentine army under Tolentino, to the disadvantage of the former.

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A peace rara.

The war in Lombardy taking now a favourable turn for concluded the Venetians, the duke of Milan confented to a negociation at Ferrara, where deputies likewise arrived from Florence, Those conferences did not retard the operations of the field. and Cornaro, a Venetian general, received a considerable check in the Valteline, from Picinino, where he lost some prisoners of quality, with the towns of Castel Major, and Brixelles. Cornaro himself was among the number of the prisoners, and died with grief at his being a captive; but a treaty was at last concluded between the Florentines, Philip, and the Venetians. It was of no long continuance. Philip attacked pope Eugene with such rancour, that the Venetians stept in to the affistance of his holiness; but Spinola, who had been a prisoner at Venice, ever fince his defeat by Loretano, had now formed a defign for delivering his country from the tyranny of Philip. He was accordingly released. and returned to Genoa; but his scheme miscarried, through the influence of Sigismund, who favoured Philip.

Sforza Venetian and Florentine fervice.

The latter, though he was one of the ablest princes of leaves the his time, was unsteady, and distrustful, and he had again driven Sforza into the service of his enemies, the pope, the Florentines, and the Venetians; but with a referve of his not being obliged to pass the Po, to fight against his future sather-in-law, Philip; whom he did not chuse to exasperate beyond a possibily of reconciliation. This did not answer the views of the Venetians, and they struck Sforza out of their pay; upon which he threw himself out of the service of the Florentines likewise. This difference prevailed on Cosmo de Medici, to undertake a journey to Venice, that he might make it up; but the Venetians were as haughty as Sforza was ambitious, and Cosmo returned without success, while Sforza was again reconciled to Philip. Picinino was nettled at this reconciliation; but his refentment broke out only in performing greater services to Philip than ever, as if he wanted to enhance his own value above that of his rival. He was bravely opposed by Mellato, then the Venetian general; but about the same time, Gonzaga, the warlike prince of Mantua, withdrew from the Venetian service, and entered into a private correspondence with Picinino, to which Mellato and his troops had almost fallen facrifices, when they discovered it, and escaped to an almost inaccessible camp, near Bagnola. To punish Gonzaga, the Venetians fent a fleet up the Po, to ravage his territories, which produced a war in the Mantuan, to the difadvantage of Picinino, and Gonzaga; but the actions were so frequent, and fo inconsiderable, that the particulars cannot have a place here. It is sufficient to say, that Picinino drove Melretreat of late out of Brescia, and he saved himself by one of the the Vene- most difficult marches to be found in history. He undertook to return to Verona over the mountains, and through forests

Brave tiani.

forests till then thought impassable; and in the Trentine, his army was befet on all fides by the Austrians, who intended to cut it off, and were in possession of all the eminences, and commanding passes. At last, after the Venetians had furmounted incredible difficulties and hardships, they arrived in a plentiful country, and escaped from all the ambushes that had been planted against them by the bishop

of Trent, and Picinino.

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The latter had by this time befieged Brescia, and brought Siege of against it a large train of artillery from Milan. The Brescia, aversion of the inhabitants to Picinino was such, that though he attacked them with prodigious fury, and with above twenty thousand men, he was obliged, through their obstinate defence, to raise the siege, after losing above three thousand of his best troops before the place; and being baffled in several other attempts of the same kind, he led his troops into winter quarters. The distrust which Sforza always entertained of Philip's fincerity, and his jealoufy of Picinino, inclined the Venetians to hope they might engage Sforza in their fervice, notwithstanding the provocations they had given him. They tried him by an offer of the greatest appointment, that perhaps, ever had been made to an Italian general, two hundred and twenty thousand ducats a year. The certainty of this bargain arriving at Florence, a quadruple league was formed between the Venetians, the Florentines, the house of Este and Sforza; whom, by the great possessions he held, we are to consider as a considerable independent prince. Picinino, and Gonzaga, were now the only generals whom Philip could trust, and they resolved to carry the war into the territories of Padua, and Vicenza, where the inhabitants were highly diffatisfied with the Venetian government. To prevent this diversion, Sforza, who was then at Ravenna, by an amazing march, threw himself into the Paduan, where he joined Mellato, the other Venetian general, and their combined army confifted of twenty two thousand men. With these, Sforza raised the fiege of Verona, and retook all the places possessed by Philip in the Vicentine. By this time, the fiege of Brescia had been resumed by Picinino, but it was defended by Barbaro, a brave Venetian, with the greatest intrepidity and good con-The fenate of Venice, fent Sforza orders to hazard every thing for its relief; and a trial of generalship ensued between him and Picinino. Their troops were equal in is raised, numbers and courage; but the superior genius of Sforza and Pici-Picinino was utterly defeated, and was thought nino deto be among the flain, but he escaped in disguise, almost feated; by a miracle. Sforza finding he was not among the flain, nor among the prisoners, of whom above four thousand,

hve thousand crowns upon his head, The VOL. X.

and many of the first quality, were taken, set a reward of

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The excellent dispositions made before the battle by covers his Philip and Picinino, prevented Sforza from pursuing his victory to the utmost; nor perhaps, was he very follicitous to do it. He, like the allied republics, imagined Picinino to he utterly ruined; when certain advice came, that he and Gon. zaga were in possession of Verona, where the latter had been proclaimed prince, but that the citadel still held out for the Venetians. Sforza, against the advice of his general officers. instantly marched to relieve it. By an artful feint towards Vicenza, he belieged Picinino and Gonzaga, in Verona; and being favoured by a fally from the citadel, recovered that city, while Picinino and Gonzaga retired to the Breffan. where the remains of their defeated army had reaffembled. and were encreased by fresh reinforcements, particularly of Florentine exiles. Philip, (who was never without a resource) entered into a confederacy with Vitelleschi, the warlike patriarch of Alexandria, and general of the pope's army, where his command was almost independent of his holiness. It was agreed, that Vitelleschi should enter into the marquisate of Ancona, while Picinino marched into Tuscany by another quarter. The treachery of Vitelleschi, and his cor-His march another quarter. respondence with Picinino, were discovered to his holiness by some Florentine spies, and Vitelleschi was arrested in the castle of St. Angelo, where he died; but this disappointment did not prevent Picinino from marching towards Tuscany. The Venetians, in the mean while, grew uneasy, at seeing the little fruit which Sforza had reaped from his conquest; and a coldness succeeded between them, which the Florentine ambassador, Caponi, endeavoured to remove. His holiness could not, without apprehensions for his own dominions, see the march of Picinino towards Tuscany; and renewing his engagements with the Florentines, he fent the army lately commanded by Vitelleschi, to their affistance. Picinino being joined by the Malatesti family, advanced towards Ancona. The desertion of the Malatestas, alarmed Sforza so much for his estates in Ancona, and Romagna, that he posted to Venice, where he told the fenate, that having come into Lombardy a fovereign prince, he was refolved not to leave it as a private foldier, and that the only course they could now pursue, was to transfer the war from Lombardy, (though Brelcia was on the point of surrendering to Philip) into

Attempt Florence; Tu/cany.

The senate of Venice refused to agree to this proposal, to become and matters taking a favourable turn in Tuscany, through master of the assistance sent by the pope to the Florentines, Sforza was contented to remain in Lombardy. Mean while, Picinino fuddenly directed his march over the mountains against Florence; and having carried some strong passes, he entered the valley of Magelli, where he befieged Monte Pulciano, and pushed his foraging parties almost to the gates of Florence. The credit and prudence of Cosmo de Medici, the friendship by

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friendship of the pope, and the arrival of eighteen thoufand horse under Capponi, from Lombardy, defeated all the
schemes of Picinino, who had depended greatly on an insurrection of the Florentines in his favour. He was over-but is depersuaded by count Poppi, to draw off towards the Casentine, seated.
where he took several places; but unable to procure subsistence for his horses in that rocky country, he fell back to
Borgo St. Sepolchro, from whence he made several separate
attacks upon Citta di Castello, Perugia, and Cortona; but

failed in them all. Tuscany being thus delivered from its danger, Sforza un-Rapid dertook to raise the siege of Brescia, and to penetrate to conquests lake Benac, where the Venetian fleet under Contareni, had of Sforza been victorious over that of Philip. In his march, he at- in Lomtacked and defeated the Milanese army, under two generals, bardy. Ittalus, and Vermio. This produced the relief of Brescia, and the progress of Sforza's arms was so rapid in recovering all that the Venetians had lost, besides making new conquests, that Philip ordered Picinino to march directly from Tuscany to defend Milan. He resolved, if possible, to beat the combined army of the pope and the Florentines; before he began his march he attacked it under the walls of Anghiari; but he was defeated, and driven towards Borgo. The flaughter however, though the battle raged four hours, is faid, to have confifted only of one man, who fell from his horse, and was trod to death; but the number of prifoners made by the *Florentines* was very confiderable. nino's defeat disconcerted Philip; while Sforza continued his conquests in the Milanese; and he reduced Pescara, at the mouth of the Mincio. Here the marquis of Este offered An achimself a mediator between Sforza and Philip; in whose commoname, the marquis offered to conclude the marriage be-dation tween Sforza, and Philip's daughter, and even to fend her proposed to him with a large fum of money. Sforza knew, that in by Philip. the main, he flood upon very indifferent terms with the

Venetians, and that, by his continuing to conquer, he hazarded the loss of the dutchy of Milan. He knew Philip however, too well to return any politive answer to the marquis, but referred both of them to the Venetians, by whose resolutions he faid he would be determined as to his reconciliation with Philip. He then went to Venice, where he was received with a profusion of honours; but the proposals of the marquis operated strongly on his mind, and he resolved to relax in his ardour against the Milanese. In the mean while, Picinino, to the surprize of all Italy, had returned to Lombardy, and was at the head of a stronger army than ever; but was opposed by Sforza with thirty thousand men. A battle was fought, without either fide obtaining the advantage, and Sforza belieged Martinenga, without appearing to be in earnest to take it. In short, it was evigent that Sforza thought it high time to stop the career of

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of Picinino,

determines Philip to a peace.

his victories. Picinino, on the other hand, complained that his fervices had been ill requited by the duke of Milan; and it was thought that both generals acted in concert, by pro-Infolence tracting the operations of the war. Philip found the expence of it intolerable, and was exasperated by an insolent message sent him by Picinino, who demanded, as his reward, to be put in possession of the city and territory of Placenza.

This determined Philip, at all events, to rid himself of Picinino's insolence and tyranny, by coming to an accommodation at once with the Venetians, and Sforza. had been fo careless in his operations in carrying on the war, that Picinino had obtained vast advantages over him; when he was surprized and confounded, by a positive order under Philip's hand, to forbear hostilities, and conclude a twelve months truce with Sforza. This order was the refult of Philip's secret negotiations, which succeeded so well, that both Sforza, and the senate of Venice had agreed upon the preliminaries of a peace, to the great joy of all Lombardy. Sforza was married to Bianca, Philip's daughter, and declared his successor; and notwithstanding all the opposition made by Picinino, the Venetian senate accepted of his rival as their umpire for putting the finishing hand to Its terms, the accommodation. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the Venetians were to remain masters of the Bresfan, and the Bergamefe, together with Ravenna, Riva, Torbolles, and Penetra, with other fortresses in the Mantuan; the rest of which was to remain with Gonzaga. Philip was to retain Martinenga, and the Ghiradadda, and Sforza was to receive Cremona, and the Cremonese, as the earnest of his wife's fortune. Great objections were made as to the cities of Pescara, and Lonnado, but they were adjudged to the Venetians. The Florentines were to recover all the places that they had loft during the war; and Bologna was to be restored to his holiness. This peace coincides with the period when we took up the war in Lombardy, which forms fo important an æra in the history of Italy. If the reader should imagine that our account of the pontificate has been too scanty, we beg leave to put him in mind, that the chief transactions of the popes in those days did not lie in Italy, and their history is to be found connected with those of the other countries we treat of.

Affairs of Florence.

All parties concerned (the pope excepted) were fatisfied with this peace; which however, was not fully concluded till November 1441. The reader is apprized of the great events that immediately fucceeded it, and the tranquility of Italy must have been permanent, had not the over refined politics of the duke of Milan prevailed with him to join with Alphonso, and the pope, in their attempts to strip Sforza of all the ecclefiaffical territories he held, and which had been confirmed to him by the late popes. The prudence of the Florentines prevented this quarrel from having

any material consequences, and the Italian princes and flates were for a year or two chiefly employed in the internal improvements of their dominions. Capponi, the Florentine general, and his friend Baldaccio, had, during the late and former wars, performed fo many eminent fervices to their country, that Cosmo de Medici, generous and moderate as he was, began to be jealous of their power, especially in the army; and Baldaccio was most infamously affassinated, but without any fignal confequences happening in the state, through the profound veneration that both the magistrates and people had for the Medici. Upon the death of Picinino, which happened through heart-break, at hearing of his fon's defeat by Sforza, and the treatment he had received from Philip, Sforza consented to a peace with the pope, upon his furrendering certain possessions in Ancona, and re-The intriguing temper of the duke of taining others. Milan renewed the public commotions.

The Bolognese had refused to submit to the pope, and the Remarkaduke entered into a private correspondence with Battista ble history Canneschi, one of their noblemen, who murdered Benti- of the voglio, and attempted to make himself master of Bologna. Bentivog. The Bolognese, who had been long devoted to the Bentivoglio lio family family, ran to arms, drove that of Canneschi out of their at Bologna city, and put Battista to death; but were at a loss for a

leader to supply Bentivoglio's place, as he had only left a son who was no more than fix years of age.

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The affairs of the Bolognese were, on that account, running into vast disorder, when count Poppi, who happened to be then in that city, undertook to produce a dascendent from Annibal Bentivoglio, who had been lately murdered. people agreed to this proposal, upon the count's producing the youth, who he faid was about twenty years of age, who had the form and features of his father Hercules Bentivoglio, the fon of Annibal. This youth, though begot by Hercules, had been educated by his mother, as the fon of her husband Caschese, who was then dead; but young Sante, for that was his name, continued to be under the tuition of Cachefe's brother, by birth a wool-dreffer in Florence, but rich, and he intended to make his supposed nephew his heir. The Bolognese, who knew the count to be a man of probity, immediately appointed deputies to demand the youth, for the guardian of the infant Bentivoglio; and the moment they came into his presence they recognized him from the fimilarity of his features, to be the fon of Hercules. Before the senate of Florence would agree to his leaving their city, they appointed Cosmo de Medici, and Capponi, to examine into the affair; and finding all the count had faid to be true, the fenate gave Sante cloaths and equipages suitable to the honours that were designed him; and proof being made that Hercules had always acknowledged him to be his, he entered upon his guardianship with applause, and finished it with credit to himself, and with

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honour and advantage to his family.

The duke again breaks with Sforza.

Upon Picinino's death, the duke of Milan invited Ciar. of Milan pellone to command his army; but he was laid under arrest and put to death by Sforza, which renewed the differences between him and the duke, who took part with Malatefla, lord of Rimini, Sforza's fon-in-law, but now his enemy. Malatesta, besides Philip, was supported by the pope, and the king of Naples; and Lombardy, and Tuscany became again the threatres of war. The duke, though he was now old, and almost blind, attempted to take from Sforza, Cremona, which was garrisoned by the Florentines, and Pontremoli; but without success. Young Picinino was his general, and he was defeated by Michalotti, general of the Venetians, who took part in this quarrel against the duke, and who made fuch a progress in the Milanese, that it awakened the attention and jealousy of Sforza. Philip was then in a deplorable condition. Besides the bodily infirmities under which he laboured, he had no authority in his own court, and he could receive no fuccours from his allies, as Sforza lay between him and Naples with his army. In this emergency, he applied to his fon-in-law Sforza for affiltance, and protection, and offered to make him general of his troops. Sforza, who was still in the pay of the Venetians and Florentines, seemed to hesitate upon the proposal; and the Venetians, to fix him in their interest, promised to make him duke of Milan, if he would give them leave to conquer it. Sforza thought it was high time to check their power, the duke, and continuing still undetermined, they attempted, but without fuccels, to furprize Cremona; upon which Sforza declared himself in favour of his father-in-law, and was advancing to his affiftance, when he heard of his death, on the last of August 1447. This critical event had been unforeseen by Sforza, and he found himself in a most difagreeable fituation, the Venetians having for some time neglected to supply him with money; so that his troops were beginning to grow mutinous. He had no hopes from the Florentines, who were overawed by Alphonso, and pope Nicholas V. was his enemy, because he continued to polless great part of the church's patrimony; while the people of Milan had thoughts of erecting themselves into a commonwealth; or, if they must have a master, to call in Alphonso king of Naples, who, of all the Italian potentates, was the most capable of protecting them against the Venetians. Sforza chose the best course he could pursue. Without feeming to lay any stress upon his father-in-law's destination, he advanced from Cotignola with his army, and offered his service to the people of Milan against the Venetians, and all their enemies.

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It is certain, that Philip, before his death, had nominated New dif-Alphonso for his heir, and when he heard of it, he was prepar- tractions ing to force his way through Tuscany to his assistance. The in Lompope had affembled a congress at Ferrara, to which depu- bardy. ties were fent from the most considerable of the Italian flates and princes, at the time of Philip's death, which overthrew all the pontiff's views for establishing a general The Venetians had made themselves masters peace in Italy. of Lodi, and Placenza, and thought themselves sure of re-The regency of that city fent deputies ducing Milan itself. to Cremona, where Sforza was, to offer him the command of their army, upon the terms that had been concluded between him and the late duke, and that they would put him in possession of Brescia, and Verona, as soon as they The war was all this while proceeding were conquered. briskly between the Florentines and Alphonso, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter, who was baffled in all his attempts to force his way to the Milanese. Sforza found means to gain young Picinino to his party; and the Pavians offered to submit to his government, provided they were exempted from that of the Milanese, whom they mortally hated. He wisely accepted of the offer, to prevent (as he told the Milanese) the Pavians from surrendering themselves either to the Venetians, or the duke of Savoy, whose house began now to make a confiderable figure in Italy.

It was at this time, that the foundation of the great wars Successes in Italy were laid, which afterwards proved so fatal to the of Sforza. French, and their crown. The late duke of Milan's fifter,

had a fon, who was Charles duke of Orleans, and he claimed to be the only legitimate heir to the dutchy of Milan. The more numerous the pretenders to that noble country were, the cause of Sforza was the more benefited. The inhabitants refigned the command of their army to Sforza, as being the least formidable candidate. He sent, in his own name, and that of the Milanese, a demand of all the places the Venetians had taken, either before, or after the death of the late duke; and meeting with an evalive answer, he marched against Attendulo, the Venetian general, who was obliged to retire towards Lodi. Sforza, upon this, attacked and took Placenza, which he gave up to be plundered by his foldiers, and made the garrison prisoners; while Attendulo entered and ravaged the Pavele, and part of the Milanele, before he retired into winter quarters. A difference, which broke out about this time between the king of Naples, and the Venetians, feemingly on some commercial accounts, but in reality about the succession to the Milanese, was of vast fervice to Sforza, who, in the year 1448, defeated the Venetians by sea and land with great slaughter, took their camp,

and recovered many of their conquests. The Milanese, Who however, still refused to receive him as their duke, and the makes Venetians, tired of the war, and diffatisfied with their own peace with

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tians.

the Vene- general, Attendulo, privately offered to affift him against the Milanese, provided they were put into possession of the places belonging to the late duke beyond the Adda, all their prisoners releated, and restitution made of all the places that Sforza had conquered in their territory.

They join the Milanese against him.

Sforza made no difficulty to accept of those terms, and being joined by the Venetian army, he advanced against Milan, where the two fons of Picinino commanded. By a private article in the treaty between Sforza and the Venetians, the latter were to befiege Crema, and, if they could take it, they were to keep it. No transaction perhaps, was ever entered into, or purfued with less good faith on all hands, than this agreement between Sforza, and the Venetians. The Milanese upbraided him bitterly, for having betrayed them, and entered into a fecret treaty with the Venetians. who were no sooner in possession of Crema, which they took, than they declared themselves the patrons and protectors of the Milanese liberty, and sent deputies to Sforza, from whom they withdrew their troops, allowing him eight days for acceding to the peace. Sforza was shocked, but not furprized, at this event. He foon defeated Lewis of Savoy's army, which was marching to the affiftance of the Milanese, and made dispositions for reducing Milan by famine, though it contained fixty thousand fighting men within its walls. Upon the arrival of the Venetian deputies in his camp, he disguised his resentment for all that had happened, and was told that he was to be put into possession of part of the late duke's inheritance, though no particulars were specified. He seemed pleased with the terms, and appointed deputies to repair to Milan, to put the last hand to the treaty; but with fecret instructions to embarrass it, and, if possible, to raise an insurrection in his favour. At the same time he made a truce for a month with the Milanefe, and by drawing off his army, left them and the Venetians fo fully convinced that he would submit to the terms proposed, that the former lived in a state of security, and the latter discontinued their preparations for carrying on the war.

Conduct of the Florentines.

Sforza took this opportunity of applying for affiftance to the Florentines, among whom he had a firm friend in Cosmo de Medici, but he was opposed by Capponi, upon the generous principle, that the Milanele should be maintained in their liberty. Cosmo's reasons were more prudential, and shewed a greater knowledge of mankind; for he observed, that the Milanese were so uninstructed, and so unsit for forming any plan for the government of a free republic, that they could not subsist without a master, and that Sforza was far more eligible for the Florentine interest, than either Alphonio or the Venetians. The republic was balanced between the opinions of those two great men; and the general sense was to aid the stronger party, without regarding any other const-

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deration. By this time, the Venetians perceived that Sforza had only amused them; for, though it was in the depth of winter, he had renewed the blockade of Milan, and cut off all communications between the Milanese and the Venetians, who were now advanced to the banks of the Adda. The Milanese garrison was then commanded by Jacob Picinino, as the Venetians were by Malatesta, who passed the Adda, but was driven back by Sforza. Malatesta however, took his measures so well, that by cutting off Sforza's convoys, and gaining possession of the passes on the river; he reduced his army to great straits for forage and provisions, and his army being reinforced by some French and Savoyards, most of the officers were for finishing the campaign by a general battle; but the interested policy of the Venetians counter-They supposed, that the greater the manded this opinion. miseries were the Milanese suffered, they would be the more ready to submit to the republic of Venice.

They were deceived by a policy which was too finely The Mi-fpun for the human feelings. The hardships which Sforza's lanese subfoldiers underwent, were not to be compared to those of mit to

the Milanese. The common people lost all patience and all Sforza. respect for their governors. They caballed together; they chose one Gaspar for their head; they murdered the greatest part of their magistrates, and tore in pieces the Venetian ambassador, who had been their adviser. Having perpetrated all those violences, they began to deliberate about the choice of a future mafter, and the affembly was divided between the kings of France, and Naples, and the duke of Savoy. Gaspar, who was secretly in Sforza's interest, and indeed his agent, mentioned him as the only person capable to protect them from the tyranny of the Venetians, or from becoming a province to any strange prince; and he demonstrated, that all they had suffered from him had been owing to the baseness and treachery of the Venetians. This speech had the defired effect, and Gaspar was appointed deputy from the affembly, to acquaint Sforza that they accepted of him for their mafter. He was accordingly received into the city with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, on the twenty fixth of February 1450.

This was the year of jubilee, and pope Nicholas having A jubilee. triumphed over the remains of the council of Bafil, and even prevailed with Fælix to abdicate the popedom, boafted of his triumphs in all parts of christendom, but in Bohemia, where the brave Hullites baffled all his attempts to fubdue them, though he was supported by the temporal power. He had behaved with great moderation to rards Falix, and his adherents, by confirming all his acts of pontifical power, and taking off all the censures which his predecessor Eugene had pronounced against the friends and members of the council of Bafil. His glory was crowned by the magnificent celebration of the jubilee, amidst prodigious crowds

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A GENERAL HISTORY

of foreigners, who flocked to Rome to fee the folemnity. He did not forget the usual arts of his predecessors for raising money on that occasion; for he fent his nuncios and agents over all christendom, who fold indulgencies to the people. entitling them to the fame privileges as if they had been personally present at Rome. Next year, the famous Ancas Sylvius, intimated to his holiness the intention of his master the emperor Frederic III. to receive the imperial crown at Rome, and to consummate his marriage with the princess Eleonora of Portugal, neice to Alphonso king of Naples; which he accordingly did. The Romans, notwithstanding the prosperous state of the pontificate, still retained their mutinous spirit, and the Greeks continued as obstinate as ever against uniting themselves with the Latin church. though the Turks were, now, at the gates of Constantinople, and threatening the extinction of their empire; which accordingly happened foon after, on the twenty ninth of May 1453, under Mohammed, the Turkish fultan.

The war continued in Lom-bardy.

The Venetians were inexpressibly enraged at their being disappointed in their hopes of becoming master of the Milanefe. Sforza, in all his distresses, had experienced the friendthip of Cosmo de Medici; whose purse was always open to his necessities, and he knew he could trust to him and his friends; while on the other hand, the Venetians and Alphonio united for his destruction. An ambassador was sent from Venice to Florence, with a kind of a disavowal of the league fubfifting between the two republics. The fenate referred him for answer to Cosmo de Medici, who justified all that his countrymen had done, and prevailed upon them to enter into fresh engagements with Sforza, as the Venetians did at the same time with Alphonso, Sforza's implacable enemy. Sforza endeavoured to prevent this alliance from taking place, by his generous behaviour towards the Venetians, whose prisoners in the Milanese he protected, and set at liberty. Alphonso and the Venetians, on the other hand, ordered all the Florentine subjects to leave their territories; and they attempted to furprize Bologna, which, under Sante, continued to be firmly attached to the Florentines. They were fo near fucceeding in this, by means of some Bolognese exiles, that they were actually in possession of the marketplace; but were driven out of the city by the valour of Sante, and the friends of the Bentivoglio family.

The Florentines fent deputies to the chief princes and states of Italy, to complain of this attempt upon Bologna, as being aimed at themselves. The Venetians treated those complaints with great haughtiness, and manifested their ambitious designs to all Europe. The truth is, their republic, by their marine and commerce, was now raised to an excessive pitch of power, and they aspired to be sovereigns of Lombardy. They considered the Florentines as the only rivals they had in Italy, and they strove to discredit

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them, not only in Europe, but in Asia. Alphonfo, now become old and amorous, faw their greatness with a fecret dilike, and made apologes for his rough treatment of the Florentines. The latter applied to the French king for protection; he gave them the fanction of his name to their league; and Sfor a made up all former differences between them and the Genoese, who became their confederates likewife. The Florentines, thus patronized and allied, kept no farther measures with the Venetians; and about this time, Borst d'Este, marquis of Ferrara, was by the emperor Frederic III. created duke of Modena, and Reggio. Both parties being now ready for action, the Venetians entered the Milanese by Lodi, as their ally, the marquis of Montferrat, did by Alexandria; but neither of them were able to take either of those cities. Sforza had an army on foot of above twenty thousand men, and he not only defeated the marquis of Montferrat, but ravaged the Bressan. The Venetians called The Neaupon Alphonfo, who finding all his endeavours to detach the politans Florentines from Sforza to be vain, ordered his eldest son invade Ferdinand, to march into Tuscany with twelve thousand Tuscany. men, and his fleet to ravage its fea coasts. Ferdinand did nothing memorable against the Florentines, and they kept themselves upon the defensive, till they suffered him to waste his troops in fruitess attempts upon the most inconsiderable places; so unexperienced were the Neapolitans in the business of the field. Other writers, however, do not give us so contemptible an idea as Machiavel does of the Neapolitans in this expedition; but it is certain, all they did was their reducing the weak towns of Foiano, and Vada, and ravaging the open country, befides skirmishing in some detached parties.

In Lombardy, the Venetians at first obtained some advan- Success of tages over the Milanese; and their general Leonisio, after be- Sforza. ing disappointed in an attempt he formed upon Milan, took Socinna. He afterwards defeated a party of Milanele, under Alessandro Sforza, who escaped to his brother's camp, as he was befieging Calvifiana. The Venetians left nothing unattempted to relieve that place; but the garrison was obliged to furrender themselves prisoners of war to Sforza, who thereby established his winter quarters in the Venetian

territories. One of the principal motives that had induced the French The king to enter into the Florentine league, was their promising French to support Renate of Anjou, with men and money, if he king sides would revive his claim to the kingdom of Naples. Renate, with the accordingly, having obtained fome troops, arrived in Lom- Florentines bardy, and the duke of Savoy was perfuaded to detach himfelf from his alliance with the Venetians. Early in the next ipring, the Florentines opened the campaign to vigorously, that they took all they had lost in the preceding; and the Neapolitans were so ill supported by their king, that

Sforza

GENERAL HISTORY

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they were obliged to subsist themselves upon rapine. Al. phonso purchased from Gerardo Garribatorte, his estate in the vale of Bagno, which lay extremely convenient for his harraffing the Florentine dominions. The Florentines hearing of the bargain, and that the natives were unwilling to change their masters, fent a detachment into the vale, who took possession of Gerardo's castles, and disappointed Alphonso. In Lombardy, the Venetians besieged Manerba, beats the and their brave general Leonisio, being killed in a fally, the Venetians. command of their troops fell to Picinino, who took the place, with feveral others; but Sforza compelled him to raise the siege of Seniga, and was so well seconded by Renate, who joined him with four thousand troops, that he not only recovered Manerba, and all that he had loft, but made considerable progress in the Cremonese, and the Bressan, where the inhabitants were disaffected to the Venetian go. vernment. All that Picinino could do was to prevent the capitals of those two provinces from falling into his hands; and the campaign concluded gloriously for Sforza, though he had been obliged to raise the siege of Isola.

Conduct of the pope.

The pope continued neutral in all the disputes between the two great confederacies of Italy, and had been indefatigable in exhorting the Christian powers to oppose the infidels; but the troops which he obtained, and the naval armaments employed for that purpose by the Venetians, and Genoese, though considerable, had been ineffectual for stopping their progress. After the loss of Constantinople, he made a new effort for uniting the Christian powers; but the emperor was fo cold in the cause, and the diffentions in Germany were so great, that it came to nothing. Even this did not relax the zeal of his holinefs, and he employed one Simonette, to negociate a peace in Italy, during the winter. All parties had reason to be tired of the war. Alphonso had already made some advances to the Florentines for peace, which had been favourably received; and those politic republicans thinking that Sforza's power was now as great as was confiftent with their system of preserving a balance in Italy, began to neglect the subsidies they had promised to Renate, who, notwithstanding Sforza's earnest entreaties, returned to France, but left a few troops in Lombardy This unexpected event was greatly owing to a resolution taken at the court of France, to support the claim of the Orlans family upon the Milanese. The Venctions saw that the Turks ought to be now more formidable to them than Sforza had ever been; and they were fincerely disposed for peace. Sforza perceiving that he was to expect no farther support from France, was defirous to cultivate the arts of peace in his own dominions, which had been long the scenes of war and devastation.

A peace

Thus it was easy for the pope, by his agent Simonette, to concluded perfuade all the parties at war to agree to a congress at Romes Al-

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Rome, under the mediation of his holiness; but indeed the chief preliminaries had been already fettled between Sforza and the Venetians, by their agreeing that each should restore to the other the possessions either held before the war. duke of Savoy, and the marquis of Montferrat however, were not included in this agreement, which was finally concluded on the ninth of April 1454, and acceeded to by the pope, the Florentines, and the Tuscan states; but opposed by Alphonso, through his hatred to Sforza. A triple alliance between him, the Venetians, and the Florentines was then concluded on for twenty five years, to which Alphonso finding all his opposition in vain, was persuaded by The Genoese, Malatesta, and Astorre Simonette to accede. of Faenza, were excluded out of this alliance, at the request of Alphonso, who was at war with them. From expressing the most inveterate hatred to Sforza, he now treated him with the greatest marks of affection, and concluded a double marriage between his fon and daughter, with those of Sforza; and indeed the union appears to be natural, when we reflect that the French were their common enemies, and pretended to the dominions of both. peace was scarcely concluded, when the death of pope Nicholas happened, on the twenty second of March 1455.

His successor was Alphonso Borgia, a noble Spaniard, who Calixius took the name of Calixtus III. but he was seventy seven III. pope. years of age, and very infirm. He was however, if possible, more vigorous than any of his predecessors had been in opposing the progress of the Turks; and he sent a fleet of fixteen gallies against their islands in the Archipelago, under the command of the patriarch of Aquileia. As the advancement of Calixtus had been in a great measure owing to Alphonso, that prince thought that his holiness ought to conform himself to his will; but he was deceived, for Calixtus not only refused to deliver up to him any part of the Ancona, but to grant the eventual investiture of his kingdom to his natural fon, Ferdinand. Italy, (as it commonly happened at the conclusion of a peace), was full of difbanded officers and foldiers, and they chose for their head Jacob Picining, who, on pretence of the arrears that were due to his father, and other hereditary claims, ravaged Tuscany, and the Siennese, and even threatened that capital: He was privately supported and encouraged by Alphanso; but the spirited pontiff ordered his general Vintimiglia, to join the Florentine troops, and Picinino was entirely defeated; and Alphonio obtained for him twenty thousand crowns, on condition of his evacuating the places he had taken in the Siennese. Alphonso still carried on his war against Malatesta, and the Genoese, whom he reduced to great diffres; and he is generally blamed for reviving the troubles of Italy. The despair of the Genoese, and their own distractions, drove them into the arms of France; and they chose for their governor

Death of Alphonfo king of Naples, and of Calixtus.

governor John, the fon of Renate, of Anjou; but in the mean while, Alphonso died, in the beginning of May 1458, leaving behind him the character of being the patron of learned men, an excellent warrior, and a confummate politician; but ambitious, turbulent, and interested.

He was fucceeded by his natural fon Ferdinand, who at his accession found himself under great disadvantages. The pope had marked out his kingdom, or at least half of it, for his nephew Borgia, whom he had created duke of Spoleto, though stained with vice and infamy. Ferdinand finding the pope inexorable, that he had declared his crown vacant, and degraded him from his royalty, affembled an army, but was prevented from marching with it to Rome, by the death of Calixtus, who filled the papal chair for three years, and four months. His nephew Borgia, governor of Rome, and the ecclefiastical state, before his uncle was buried, was driven out of Rome, and took refuge in Crista Vecchia, where he foon after died.

Calixtus was succeeded in the popedom by that active

Pius II. pope.

churchman, cardinal, ambassador and politician, Eneas Sylvius, who took the name of Pius II. He was originally a Siennese, and his father was so poor, that young Eneas for fome time laboured for a farmer, that he might affift his father in giving him a learned education. By the affiftance of strong natural parts, indefatigable zeal in whatever he undertook, and a fincere attachment to all who employed him, he had filled various posts in church and state with universal applause, and so perfect a difinterestedness, that he declared, the day before he was chosen pope, he was not worth fo much money as to purchase himself a pair of His exaltation was highly agreeable to the Italian vours the princes and states, and he immediately gave the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand, which some at-Ferdinand tribute to the force of money, as Alphonso had left that prince immensely rich. It is certain, that Ferdinand bestowed his natural daughter Mary, in marriage upon the pope's nephew, Picolomini, whom he made great justiciary of Naples, and duke of Amalphi. Pius succeeded to all the zeal of his most zealous predecessors, for uniting the Christian powers against the infidels. He raised Sienna to be an archbishopric, and his own nephew was its first prelate. During his residence in that city, he appeared with vaft splendor, and was attended by ambassadors from almost all the princes of christendom, for terminating their differences, and for promoting the crusade, which had now a very formidable appearance, against the infidels. Among other acts of this pope, was his formally condemning and anathematizing a practice that had of late become common in Italy, that of appealing from the pope to a future general

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Notwithstanding all the authority of Pius, he was, (on Commosome accounts foreign to this history,) thwarted by a duke tions in of Austria, and the kings of Castile, and Poland. Even the Rome Romans were not easy under his government. One Porcari, a hair-brained enthusiast, in the pontificate of Nicholas. fancied that he had been defigned by heaven to deliver Italy from the tyranny of priefts; and having a numerous following among the Romans, he formed a conspiracy against the pope, which was detected when upon the point of breaking out; and he, with his chief confederates, were executed. Their punishment did not extinguish the spirit quelled by they had raised, and Tibertius, the son of one of the sufferers, the pope. during the absence of pope Pius from Rome, put himself at the head of the party, which confisted chiefly of young men, and foon became too powerful for the magistrates to suppress it; so that Pius was obliged to return in haste to Rome, where his authority, and the troops he carried along with him, quelled the riot, and, with Tiburtius, its other ringleaders, were executed.

The court of France was far from being pleased with the Naples inpope's conduct, because he continued to support Ferdinand vaded by
against Renate, whose son, John, still kept possession of John of
Genoa. A great number of the Neapolitan barons, who Anjou.

were diffatisfied with Ferdinand on account of his illegitimacy, with the prince of Tarento, the most powerful subject in the kingdom, at their head, declared for the Anjouvine party, and John, who now took upon himself the title of duke of Calabria, made a descent with the Genoese and Provençal fleet, upon the kingdom of Naples, where being joined by the prince of Tarento, and other great barons, his progress soon became formidable. Ferdinand applied for affiltance to the duke of Milan and the pope, and both of them fent him confiderable supplies; but he was defeated at Sarno so completely, that the Neapolitans crowded who should be the first to acknowledge Renate as their king. Ferdinand, however, was still in possession of Naples, and acknowledged by the count of Fondi, and some of the other barons. It is thought, that the prince of Tarento was prevailed upon by his neice queen Isabella, wife to Ferdinand, to divert John from following his blow, (by marching directly to Naples,) and perfuaded him to amuse himself with the fiege of the other towns. Ferdinand made use of the respite which this diversion gave him, to renew his applications to the pope and the duke of Milan, which he did with fuch fuccess, that he was enabled again to take the held, and he obtained many fignal advantages over the Anjourvines. During this campaign, Scanderbeg, prince of Albania, who has rendered his name to famous by his victories against the Turks, out of gratitude for the benefits he had received from the late Alphonso, came from Albania to Naples, to affift his fon Ferdinand. He obtained some advantages

advantages at first over the Anjouvine party, but his affairs obliging him to return to Albania, to oppose the Turks, Ferdinand again lost ground in the kingdom of Naples. He was powerfully supported by the duke of Milan, who sent his kinsman Alexander Sforza of Pesauro, to his afsistance, This proved fatal to the Anjouvine party. Duke John was completely routed, near Troja. The prince of Tarento submitted to Ferdinand, as did Picinino, who received a pension of one hundred and ten thousand crowns; and at last the great barons gradually dropping off from the French. duke John himself returned to Marseilles, and left Ferdinand in quiet possession of his kingdom.

Naples **fubmits** to Ferdinand.

who fefelf upon

Few characters in history are more ambiguous than that cures him- of Ferdinand; but profound diffimulation feems to have been his governing principle. He had a steady friend in pope the throne Pius II. who died in 1464, and was succeeded by Paul II. Ferdinand omitted nothing that the blackest ingratitude could devise to secure his power over the Neapolitans. In breach of faith, he imprisoned the prince of Rossano, and seized Picinino, who had been married to the duke of Milan's natural daughter. A treaty of marriage was then on foot between Alphonso, duke of Calabria, Ferdinand's fon, and Hippolita, the duke's legitimate daughter. The duke refented the treatment of Picinino, who died under his confinement, and was thought to have been privately frangled by Ferdinand's order; but the marriage, notwithstanding, took place, as reasons of state bore down all other This marriage preceded the duke of confiderations. Milan's death but a few months, and in the year 1467, he and Galeazzo, who succeeded to the dukedom of Milan, and Peter de Medici, the successor of the great Cosmo, entered into a confederacy, for maintaining the tranquility of Italy, against the Venetians. The progress of the Turks in Albania and Epirus, prevailed with the latter to listen to the exhortations of pope Paul, and a peace was concluded. Ferdinand then demanded a restitution from the pope of Terracina, Benevento, and other places that his predecessors had feized upon in the kingdom of Naples; and he supported Malatesta, the tyrant of Rimini, against his holiness. The latter depended upon affistance from the Venetians. The latter had lost the island of Negropont, to the Turks, and were in no condition to affift his holiness; while Mohammed II. congratulated Ferdinand upon his own successes against his enemies the Venetians.

II.

Ferdinand, alarmed by the progress of the Turks, entered pope Paul into an alliance against them with the other princes of Italy. He gave his daughter Eleonora, in marriage to Hercules d'Esle, duke of Ferrara; and another daughter to Matthias, king Upon the death of his queen Isabella, he of Hungary. married Jane, daughter to the king of Arragon; and applied himself entirely to the embellishment and improvement of fairs

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his kingdom, into which he introduced the culture of filk. and the art of printing, which was then in its infancy in The character of Paul II. was unfavourable to the revival of learning; but it is to the honour of Italy, that few climates, or periods, were ever known to produce so many patrons of science as appeared at this time in that The families of Medici, Este, Gonzaga, Sforza, Urfini, and many others, were eminent, not only as the patrons of learned men, but as meriting that denomination themselves. Paul II. had been bred a merchant, but by the encouragement of his uncle, pope Eugene, he had entered into the church, and among the first things he did was his annulling the articles which, before his election, he had fworn to observe. He was so illiterate, that he prosecuted and confiscated the goods of the several learned men, who, endued with a liberal turn of mind, had formed themselves into literary focieties at Rome, and had endeavoured to renew the plan of disputation that had been practised under the ancient academy in Greece, and Italy. The numbers of those revivers of learning were considerable, and many of them were men of quality and property. Having bought their places, they made strong representations against the pope's arbitrary proceedings; and Platina, the famous historian of the popes, distinguished himself so much by his opposition, that he was thrown into irons, and kept in prison for a whole winter.

Many of the cardinals taking part with the fufferers, and He threatening to apply to the princes of christendom for a preaches general council, Paul thought proper to encrease their ap- up a pointments, and their ornaments, by giving them leave to crusade. wear the red hat, and the damask mitre, which till then, had been part of the papal dress. As to himself, he was extravagant in adorning his own person, and is said to have bestowed no less than one hundred and twenty thousand crowns in precious Itones, for a tiara. He was as zealous, as his predecessors had been, in preaching up a war against the Turks; but was more sparing in granting revertions to his friends and favourites. In other respects, he proved a uleful head to the church. By his arts and condescentions, he broke the spirit of reformation in Bohemia and Germany; and at last brought Ferdinand, king of Naples, into his own That politic prince pretended, that he had been sollicited into an alliance by the Turkish sultan; but that he would be determined as to his conduct by his holiness and his confistory. Paul, was at that time at variance with the counts of Aquileia, who had thrown off their obedience to the holy see; but Paul, by the affistance he received from Ferdinand, in the space of fourteen days, stripped them of all their estates. Ferdinand demanded, as the price of his assistance, to be discharged from the yearly tribute which he paid for his crown to the papal see. The pope resused VOL. X.

to confent to this, and acted with so much firmness, that Ferdinand thought proper to defift from his demand; and, as we have already mentioned, entered into the Italian con-

federacy against the Turks.

His crusities.

Paul had behaved to severely against his officers, that he always suspected them of entering into conspiracies against his life and dignity. One Callimaco, was accused of having been in a confederacy with some Venetian outlaws, and Paul filled all the jails in Rome with state prisoners, many of them of the first rank, and Platina among others. Their innocence could not defend them from being put to the torture, which Platina endured twice in one day; and feveral of them died on the rack. This cruelty was the more unjustifiable, as Paul was fully convinced of the falshood of the charges against them; and sought, by torturing the prifoners, to skreen himself from an imputation of levity, which he thought he should incur if he should dismiss them without punishment. Perceiving, that this severity did not answer his end, he charged the prisoners with impiety, in having debated upon religious points, and particularly the immortality of the foul. Being ashamed of this pretence, at last, the cardinals prevailed with him to fet them at liberty.

and avarice.

While Paul was employed in those detestable proceedings, the emperor of Germany, Frederic III. of Austria, arrived at Rome, where he was most magnificently entertained by his holines; and he proposed the holding a general council at Constance, for forming a league among the Christian princes against the Turks. The pope disliked this proposal, but agreed to invite them to send their ambassadors to Rome, to concert measures for that end. He likewife, in person, went in procession through the churches of Rome, and ordered public supplications to be made in those of St. Peter, and the Lateran. The truth is, that the frequent overtures, and proposals we meet with in the history of the popes, concerning leagues against the infidels, arose generally from motives of interest rather than of religion. The princes of Europe, both temporal and spiritual, laid hold of fuch pretexts for fleecing their subjects; but the pontiffs were the greatest gainers, as they had it in their power to oblige their friends by the bulls they granted for levying taxes upon ecclefiaftical livings and benefices, and when those were obtained, the proposed expeditions generally came to nothing. No pope ever knew better than Paul did how to make advantage of this shameful traffic. Every thing was venal at his court, and he was fo far from encouraging men of learning, that on all occasions he publicly held it to be a disqualification for their advancement in the church; and that to know how to read and write was a sufficient stock of learning for any ecclesiastic. those mean, mercenary qualities, by which he amassed immense sums of money, he was magnificent, and sometimes generous to the poor. He embellished the city of Rome

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with many noble edifices, and he affected great affability in his behaviour. He died on the twenty fixth of July 1471, His death.

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Paul II. was succeeded by Sixtus IV. a Genoese of obscure Sixtus IV. birth; but confiderable learning. Upon his accession to pope. the pontificate, he appointed four legates to repair to four different powers of Europe, to persuade them to unite against the Turks. Cardinal Boffarion, was fent to France; the cardinal of St. Mark, to Germany; Borgia, to Spain; and Caraffa, to Venice; all of them charged with separate commissions, but terminating in one purpose; that of enriching the papal coffers. Sixtus, contrary to the engagements he had entered into before his election, was exceffively fond of his relations; one of whom, Peter Riario, he made a cardinal, when he was but twenty eight years of age, and in two years he killed himself by his excessive debauchery. He is faid to have spent near three hundred thousand crowns in that time, and to have maintained five hundred domestics in his family. The legates were unfuccessful in their negotiations. The French king at first prohibited cardinal Beffarion, (who was esteemed to be the wisest and most learned of his order) from coming near his court. The cardinal of St. Mark, was equally unsuccessful in Germany, as Borgia was in Spain. The differences between the court of Naples and that of Rome again broke out; and Sixtus was obliged to remit the tribute due from Ferdinand, upon his promife to defend the holy fee, and to fit out two gallies for the protection of its coasts. Ferdinand, at the War with same time ordered his fleet, which consisted of seventeen the Turks. thips, to join that of his holiness, and the Venetians under cardinal Caraffa, who failed to the Archipelago; but without performing any fervice of importance against the infidels. In 1473, Sixtus was highly exasperated against Matthias, king of Hungary, for having offered to enter into an alliance with the Turkish emperor. Soon after, he created eight cardinals, and published a bull for a jubilee to be held at Rome, Upon the death of Riario, as aforesaid, Sixtus gave the tithes and principality of Imola, and Forli, together with the vicariate of the ecclefiastical state, to his brother Perceiving that the demands of the king of Naples were endless, he sought to strengthen himself by new alliances, and brought about a marriage between 'feronino, and a natural daughter of the duke of Milan, whole But we are now to attend the brother he created a duke. affairs of Lombardy and Tuscany.

After the murder of Picinino, at Naples, Italy enjoyed History of some repose, till disturbed by the ridiculous, unsuccessful Florence. schemes of crusading against the infidels. Peter de Medici, was inferior to his father Cosmo, both in his political and personal abilities. As his finances had run into some disorder, he had been persuaded, by his pretended friend

Diotifalvi, to call in his debts, which rendered almost all the great families in Florence, and Tuscany his enemies; so that he grew very unpopular. Peter thought to support himself by an alliance with Galeazzo, the young duke of Milan, who demanded the continuance of the subsidy that had been paid to his father by the Florentines, for maintaining the ballance of Italy against the Venetians. opposed by all the enemies of the Medici family, who called in the duke of Ferrara to their affistance; but the Medici were still so powerful, that Peter's party prevailed, and the heads of the opposite faction took refuge at Venice, Naples, The number and qualities of those exiles were or Rome. so great that they were befriended by the Venetians, who fought every opportunity of ruining the family of Medici, and all of a fudden invaded Tuscany. Peter and his friends applied for affiftance to the duke of Milan, and the king of Naples. The former came in person to their relief, but having no talents for war, he was perfuaded to return to Milan. Ferdinand fent some troops under the command of his fon Alphonso, and the campaign passed without any thing remarkable happening. Peter de Medici was so infirm in his health, that he was confined to his bed, and he had thoughts of restoring the republic of Florence to her liberty, when he was overtaken by death. He left two fons, Lorenzo, and Guilian, who were too young for government; but being under the tutelage of Soderini, who was now the greatest man in Florence, and the firm friend of their family, the Florentines swore to stand by them.

Confederacy arepublic.

Young Lorenzo was diffinguished for his accomplishments both of body and mind, and he foon found himself unealy gainst that under Soderini's tutelage, his measures being very pacific, The papal power had acquired strength every day by the calamities of christendom; and the pope formed a secret defign of raifing the greatness of his family upon the ruin of that of Medici. He made the king of Naples his friend, by converting his tribute into an annual prefent of a white palfrey, properly capacifoned. His holine's then entered upon his great scheme of reannexing to the ecclesiastical state all the possessions it had lost. He took Spoleto by storm, and befieged Nicolo Vitelli, the friend of the Medici family, in Citta di Castello. Vitelli applied to Lorenzo Medici, who fent him some affishance; but the place was taken by the cardinal of Siste, the pope's natural son, though called his nephew. This cardinal had great, but dangerous abilities, and his father employed him in forming leagues among the Italian princes against the Florentines. With this view, he undertook a kind of a progress through Lombardy; but it was thought, that he was fecretly poisoned by the Venetians, who, as well as the duke of Milan, began to be alarmed at his father's greatness. The pope, therefore, was so far from succeeding in his favourite design, that a league was formed

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formed against him by the duke of Milan, the Venetians. and the Florentines, who invited the leffer powers of Italy to accede to it. The Venetians quarrelled with the king of Naples, who demanded from them the island of Cyprus, and the pope and he formed a counter league. Frederic of Urbino, was then the Florentine general; but he now entered into the service of the pope and the king. In a few months most of the small states of Italy were in arms against each other; but the great contracting powers remained still in peace. Galeazzo, duke of Milan, the Nero of his time, was dispatched by a conspiracy of his own subjects; but Lorenzo de Medici, was more powerful than any of his family had ever been in Florence. The pope had nominated Salviati, his profest enemy, to the archbishopric of Pifa, then belonging to the Florentines, who refused him admittance into that dignity.

This exasperated his holiness, if possible, more than ever Conspiagainst the Medici, and he fet up against them the house of racy Puzzi, the most considerable in Florence next to that of against the Medici; but without any thare in the government. Lorenzo Medici. could not bear this rivalship, and Francis, the head of the house of the Pazzi, connected himself at Rome, where he was a banker, with the pope's family and fons. It was readily agreed on all hands, that the two heads of the Medici family should be taken off by assassination, and that Montefecco, the pope's general in Tuscany, should back the conspiracy with an army. The king of Naples agreed to this horrid scheme, as did Salviati, and the young cardinal Riario, who lived at Florence in a magnificent palace, where the conspirators held their consultations. The church of Death of St. Reparata, was pitched upon for the scene of murder. Guilian. Guilian de Medici, was dispatched, but Lorenzo bravely stood upon his defence, and by the assistance of some of his friends escaped the daggers of the conspirators. The cardinal was with some difficulty faved, by sheltering himself at the altar; but the archbishop of Pisa, with some of his kinsmen and friends were immediately hanged out at the palace windows, as was Francis Pazzi; and the conspiracy being thoroughly quelled by the deaths of the other affaffins, Lorenzo's power was more firmly established than ever in Florence.

While this bloody scene was transacting, two bodies of War in troops in the pay of his holiness and the king of Naples, Tuscany were advancing to support the conspirators; but stopt short when they heard of their disappointment. They were reinforced by other troops, and manifestos were published by the pope, importing, that they had no quarrel with the Florentines, and that Lorenzo de Medici was the only object of their resentment. The Florentines unanimously vowed to support him to the utmost. They voted a guard for his person, and understanding that the pope had laid him under

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an excommunication, they obliged the ecclefiaftics in their dominions to perform the services of the church as usual. and to difregard his authority. They were however, generous enough to fet the cardinal at liberty, as it appeared he had been less criminal than the rest. This however did not relax the preparations they had made for war. The pope's army was commanded by Frederic of Urbino, and the Neapolitan by Alphonso, the son of Ferdinand. They took Castiglione, but they must have been defeated if the marquis of Ferrara, the Florentine general, had done his duty. The winter coming on, both armies retired to their quarters.

The Florentines favoured by the French

The Florentines, excepting some affishance given them by the dutchess dowager of Milan, were fingle in this quarrel, their other confederates the Venetians refusing to aid them. The duke of Calabria remained still in Tuscany, where he made fuch a progress as to threaten Florence itself. republic was now in a deplorable condition; and the enemies of the Medici reproached Lorenzo, as being the cause of all their misfortunes, requiring him at the same time to give them peace. Lorenzo took a magnanimous but wife resolution. Depending on the superiority of his genius, he refolved to negociate in person for his country. He had prevailed with Levis XI. to espouse his cause, and that prince had fent Philip de Commines with three hundred horse to the assistance of the Florentines. Lewis, at the fame time, having many reasons for discontent with the pope, demanded that he would free Florence from the interdict, and entered into several vigorous measures to oblige him to moderation. Those and many other circumstances, encouraged Lorenzo to proceed in his negociation; and Lewis had prevailed fo far, that the pope and Ferdinand had agreed to a three months truce with the Florentines. Lorenzo being furnished with full powers to treat, appeared of from Fer- a sudden at the court of Naples, where he harangued Ferdinand with such eloquence and force of reasoning, that he foon disgosed him to a league offensive and defensive; upon the Florentines agreeing to pay a stipulated subsidy to the duke of Calabria, who remained still in their territories.

obtains peace dinand,

and the pope.

That prince proved more refractory than the Florentines had foreseen. He disowned the late peace, because his real design was to become master of all Tuscany, which he possibly might have been, had he not been obliged to march against the Turks, who, after ravaging the sea coasts, had made a descent upon the kingdom of Naples, and surprized the castle of Otranto. His holiness finding his conduct univerfally condemned, began now to relent in his hatred of the Florentines; and there is great room for suspecting that the fudden and feasonable descent of the infidels, was owing to the secret management of Cosmo, who had no other way to fave his country. Sixtus fent a message, acquainting the Florentines that he was ready, upon their making the proper fubmissions, heir

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submissions, to agree to an accommodation. This they chearfully complied with, and he gave them his benediction, after acceding to the peace they had concluded with Ferdinand. He infifted however, upon their maintaining fifteen armed gallies to be employed against the Turks. This peace, (by which the Florentines regained possession of Otranto all that had been taken from them by the duke of Calabria) retaken. united all the Italian powers, excepting the Venetians, against the Turks; and in June 1481, the duke of Calabria obliged the Turks to furrender Otranto. A great coldness succeeded between the Neapolitans, and the pope's generals and admirals, who complained of Alphonfo's avarice, and withdrew their gallies from profeecuting the war against the infidels. Alphonso complained in his turn of having lost all the fruit of the war by the pope's unseasonable backwardness, and joined the duke of Ferrara against the Venetians. The Florentines took Ferdinand's part, and demanded a passage for their troops to the affistance of the marquis, which was denied. Upon this, the duke of Calabria, and the Florentines commenced hostilities, and threatened Rome itself. Citta di Castello, was retaken by Nicolo Vitelli; but the pope's general Robert of Rimini, entirely defeated the Florentines and Neapolitan army under the duke of Calabria.

The dutchy of Milan was at this time governed by Lewis History of the Moor, brother to the late duke, and famous for his dark, Lombaray. intriguing, character. He had taken part with the marquis of Ferrara against the Venetians, and he had joined with Alphonso and the Florentines, in threatening the pope with a general council if he did not put a stop to the invasion of the Ferrarese; but the Venetians refused to withdraw their troops, and having beaten those of Florence and Milan, they belieged the marquis of Ferrara in his own capital. Even the pope became now fensible of the danger of Italy from the overgrown power of the Venetians; and a congress was held at Cremona for reducing it. It was proposed that Lewis the Moor should fall into the Venetian territories, but he declined the expedition, till the Venetians marched across the Adda, when, under the walls of Milan itself, they proclaimed Lewis an usurper of the young duke's, his nephew's, birth right. Lewis, upon this, kept no farther measures with the Venetians, whose fleet was destroyed by the confederates, while the Bergamesci, the Bressan, and the Veronese, were ravaged by Lewis and the duke of Calabria, in the year 1483.

It was not long before the interests of those two princes became incompatible. John Galeazzo, the true duke of Milan, had married the duke of Calabria's daughter; but Lewis refuling to part with the possession of the government, he joined with the Venetians, who, by the treaty, recovered all they had loft, of which he was in possession. This alliance broke all the measures of the Florentines, and the other

confederates,

pope Sixtus,

confederates, who were however obliged to accede to it. Death of The haughty pontiff was then upon his death-bed; he was exasperated when he understood that the interests of his family, particularly that of feronimo, had been entirely neglected in the peace; and the force of his vexation is thought to have shortened his days, for he died upon the thirteenth of August, 1484. Though Sixtus was justly confidered as the firebrand of Italy; yet he certainly was a great and fortunate pontiff. He adorned Rome with many buildings, equally useful and magnificent; and though not liberal to men of learning, he founded the vatican library, to which the republic of letters is so greatly indebted. His fon Feronimo, was forced to fly to Spoleto, and his palace at Rome was burnt down by the Savelli, and the Colonnæ; but his friends the Ursini, held the castle of St. Angelo. feronime, upon being paid the arrears due to him, as general of the ecclesiastical state, persuaded them to surrender it; and a noble Genzese, who took the name of Innocent VIII.

fucceeded by Innocent VIII.

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was elected pope.

Innocent had been long in the service of Ferdinand, and his father Alphonso; but he no sooner mounted the papal throne, than he required Ferdinand to withdraw his affiltance from the Florentines, who were then at war with the Genoese for the recovery of Serazana, that had been taken from them by Fregojo, a noble Genoese. Ferdinand, as usual, trifled with the pope, who resolved to be revenged. knew that many of the Neapolitan barons were uneasy under the duke of Calabria's tyranny; and that some of them were already in the field. He immediately entered into a correspondence with the insurgents, and pretended, as lord paramount of Naples, to be the fole judge of the quarrel between the crown and its barons. Alphonso, on the other hand, seized the persons of count Montorio, and fome of the other malecoments; and the pope encouraged the city of Aquila to declare for the insurgents, and cited Ferdinand himself to appear before his tribunal at Rome. Hostilities then commenced, and arose at last to such a height, that his holiness offered the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Renate of Lorrain; whose mother was fifter to John of Anjou. Ferdinand made an alliance with the Ursini family, for driving Innocent out of Rome; and attacked the malecontents so vigorously, that the pope perfuaded them to come into a negotiation, which was at last concluded. By this peace, the pope recovered his right of conferring the benefices of that kingdom to whom he pleased; but many of the great barons refused to be included in the accommodation, or to trust to the king's honour, and became voluntary exiles into different parts of christen-Florentines, were the guarantees of the treaty, which Ferdi-

Treachery dom. The king of Arragon, the duke of Milan, and the of the king of nand most prefidiously broke, by imprisoning and putting Naples. to death most of the noblemen whom he had engaged to

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nardon. This exasperated the guarantees, particularly the pope, and the Florentines, who from that time entered into a strict alliance with each other, and his holiness not only excommunicated and deposed Ferdinand, but nominated the French king Charles VIII. as heir general to the house of

Aniou, to be general of a crusade against him.

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The French king was now making vigorous preparations Death of for his expedition against Naples; and in the year 1491. pope In-Ferdinand offered to give Innocent his own terms. The con- nocent nections between the pope, and Lorenzo de Medici, gathered strength every day. The latter gave his daughter in marriage to a legitimate fon of Innocent, whom he had before he entered into orders. Innocent having humbled Ferdinand, and by the prudent councils of Lorenzo de Medici, restored the tranquility of Italy, died at Rome on the twenty fifth of July, 1492, as did Lorenzo, about the same time, and was succeeded by his son Peter. The death of those two great men again disordered the balance of power in Italy. Innocent was succeeded by cardinal Borgia, whose Alexander crimes rendered him so detestable, under the name of Alex- VI. pope. ander VI. He was nephew to Calixtus III. and his character was so execrable in Italy, that his election was deplored with tears by Ferdinand. Alexander had by Vanotia, a Roman lady, four fons, and one daughter. The fecond son, was the famous Cæsar Borgia, whom he created a cardinal, and duke of Valentin; and the father was possessed of a most furious passion for the aggrandizement of them all. Peter de Medici had, by the advice of his brother-inlaw, Verginio Ursini, entered into an impolitic alliance with ferdinand, which gave such umbrage to Lewis the Moor, that he and the pope concluded a treaty with the Venetians, and promised to support the French king in his invasion of Charles accordingly continued his preparations, and was deaf to all the applications of Ferdinand to lay them aside. The latter finding him resolute, prepared to Death of defend himself, but died in the seventy-first year of his age, Ferdinand worn out with the cares of government. He was an able prince, but was stained by a long course of cruelty and perfidy; and he was at the time of his death immensely rich.

Ferdinand was succeeded by his son Alphonso, who bribed Invasion the pope to be of his party; but Charles continued to be of Naples inexorable. The pope granted Alphonso the investiture of by the his kingdom, and even fent a meffage requiring Charles to French. lay aside his intended invasion. Finding his orders to be ineffectual, he projected a confederacy, in which Bajazet, the Turkish emperor, was to be a party for opposing Charles, and Ferdinand, king of Spain, promised to send his fleet to the affiftance of the pope and Alphonfo. By this time, the duke of Orleans had advanced to Genoa with the vanguard of the French army; and Charles, on the ninth of September, arrived

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France was then very arrived with the main body at Afti. powerful, and the army of Charles, (who had little befides courage to qualify him for a kingdom) irrefistable by the weak Italian troops. Alphonso gave the command of his army to his fon Ferdinand, and of his fleet to his brother Frederic; but could not hinder Charles from advancing to Rome, which he took possession of on the last of December. Alexander was now become so detestable by his tyranny, and profligacy of his life, that when he retired to the caffle of St. Angelo, for safety, the cardinals pressed Charles to depose him; but Charles was in the hands of favourites. who had been gained over by Alexander's money, and refused to proceed to extremities against his holiness. Al. phonso had become, by his uniteady, cruel, conduct, extremely disagreeble to the Neapolitans. His son, Ferdinand, could not stand before Charles, and the Neapolitans in general ioined the French standard, while the pope finding all refistance to be in vain, promised to grant him the investiture of the kingdom. Alphonfo, on the twenty fecond of January, folemnly renounced his crown in favour of his fon Ferdinand; and first fled to Sicily, with an intention to fpend the rest of his life in religious retirement; but he died as he was preparing to pass to Spain for that purpose, Charles struck terror into the Italians by the warlike appearance of his troops; and the vast trains of artillery he Ferdinand fled first to Naples, carried along with him. from whence his gallies carried him to the island of I/chia, while, on the tenth of February, Charles having met with no opposition after his arrival in Italy, made a triumphal entry into Naples, and was acknowledged as king by all The acquifition of a country fo but a few Calabrians. distant from his native kingdom, as Naples was, did not compensate to Charles for the powerful confederacy it raised against him. The emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand, king of Spain, engaged to attack France by different quarters, while Lewis the Moor, who now declared himself duke of Milan, undertook to prevent any more French troops from the French entering Italy. Charles acted in every respect as if he had been intoxicated with fuccefs. He launched into all kinds of ridiculous pomps, pageantries, and pleasures, during the few weeks he remained at Naples. He treated the natives with contempt and disdain, excluding them from all posts of profit and honour, which he filled with Frenchmen; and he had the vanity to procure himself to be declared, by the pope, emperor of Constantinople. This title he derived from Palæologus, the nephew of the emperor, who had loft that city with his life; and he was even mad enough to endeavour to excite an infurrection among the native Greeks. The confederacy which had been formed against him, roused him out of his lethargy. Though he knew

A confederacy formed against king;

knew that the pope, and the Venetians had privately applied to the Turkish emperor Bajazet II. for affistance, to drive him out of Italy; and though he had treated Alexander on that and many other accounts as a criminal, yet he publicly paid him the homage of obedience, and kissed his feet for his new kingdom of Naples, though he owed it entirely to the terror of his arms.

We have in a former part of this work given an account See of the Turkish prince Jem, who was then prisoner to the Vol.VIII. pontiff in Italy; where he fell a facrifice to the avarice of that p. 113. monster. All we can add here is, that Alexander received et seq. for Jem's murder three hundred thousand crowns from his who prebrother Bajazet II. all which he privately employed against pares to Charles, while at the same time he was taking a solemn leave oath not to disturb him in the possession of his new conquests. Charles, like the other ravagers of Italy, grew to be in want of money, and had lost a vast number of men in Naples; two circumstances which hurried him back to France. So great was his contempt for the Neapolitans, that he lest only five thousand French to keep their kingdom in awe; and he had not with him above eight thousand men, when he lest Naples. But we are now upon a most in-

teresting period of the Italian history.

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Charles, in his march to Rome, had entered Florence, and had pretended to give the Florentines law as a fovereign; but, though he was befriended by Peter de Medici, whom the Florentines expelled for that reason, yet he was so much daunted by the resolution of Capponi, who tore before his face the paper which contained the terms he had prescribed, that he left the Florentines in possession of their liberties. Peter de Medici was then in exile at Venice, where Philip de Commines, refided as ambailador from Charles; but that republic affected an entire neutrality with regard to the affairs of Naples, though Charles had made her very advantageous offers if the would join him. Ferdinand, king of pain, The Vewhose name makes so great a figure in the history of Europe, netians had fent a fleet for the defence of Sicily against Charles; take part and its admiral Sugarez, proposed in the Venetian senate to in the check his ambition by a powerful confederacy. The fenate confedereadily agreed to this measure, and in April 1495, a league racy. for that purpose was formed and agreed to by the ministers of the emperor, the pope, the king of Spain, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians; and the whole was conducted with such secrecy, that Commines had no knowledge of the transaction till it became public. By this league, the allies were to raife twenty thousand foot, and thirty four thousand horse; but as soon as it was intimated to Charles, he sent to demand whether he was to look upon the republic as his friend or his enemy. The answer of the senators was, that it was his in majesty's power to make her either.

Charles,

Battle of Fornovo.

Charles was as yet uncertain as to the part which the pope intended to act, and advanced to Rome, from whence the pope fled to Perugia. Charles, though highly incenfed at the pope, committed no hostilities in his dominions, but in those places where he met with resistance. Proceeding in his march he found himself opposed at Fornovo, on the banks of the Taro, by eight thousand Venetians and Milanese troops, commanded by Gonzaga, the young prince of Mantua. As the passage of the river was difficult, the fituation of Charles was critical; but the valour and discipline of his troops and generals defeated the Italians, under the most discouraging circumstances. The confederates lost near three thousand of their best men, while the loss of the French scarcely amounted to two hundred. Charles how. ever, was disappointed in his design of passing the Tara, chiefly through the valour of the prince of Mantua; and this circumstance, with that of the confederates having plundered a part of his baggage, gave them some colour to claim the victory. Charles indeed pursued his journey in a manner not much for his reputation; and reached Affi. Novara was belieged by the confederates; but the duplicity of the duke of Milan's conduct favoured Charles, who arrived at Grenoble in his own dominions on the twenty feventh of October. Notwithstanding the departure of Charles, the war still continued in Italy; but a separate peace was concluded between him and Lewis the Moor, duke of The Venetians took Novara, and the duke of Milan. Orleans returned to France; while the pope had the infolence to fend a nuncio, commanding Charles instantly, under pain of ecclefiaftical censures, to evacuate Italy; and to appear before him at Rome. But we are now to return to the history of Naples, which had been left by Charles to the government of Gilbert Montpensier. Ferdinand, fon to Alphonso king of Naples, had fled to

Infolence of the pope.

The French

Spain, where he obtained a body of Spanish troops under the driven out command of Gonsalvo Hermandes, afterwards honoured by of Naples, the name of the Great Captain. The French troops in Naples were now dwindled down to fewer than four thousand men; and the conquests of Gonsalvo were very rapid, the French being obliged to retire to Tarento and Gaeta, the city of Naples received Ferdinand as its master; and a Venetian To secure the friendfleet appeared before it to assist him. Thip of the king of Spain, Ferdinand married his neice, though the was at the same time his own aunt; but died in the twenty eighth year of his age, on the seventh of October 1496.

to which crown Prederic fucceeds.

Ferdinand was succeeded as king of Naples by his uncle Frederic, an amiable prince, who by Gonfalvo's affistance, retook Tarento, and Gaeta; and drove the French out of his kingdom. After this, he was folemnly crowned by the pope's orders, and received the investiture of his dominions.

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By this time, the confederates, who had united against See Charles, had disagreed among themselves; and he had en-Vol. IX. tered into a treaty with the Venetians and the Spaniards, p. 80. which gave him hopes of recovering the crown of Naples. He demanded a passage for thirty thousand horse, through the Venetian and the Milanese territories, but it was not granted him; and the Venetians, the pope, and Lewis the Moor, appplied as we have already seen, for affistance to the emperor Maximilian, who marched into Italy; but with very indifferent fuccess. Notwithstanding the yoke, which Italy had Death of so lately escaped from, under the French king, several of her Charles. flates declared for his alliance, even in the teeth of the pope, as did many of the cardinals, who were obliged to The family of Ursini, and the take shelter in France. duke of Urbino, beat the pope's troops, which obliged him to conclude a peace; when Charles died without iffue, in 1497, and left his dominions to the duke of Orleans, who in his family right, belides the kingdom of ferusalem,

claimed the Two Sicilies, and the dutchy of Milan.

Frederic king of Naples, had great reason to believe, that Treaty of the king of Spain, and the Venetians, had entered into a partition secret compact with Charles, for partitioning out his domi- against nions among themselves. This project was prevented by Frederic. that king's death. Alexander, upon that event, offered to transfer all his interest to Frederic, provided the latter would give his daughter Charlotte, with the principality of Tarento, to his beloved fon, Cæfar Borgia, who intended to quit the ecclefiastical life; but Frederic rejected this proposal with indignation. Upon this, Alexander applied to Lewis XII.t o The pope whom his friendship was necessary on many accounts, confedeespecially that of being divorced from his wife. Lewis, if rates with possible, was more intent than his predecessors had ever Lewis the been, upon an expedition into Italy; and flattered the am- French bition of Alexander to the utmost. All the crimes of Casar king and Borgia, who had affaffinated his brother, the duke of Gandia, the Venebecause he had been his rival in the bed of his own lifter, tians. who had been likewise criminal with her father, did not prevent Lewis from heaping upon him the most extravagant favours. He became his advocate with the princess Charlotte, who was then at the court of France; he created him duke of Valentinois, with an appointment amounting to forty thousand francs a year; and Borgia, having refigned his cardinalship, carried with him into France, the bull that was preparatory to that king's divorce. Leavis made up his quarrels with the English, and his other neighbours, that he might be at leifure to pursue the conquest of the Milanese. He had even consented to give up to the Venetians, the Bressan, the Cremonese, with the other territories, that had been fo long disputed between them and the Sforza family, and this treaty was concluded with the secrecy which characterized that republic; so that even the crafty Lewis the Moor, was imposed upon.

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The Venetians were at this time formidable by their riches. Affairs of Lombardy. their acquisitions, their troops, and marine, not only to the European, but the Asiatic, powers; and Lewis the Moor. having certain intelligence of their treaty with the French king, entered into a correspondence with the Ottoman court The Venetians endeavoured to counter. for reducing them. act him by their agents at Constantinople; but Lewis the Moor, proved himself to be the better negociator, and attempted to gain the Florentines by means of the marquis of Modena, and to bring about a reconciliation between them and the Venetians; but in this the marquis was unfuccessful, though he prevailed upon the peasants to expel The friendship of out of their city the Venetian garrison. the Turks might have been useful to the Moor, had they not been wholly intent on conquering and plundering for themselves. They fitted out a powerful armament by sea, which ravaged the Venetian territories, both in Afia and Italy, and even defeated their fleet under the command of their admirals Grimani, and Lorotano. All this did little fervice to the Moor, who went in person to Germany, to sollicit affistance from the emperor Maximilian; but the latter was too needy, and too much embroiled to give him any, The Venetians however, found themselves so much embarrassed by the Moor's intrigues, and negociations, that they called upon the French king to fulfil his engagements. In August 1499, his army entered Italy, commanded by the duke of Aubigni, who was of the blood royal of Scotland, the duke of Luxembourg, and the famous Trivulzi. carried Alexandria, though garrifoned with five thousand men, by storm. Lewis the Moor was then at Milan, at the head of an army as numerous, and well appointed as that of the French, but cowardly and undisciplined; and

Conquest of Milan by the French.

> Cæfar. Trivulzi, after the conquest of Milan, marched with his division of the French army to Genoa, by the persuasion of cardinial Fregosa. Lewis the Moor was then lord of Gensa, but the French were as successful there as they had been at Milan; and Lewis XII. became mafter of Genoa likewise. The Venetian conquests on the Adda, where they took Carravaggio, and other places, were equally rapid. They then advanced to Gremena, which was furrendered to them by

> he is faid to have paid a gold ducat for every Frenchman's

head that was brought him; but the fate of Alexandria

struck the subjects of the Milanese with such consternation,

that they furrendered all their strong places to the invaders,

who in twenty days time were masters of Milan itself; into

which the French king made a triumphal entry. His fuc-

ceffes rendered him the arbiter of the Italian states; and he

lent fix thousand of his Swiss troops to the pope, who em-

ployed them in recovering the territories of Romagna, Imola, and Forli, which he intended as a provision for his son hes,

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the treachery of its governor, and became part of the Venetian dominions. Trivulzi, after his success at Genoa, had been made governor of Milan, and the Venetians being jealous of Borgia's progress, secretly sollicited Lewis to recall his troops from the Romagna. By this time, the It is re-Moor had returned from Germany with some troops, most of covered them Swifs, and had the pleasure to find that the French by Lewis were detested in the Milanese, where they lived without the Moor, order or discipline. He took Como without resistance, and Trivulzi was obliged to evacuate Milan, and retire to Novara; upon which, the Moor again got possession of his capital. Those bloodless conquests seem to have infatuated the victors. Pavia, and Parma, submitted to the Moor, who was as careless as the French had been in securing the places he took. The Venetians defended Lodi, Placentia, and the Cremonese; and encreased their army with three thousand additional Swifs. The French king had some days before returned to Lyons; but he had ordered an army to rendezvous in Piedmont, to join that of the Venetians for the relief of Novara, which was befieged by the Moor. Upon who is the advance of the confederates, the Swifs officers under betrayed him conbined to give him up into the hands of the French; by the but at his earnest request, upon their entering into a treaty Swiss and to evacuate the town of Novara, they confented that he fent prihould march out in their ranks difguifed like a Swifs foldier. foner to He was, however, discovered and betrayed, and sent prisoner France. by Lewis to France, where he died.

The recovery of the Milanese by the French, gave a new Progress turn to the affairs of Italy. The Venetians were contented of Borgie. with the quiet enjoyment of the acquisitions they had made during the late war. The pope was pleased with the success his fon had met with, and blinded by his defire to aggrandize his family. Lewis agreed to give him new reinforcements, by which he reduced Pefaro, Rimini, and at last, Faenza, the young lord of which, though he was no more than eighteen years of age, he put to death. Alexander, to Borgia's other titles, now added that of duke of Romagna, and he would have proceeded to the conquest of Bologna, had not the French king protected the Bentivoglio family; and fent for his troops under Borgia, he being then

on his march to Naples.

Though Ferdinand of Spain, had affifted Frederic in recovering his crown, yet by the profound dissimulation of which he was so eminently possessed, he had concealed his family pretentions to that crown, in right of his uncle Alphonso I. Frederic suspected him, through the unwillingnels he had expressed to evacuate some places in Calabria, that had been taken by Gonfalvo; and he had so ill an opinion of Ferdinand's intentions, that he had not only fecretly folicited affiftance at the Ottoman court, where it was refused him, but had offered to render his crown tri-

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butary to the French king; by paying him a large fum annually. Lewis rejected this proposal, because he was afraid of Ferdinand, whose great possessions in his own and his wife's right, and by the late discovery of America, had now

Treaty of made him formidable to all Europe. Lewis therefore, rather partition than have him for his enemy, agreed, but unknown to of Naples. Frederic, to a treaty of partition; by which Apulia, and

Calabria, were to be affigned to Ferdinand, and the rest of the kingdom was to remain with Lewis. The pope acceded to this treaty, and gave each of the parties an investiture accordingly. As Gonfalvo was in possession of great part of Calabria, Ferdinand had no great difficulty in executing his part of the treaty; but Frederic, overwhelmed by aftonish. ment at Ferdinand's perfidy, threw a garrison into Capua, (which was foon after stormed and plundered by the French) and retired with the rest of his army to Naples. He there understood that the state of his affairs was desperate, and that the invaders were in possession of most of the other

strong places of his kingdom. This determined him to refigns his give an order for the furrender of the rest to Aubigni, and crown and throwing himself entirely on the protection of Lewis, who flies to granted him a fafe conduct, with an annual penfion of one

hundred and twenty thousand livres a year, he set sail for France, where he spent the remainder of his days. His eldest fon was then defending Tarento against the Spaniards, and being obliged to furrender it, he was, in breach of the

articles of capitulation fent prisoner by Gonfalvo into Spain.

The French again lose Naples.

France.

The vicinity in one kingdom of the French and Spaniards, was foon attended with difagreeable confequences to both. The boundaries of the places which had been affigned to each by the partition treaty, was very imperfectly afcertained, and occasioned many disputes between Gonsalvo, who was governor of the Spanish part, and the duke of Nemours, the French viceroy, who imprudently threatened to enter upon hostilities against the Spaniards if they did not immediately quit Capitanata, one of the litigated estates. This demand not being complied with, and Gonfalvo, who was obliged to retire to Barletta, being in no condition to oppose the French, they reduced almost all the Spanish division. Next year, Gonfalvo having received reinforcements, recovered all he had lost; and the year after, the places in dispute were given up to Philip, duke of Austria, son-in-law to Ferdinand; while Philip's fon, Charles, though but two years old, was to be married to the French king's daughter; who were to be declared king and queen of Naples. This match, which must have ruined France, never took place. Gonfalvo, who was then victorious over the French, refused to ratify this treaty, and gave a total defeat to the French army, under the duke of Nemours, who was killed in the action. Ferdinand approving of what Gonfalvo had done,

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the war continued, but still to the disadvantage of the French; who at last lost Gaeta. Though Lewis continued Farther to live in the strictest correspondence with Alexander, yet successes he looked upon Borgia's conquests with no favourable eye; and crueland he interposed in favour of Florence, when Borgia was ties of upon the point of attacking it. The pope, partly by Borgia. policy, and partly by money, still found means to secure Lewis in his interest; and Borgia arrived to such power, that he became mafter of the dutchy of Urbino, and murdered the lord of Camerino, and his two sons, that he might get possession of their estates. The dutchy of Urbino soon after revolting, and the duke being befriended by the Ursini, and fome other lords in the marquifate of Ancona, Borgia found means to disunite them, and to secure Ursini to his interest. The first fruit of his stratagem, was his decoying Paul Ursini into his power, and putting two of the confederate lords to death in Senigaglia; while the pope ordered cardinal Ursini to be poisoned, after shutting him up in the castle of St. Angelo. The Urfini estates thus sell a prey to those rapacious monsters, as did Citta di Castello, and Perugia; and, had it not been for the French king, they would have feized Sienna likewife.

It is probable, that Lewis would have checked the rapa- Remarkcity and cruelty of the Borgias, had not his affairs been so able death much on the decline in Naples, that his authority was of Alex-lessened in other parts of Italy. Notwithstanding his in- ander VI. junctions, Borgia would have again attempted the conquest of Tuscany, had not his father's death intervened. Authors differ in some circumstances, as to the manner in which this happened; but they feem to agree upon the whole, in the following account. Borgia being in want of money, agreed with his father to poison the richest cardinals in Rome, at an entertainment, and then seize upon their treasures. Borgia prepared some poisoned wine, and sent to the place where the entertainment was to be held, an order for the butler to let none of the guests taste it till his arrival. The fervant apprehending this caution to proceed from the excellency of the liquor, administered a glass full of it to the pope, who entered the room, and being hot, called for The effects proved fatal to his holiness next day; and it is faid, that Borgia, who drank in the same cup, but diluted with water, survived only by the strength of his constitution, and the antidotes he made use of; but found himself too weak to execute the pernicious schemes he had formed. Borgia being univerfally detested, kept possession of the vatican, and the castle of St. Angelo, with ten thousand men; and the cardinals who were to elect a new pope were in doubt how to proceed. Borgia, by promiting to give his interest to a French cardinal, prevented that army from entering Rome; but Picolomini, cardinal of Sienna, was chosen pope, and he took the name of Pius III. In the mean VOL. X.

while, the Colonnæ, and the Ursini, had taken possession of Rome, and obliged Borgia, with his friends, to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, when the new pope Pius died on the

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Julius II. pope.

He was succeeded by Julian de la Rovere, nephew of Sixtus IV, chiefly by Borgia's interest; and he took the name of Julius II. He was one of the most active and warlike pontiffs that had ever filled the holy fee; but upon his accession to the pontificate he found himself too weak, all at once, to recover the possessions of the church from the Vene. tians, Borgia, and other petty tyrants who had usurped them. Borgia had still great power, and Julius endeavour. ed to prevail with him to refign all the church dominions into his hands, that he might take from the Venetians the pretext they made use of that they did not make war upon the church, but upon duke Valentino. Borgia demurred to this proposal. The pope arrested him, and required the cities of Romagna to submit to the holy see; but they hanged up his messengers, on pretence that their lord was in durance. Julius, however, foon found means to oblige Borgia to give up all his right in the Romagna; and thus all the wicked schemes of Alexander VI. for the aggrandizement of his family were blafted, and ferved only to aggrandize Julius. Borgia escaped to Naples, where he found all the long laboured texture of his politics to be a mere cobweb. The king of Spain, who was a greater politician, and a much wifer man, than himself, ordered him to be sent prisoner to the castle of Medina, where he remained for three years. Escaping from thence, he went to the court of the king of Navarre, whose fifter he had married, and he foon after died an ignoble death in a skirmish with some Spaniards.

His warlike qua-

Julius filled the popedom with a courage and intrepidity that did honour to his station, as the head of a civil comlifications munity. He overawed the Venetians, and he interpoted with the kings of Spain, and Portugal, in favour of the Saracens, whose friendship he courted. He recovered from the Venetians all they held in Romagna, and winked at their keeping possession of Faenza, and Rimini. Lewis XII. was then king of France, and still held the dutchy of Milan, where he prefided with an independency that gave umbrage The latter feeming to adopt the cause of the to Julius. house of Austria, which was now become formidable, brought Lewis to accept of his terms, and they entered into a strict alliance in the year 1306, against the Venetians, whose power was now intolerable to all the princes and states upon the continent. This alliance with the French was a favourable circumstance to Julius, who immediately marched in person, habited like a military general officer, and reduced Perugia, and Bologna. The Bentivoglio family was still in possession of the last mentioned city, and had depended

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depended on the French for protection; but being deceived they retired to the Milanese, while the pope, to secure the possession of Bologna, indulged the inhabitants with a phantom of liberty, by giving them leave to chuse their own magistrates; who were no better than slaves to his

Next to the aggrandizement of the papacy, the reduction History of of the Venetian power was the favourite view of Julius, the league The Venetians had offered to hold Faenza, and Rimini, as of Camtributaries to the holy see; but refused to submit to any bray; arbitration for restoring them. The French king, and the emperor Maximilian, had, by this time, fecretly formed a league against Venice, but they disguised it, under the pretext of a confederacy against the Turks. To justify themselves they required the Venetians to deliver up Faenza, and Rimini, though at that juncture Julius had taken part with the Genoese, who had thrown off the French yoke, but in the year 1507, were obliged to refume it. Lewis XII. had renounced his claim to Naples in favour of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, who claimed it as heir to his father's brother, Alphonso I. His wife Isabella, of Castile, was now dead, and he was the most powerful prince in Europe; the Spanish monarchy, the Two Siciles, and all that had been discovered in America being now in his possession, without a rival, He had been left regent of Castile, by his or partner. queen Isabella; but the death of Philip, his fon-in-law, freed him from all restraint in his own, or his wife's, dominions. Being void of all refentment of friendship, or gratitude, he grew jealous of Gonfalvo, his great general, to whom he owed the kingdom of Naples, and with his new queen, Germana, he repaired to that kingdom; and took the administration upon himself. Every circumstance fell out in his favour. His daughter Jane, who was the undoubted heirefs of Castile, was so affected with the death of her husband Philip, that she was incapable of acting in any His connections with the French king gave him some uneafiness, as he had engaged to restore the Anjouvine barons to their estates; a promise he could not perform without injuring those of his own party. He got over even this difficulty by his artful management; and leaving the count of Ripagorza, his viceroy in Naples, he had an interview with the French king at Savona, where they put the finishing hand to their league against the Venetians. hand, who was the best served of any prince ever known; and deferved it the least, carried with him to Spain, Gon-Jalvo, whose accomplishments had gained him so much elleem from all the other powers of Europe, that he was afraid to express his intentions till he arrived in Spain, where he confined his great captain to his own estate. of his motives for entering into the league against the Venetians, was their detaining in their hands some towns on the

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coast of Naples, as pledges for money that they had advanced to his predecessors. The history of Venice becomes now

the capital object in that of Italy.

Which

Notwithstanding the great secrecy with which the conthe Vene- federacy against that republic had been formed, the senate more than suspected the transaction, and did all they could counteract to avert the blow. They might have succeeded, had not Julius II. been as fagacious, penetrating, and resolute as themselves; and kept to his main point by rejecting all The Venetians had endeaoffers of an accommodation. voured to disjoint the alliance that was formed against them, by dividing the emperor and the French king, but they were reconciled by the pope; and the reader, in a former part of this work, may consult the history of the league of Cambray, which threatened destruction to that republic. Maximilian, and Lewis embraced each others interest from dread of the Venetians; though in other respects their views were quite The Venetians were in alliance at that very time with France, and had obtained great advantages over Maxi-All parties negociated with the most profound diffimulation, and all of them lost in the event. The Venetian policy was too finely foun to be successful. had, by an ill-judged imitation of the Roman republicans, disobliged Maximilian, by decreeing triumphal honours to their general Alviano, a weak man, but a great commander, who had taken Trieste, Goritz, and many other places from the emperor. Maximilian, though a mean, interested prince, when necessity pressed him, could not brook the haughtiness of the republic; and dropped all resentment against the French king, that he might humble the Venetians. He revived the imperial claims upon all their possessions on the continent; and, perphaps, no state ever had greater reason to dread ruin, than the Venetian republic had at this juncture.

French join with the king

The French king, by his possession of the Milanese, was now a principal power in Italy; Ferdinand was king of Naples; the Florentine republic was flourishing and hated the Venetians; and we have already feen the reasons that inof Naples, duced the pope to enter into, or, rather, form the league of There scarely was a power upon the continent Cambray. of Europe that had not a demand upon the Venetians. the king of Hungary claimed their possessions in Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy complained that they had usurped the kingdom of Cyprus, to the prejudice of his family; and the republic was too powerful a neighbour to the French king, The duke of Ferrara had likewife as duke of Milan. claims upon the republic, which held Rovigo, and the Polesin; and though he and the Florentines were but inconsiderable parties in the league, yet they were useful in the confederacy by their fituations. We must not omit to mention, that the concessions of Sforza to the Venetians, by which

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which great part of the Milanese was separated from that dutchy, sounded a capital article for inducing the French king to enter into the confederacy. Cardinal Amboise, and ibid. Margaret of Austria, the governess of the Low Countries, put the finishing hand to all the differences between the french king and the emperor; and it was finally agreed at Cambray, that all the contracting powers should endeavour to recover the places and dominions which had been usurped from them by the Venetians. In this league, we are to observe a most important circumstance in the history of Italy, that the French king agreed to take the investiture of the

dutchy of Milan from the emperor.

We cannot agree with some authors, that the Venetian Haughtisenate was entirely ignorant of this league till they felt its ness of
effects. It is most probable, that the same dissimulation the Venewhich had influenced the allies, prevailed among them to tians.

which had influenced the allies, prevailed among them to tians. disguise their knowledge of their enemies intentions. This diffimulation was partly owing to haughtiness. The Venetians knew the vast extent of their power and riches, and tho' they had behaved with the greatest submission to avert the impending storm; yet they were determined to face it. The pope animated the whole confederacy, and he ftipulated that Ravenna, Corvia, Rimini, Faenza, and some other places possessed by the Venetians, should be ceded to him. Verona, Padua, Fayenza, the Trevisan, Friuli, and all the tract on the coast of the Adriatic, were to revert to the emperor; while the French were to hold the Bressan, the Cremonese, Crema, and all that the Venetians had taken from the Milanese. The emperor assembled a diet at Conflance, on pretext of going to Italy to receive the imperial crown, which created some jealousy in Lewis, and, at his request, the Venetians denied a passage to his troops; but in the month of February 1508, notwithstanding the rigour of the feafon, he and his army were within four leagues of Verona. The Venetian general Alviano, upon the emperor's being obliged to return to Germany, attacked and defeated his troops in the valley of Cadorino, the imperialits leaving hve thousand dead upon the spot, while the Venetians extended their conquests over the house of Austria both by sea and land; but all of a sudden they were deserted by Trivulzi, who had received intelligence that the league of Cambray was concluded. The emperor repaired the loss he had received in his late defeat, by raising a new army, but it mutinied for want of pay; and the Venetians took Trieste. A scene of dissimulation ensued, in which the haughtiness of the Venetian republicans surmounted their prudence, by provoking the French king, at a juncture when an artful management, and proper compliances, could have broken the league of Cambray. This confederacy startled even the dauntless pope Julius II. least it should erect a power in in Italy still more formidable than that of the Venetians.

A GENERAL HISTORY

The latter, when it was too late, endeavoured to disunite the allies; and finding their endeavours fruitless, they recalled their ambassadors from the French court.

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Progress of the league of Cambray.

The Venetians applied for affishance to the king of England, but without success, as he had some thoughts of acceeding to the league of Cambray; but they raised an army of about twenty thousand men, and fitted out a fleet to act against the Neapolitan coasts. The army of the republic consisted of raw undisciplined troops, and the councils of her senate were divided between the operations proposed by Petiglian, and Alviano, their two chief generals; the former of a cautious, and the latter of an enterprising, character. The parties in the league of Cambray endeavoured to distress the Venetians, by ordering their subjects, even under pain of death, to leave the dominions of the republic; but the Venetians wisely issued other orders, by which they detained all the hands that were useful in manusactures and commerce.

Successes of the French

By this time, the French army had entered Italy, and had taken one thousand of the Venetian infantry, who were in garrison at Treviglio; but the place was retaken by Petiglian, who industriously avoided a battle. Lewis, who was at the head of his army, cut off the communication between the Venetians and the Cremonese, from whence they derived their subsistence; and this produced a battle, in which Abviano, the brave Venetian general, was defeated, with the loss of five thousand men. The cautious Petiglian declined being engaged in this battle, and his conduct was approved of by the Venetians, though in consequence of their defeat they lott Caravaggio, Brescia, and Bergamo. The Venetians now became fully sensible of the danger that threatened them, and faw the vanity of trusting to the refinements of policy. They applied to the pope, who would hear of no terms, and who had already reduced Faenza, Ravenna, Rimini, and other places which he had claimed in the beginning of the war. The emperor was equally inexorable, though they had offered to refign all the places they had taken from him; so that the republic had then no option, but that of defending herfelf with vigour. The rapidity of the French, and the emperor's conquests, baffled all their prudence; but they magnanimously refused the assistance offered them by the Turks. The petty dukes of Ferrara, and Mantua, took from them the Polesin, with the towns of Azole, and Lunet; and the duke of Brunswick, the imperial general, had recovered Triefte, Feltri, and Bellung. In short, the conquests of the allies were so quick, that it was proposed in the Venetian senate to abandon all their possessions on the continent, and to collect all their strength at Venice. Padua, and Treviso, refused to submit to the imperialists, who befieged the former city; but the inhabitants defended

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it so nobly, that the duke of Brunswick was forced to raise

the siege with loss and disgrace.

Notwithstanding this, the Venetian republic must have The Vebeen annihilated, had it not been for the dissentions that netians

arose among the confederates. The needy emperor Maxi- lose and milian, was for belieging Venice, in hopes of plundering her immense treasury; but the king of Spain resused to affish him with a fleet. The pope was no longer the enemy of the republic after regaining the places he claimed; and a coldness sprung up between him and the French king. The Venetians perceived this, and it redoubled their efforts for defending themselves, especially as his holiness gave them private affurances of his friendship, and that he was only overawed from publishing it, by the kings of France, and Spain. Their recovering Vicenza, was one of the first carnests of their returning good fortune. They raised money to pay their troops; they encouraged the people to fland on their defence at first, but afterwards to attempt the recovery of those places which had submitted to the confederates, chiefly because they thought that the republic was too weak to protect them. They foon reduced the Polesin, Feltri, and some other places; they divided their forces into three parts, and they even belieged Ferrara, but the French general, Chaumont, obliged them to desift with considerable loss. This missortune was followed by the ibid. p.87. furrender of Padua, which had continued fo long faithful to the Venetians; but was now betrayed to the emperor by its intestine divisions. Maximilian would, at this time, have embraced the peace, as his finances were in no condition to continue the war; and he had been, by the pope, rendered jealous of the French king. His demands were too exorbitant, and the Venetians not only rejected them, but refolved to attempt the recovery of Padua. This could not be done recover without the greatest secrecy, to which the senators bound Padua. themselves by oath. Gritti was intrusted with the execution of this defign; and finding means to introduce some troops into the fortress in covered waggons, the imperial garrison were made prisoners, and that important city was recovered by the Venetians. So bold and spirited a stroke, at a time when their enemies were every where else triumphant, gave a wonderful turn to the affairs of the Venetian republic.

Pope Julius immediately took off the interdict from the The Verepublic, and even suffered his subjects to enlist in their netian refervice, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the emperor, public and the French king. He tampered with the king of England saved by to declare war against France. He brought the Savis to the disabandon Lewis, and to take pay under the Venetians; and union of he shewed himself now as active in assisting them to reher enecover their affairs, as he had been before in distressing them. mies. Julius had altered his conduct upon interested principles.

Julius had altered his conduct upon interested principles. The Venetians not only quitted all the Romagna to him, but

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gave a free navigation in their gulph to his subjects. No fooner was the treaty, concluded between him and them, known, than he was feverely upbraided by the emperor, and the French king, though they did not as yet fee into the whole depth of his defign; which was that of driving both Lewis, and Maximilian out of Italy; but chiefly the former. He had practifed various methods to bring the Venetians, and Maximilian to unite against the French; and at last a congress was appointed at Scala, where the bishop of Gurck managed for the emperor, and the bishop of Perusa for the pope; but the pride and poverty of Maximilian, who demanded the Paduan, Vicenza, and Trevisan, to be ceded to him, and an immense sum for the expences of the war, occasioned the conferences to be broken up without any effect. Julius, notwithstanding this, did all he could to disfuade the diet of Germany from seconding the emperor's views in Italy; but with so little success, that his nuncio was turned out of the affembly; the Venetians were put to the ban of the empire, and an offensive and defensive treaty was concluded with the French king.

Pope Juwith the French king.

Julius, far from being daunted by the renewal of this lius breaks confederacy, which was become formidable by the accession of the Germanic body, brought Henry VIII. of England, a vain, aspiring, but powerful, young prince, over to his cause; and the Venetians, after recovering several of their towns, laid siege to Verona, and made an attempt upon Genoa, but were defeated in both by the French. Lewis, at that time, had many reasons for keeping well with the holy fee; but the impetuosity of Julius frustrated all his schemes The storm fell upon the duke of for a reconciliation. Ferrara, who continued still to be attached to the French king, and on pretext of his having made some invasions upon the patrimony of the church, he marched with an army into his dominions. Lewis could not be diverted from supporting the duke of Ferrara, though at the same time he was threatened with a revolt in the Milanese, and in Genea. Finding all his endeavours to reconcile Julius to be vain, he consulted his clergy, who agreed to support him in opposing the temporal encroachments of his holiness; while Julius carried on a war against the duke of Ferrara, gave to Ferdinand the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and reduced the tribute to be paid to the holy fee to a purse of two thousand crowns, besides the white This investiture did not, however, entirely answer the views of Julius, as Ferdinand was too cool, and too cautious, to enter precipitately into a war with the French king. Julius took into pay twelve thousand Swifs, and formally declared war against Lewis, who offered to withdraw his protection from the duke of Ferrara; but the haughty pontiff rejected all other terms than those

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of the French entirely evacuating Italy. Towards the end of September, he marched, habited like a temporal general. at the head of his army, to Bologna. He foon made himself mafter of Concordia, but the French garrison of Mirandola, which he likewise attacked, checked his progress for some time. Leaving Bologna on the twenty second of January, Personal ich, he repaired to his camp before Mirandola, where, valour of against the advice of the ambassadors and cardinals in his the pope. train, he led on his troops in person to the affault of the place, and pressed the siege so vigorously, that having forced it to capitulate, he entered it at the head of his army through the breaches he had made, and obliged the inhabitants to pay him a fum of money to be exempted from plunder. He then granted the investiture of Mirandola to John Francis Picus, for twenty thousand crowns; and would have formed the fiege of Ferrara, had he not been prevented by the vigilance of the French. The great powers of Europe ibid. were at this time concerting measures for calling a general p. 89. council to depose the turbulent pontiff; and both the emperor, and the French king, had fent ambaffadors to Mantua, to negociate an alliance against him; but their interests were so incompatible, that they concluded upon nothing. Julius laid hold of this opportunity to endeavour to detach the emperor from the French king; and he prevailed with the Venetians to employ their fleet in an attempt against Genoa, but it was unsuccessful, and the Venetians loft some of their thips.

Trivulzi had, at this time, the command of the French in The Italy; and his master being apprehensive that Maximilian French might be prevailed on, either through inconstancy or po- take Boverty, to join the pope, he ordered that general to observe logna. no farther measures with his holiness, and to prosecute the war with all possible vigour. Trivulzi, accordingly took Concordia, and being joined by Bentivoglio, the descendent of the lords of Bologna, he marched towards that city, which was defended by the pope's general, Urfini, and his legate the cardinal of Pavia, while he himself had retired to Ravenna. Upon the approach of the French to Bologna, the pope's army fled, and left most of its baggage and artillery in the hands of the French. Its two generals repaired to Ravenna, where the disputes between them ran so high, that Ursini, who was nephew, as well as general, to the pope, stabbed the cardinal to the heart with a dagger; but

the murder was overlooked by Julius.

The pope's want of caution, his assuming a temporal Wondercharacter, the injustice of his claims, and the turbulence of ful firmhis disposition, had given his enemies vast advantages against ness of the him; and nine of his cardinals, joined with the bishop of pope. Gurck and the French party, in affixing public citations for general council to be held at Pi/a, to which the pope was lummoned to appear in person, because the members were

determined

determined to proceed to the reformation of the church, Julius endeavoured to disconcert this confederacy, which struck at the very root of his authority. He offered to treat with the French king, and the cardinals who were affembled at Milan; but finding all his advances to be in vain, he appointed a general council to be held at Rome; and formed a new alliance against Lewis, and Maximilian, It is amazing, how one obstinate old man could, by the force of his character alone, notwithstanding the universal detestation of his person, make head against the greatest powers in Europe. The secret bigotry and superstition of Lewis, with regard to the pontificial authority, never suffered him to act against it with vigour. His declared intention of expelling the barbarians (for fo he called the French and Germans) out of Italy, rendered him so popular there, that the Pisans treated the French and other prelates affembled there to hold the council, with such contempt, that they removed their fessions to Milan, where they met with the like infults, tho' that city then belonged to the French king. This general diflike of the French, encouraged the pope to thunder out his anathemas, not only against all the revolted cardinals and ecclefiaftics, but against all the temporal princes who should protect or patronize them. This vigour foon had the defired effect, and the council at Milan was now regarded as an affembly of pragmatical schismatics.

Who makes a French.

We cannot reflect on the stupendous conduct of Julius, without admiring the wisdom of his councils, and the interpidity of his behaviour. He knew that Ferdinand of alliance a- Spain, continued to behold the French power in Italy with gainst the an evil eye; and as the daughter of that prince, Catharine of Arragon, was the wife of Henry VIII. of England, he refolved to avail himself of his late connections with Ferdinand, by engaging Henry to attack the French. He could not have a more favourable subject to work upon than Henry was, and Julius flattered him with the thoughts of having the title of most christian king transferred from Lewis to himself, and his becoming the champion and protector of the church. Henry fell into the snare, but affected a shew of moderation, by sending a herald to Paris, requiring the French king to defift from the impious war he. was waging against the holy see. No regard being paid to this message, Henry would have found it difficult to have engaged his parliament in a papal war, had he not made a requisition of all the antient patrimonial provinces in France, that had formerly belonged to Henry's ancestors; and this determined the English parliament to support him in the war. Henry was as open and unsuspecting as his fatherin-law was crafty and defigning. The cause of Henry, and

Expedition of the the pope, obtained now the appellation of the holy league; English in and Ferdinand had the art to persuade his son-in-law to fend an army under the marquis of Dorset, to Fontarabia, Spain.

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where his true design was, that the English should assist him in conquering the kingdom of Navarre for himself. marquis faw through the interested views of Ferdinand, and refused to join him in his operation, without fresh orders While he was waiting for those, the troops from England. under his command were fuffering all kinds of hardships from fickness and famine: and without waiting for the return of the messenger they mutinied, and obliged their commanders

to carry them back to England.

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An incident happened about this time, that gave some War in indications of peace; for an universal report prevailed of Lombardy. the pope's death by an apoplectic fit. He recovered however, and proceeded against his enemies with greater vigour than ever. He engaged in his service sixteen thousand Swifs, who marched into Lombardy, where they overawed the French, and the fathers at Milan. He put Florence, and Pifa, under an interdict, for having favoured the schimatical council; and when he received the fuccours that had been flipulated by the king of Spain, he reduced all the places belonging to the duke of Ferrara, in the Romagna. In the beginning of the year 1512, he ordered the cardinal de Medici, who commanded his army, to retake Bologna; but it was relieved by the brave Gaston de Foix, the French general. The Venetians at this time became masters of Brescia, by the revolt of its inhabitants from the French, and were belieging the citadel. Gaston flew to relieve it, and after defeating the Venetian army with a far inferior force, he took the city by storm, and put its garrison, to the number of five thousand men, to the sword.

The French king perceiving that nothing less than the Gaston de total expulsion of the French out of Italy, would fatisfy the Foix gains pontiff, ordered his general de Foix to attack the pope in the battle Rome itself, and a legate on the part of the council of of Ra-Milan was appointed to attend, to receive, in the names of venna, but those fathers, the places conquered from his holiness. The loses his Swifs had been for some time the flower of the French life. armies, and the conquest of Milan had been chiefly owing to them. Sensible of their own importance, they had demanded from Lewis an augmentation of their pay, which, out of a mistaken frugality, he refused them, and the pope had very politically engaged them in his service; but de foix, who was an excellent general, was at the head of twenty thousand good troops, and thought himself a match for the confederate army; the chief strength of which conished of the Swiss, and the Spaniards. He endeavoured to bring them to a battle, but as they expected great things from the diversion of the English in their favour, they declined it, till he besieged Ravenna. This brought on a general engagement, in which de Foix totally defeated the allies, who lost above seven thousand men; but his own

army was ruined at the same time, and himself killed in the purluit, The

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A GENERAL HISTORY

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This victory was the destruction of the French inpursuit. terest in Italy. La Palice, who succeeded de Foix in the command, took possession of Cesena, Imola, Forli, and Ra. venna; all which he delivered into the hands of the cardinal Sansevering, with whom, however, he differed. The fuc. celles of la Police, feemed only to render the pope more ob. stinate against a peace; but, by way of precaution, he order. ed some gallies to be in readiness to carry him from Rome. in case la Palice had advanced with his army to that capital; which his holiness foon understood he was in no condition to do. Lewis, continuing his ill judged frugality, had neglect. ed to supply him with men, money, provisions, or ammunition, which rendered the mercenaries he had hired from the princes of Germany, and who were the flower of his troops, mutinous; while a new descent from England upon the coast of France, obliged him to recall part of his army out of Italy.

They are

The fathers at Milan, elated by the protection of a victoabandon- rious army, and ignorant of the true state of affairs, had ed by the suspended Julius from the pontificate; but without acquiremperor. ing either strength or credit to themselves. The pope, on the other hand, opened the Lateran council at Rome, in which he emitted new fulminations against the council at Milan; and he had ordered a new body of Swiss, which he had taken into his pay, to penetrate into that dutchy. This laid la Palice under a fresh disability for proceeding to Rome, and he was obliged to return towards the Milanese. Every thing now contributed to the glory of Julius. The needy emperor, Maximilian, complained that he had been rather a loser than a gainer by the league of Cambray, and had, for some time, entered into a secret negotiation with the king of England, which was managed by Julius, and Ferdinand; and by the force of English money he was brought into their views. He published a decree called the Avocatoria, by which he recalled out of the French fervice all German foldiers, on the pain of being treated as traitors to their country; and to complete the ruin of the French in Milan, the Swifs, as if intended to make amends for their treachery to the father, had proclaimed the son of Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan. No fewer than five thousand Germans having, upon the emperor's avocatory letter, deferted the French; la Palice was obliged to retire to the Pavele, and Trivulzi was expelled from the city of Milan, and forced to take refuge in Piedmont, to which country the fathers of the schismatic council likewise retired. In the mean while, the Swift, and Venetians, recovered Cremona, and Bergamo, Pavia, Lodi, and feveral other towns, which they held for the members of the holy league. Julius laid in his claim to Parma, and Placenza, which submitted about the same time, as being places that had belonged to the antient exarchate of Ravenna. Fregoso, the Genoese doge, drove the French out of

Maximilian Sforza duke of Milan.

that city; and Bologna, with all the Romagna, returned to the obedience of the pope; who, had he lived longer, would

have destroyed Bologna for its disaffection.

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The expulsion of the French from Italy did not complete Schemes the mighty designs of Julius. The Spaniards and Germans of Julius continued still to have a footing there; and it was necessary in Italy. they should be expelled also. Both Ferdinand, and Maximilian, had an eye upon the Milanese, as a convenient establishment for the younger branches of their families; but both of them were disappointed, for Julius gave the insome time been expelled from Florence, and the cardinal of that name, who had been employed by the pope, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, from whence having made his escape, the pope resolved to re-establish his family in Florence, and thereby fix the two great flates of Lombardy, and Tuscany, under the dominion of Italian families. He accordingly compelled the Florentines to receive for their mafter Lorenzo de Medici II. the cardinal's nephew. The council of Lateran was, all this while, fitting at Rome, and its authority was recognized by the bishop of Gurck, whom Maximilian had fent to prevail upon Julius to receive him as his coadjutor in the popedom; but he could not prevail.

Julius having thus wonderfully conquered all the confe-Hisdeath, deracies that had been formed against him from time to time, by the greatest powers upon the continent of Europe; contracted, some time before his death, an unsurmountable jealousy of all connections between them and the Italian samilies he had raised. He had proceeded to abrogate the pragmatick sanction in France, by which the temporalities of the Gallican church were rendered independent upon the sea of Rome; and he had given away, to the longest sword, the crown of France. He intended to have ruined the duke of Ferrara, and to have altered the government of Florence, because he thought the house of Medici was two much attached to the king of Spain: but while he was meditating those, and many other great designs, he was over taken by

death, on the twenty first of February, 1513.

The tyranny and turbulence of pope Julius II. though Succeeded beneficial to the popedom, had been very difagreeable to by Leo X. the cardinals, who now resolved to chuse a pontiff of an opposite character; and such was the cardinal de Medici, on whom all of them threw their eyes. He was the son of Lorenzo de Medici, of Florence, and was eminent for all the arts and politeness for which Italy was now so much distinguished. He was, at this time, no more than thirty seven years of age, and had been made cardinal by Innocent VIII. when he was but sourteen. The softness of his manners, his generosity, his learning, wit, and affability, united all voices in his sayour; and being unanimously chosen pope,

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of the Italians under him.

Character he took the name of Leo X. We shall, in the sequel of this history, have an opportunity to observe, that his promotion was as beneficial to arts, the sciences, and learning, as it was fatal to spiritual tyranny and superstition. With all the amiable qualities Leo possessed, it is generally allow. ed, that he had no fense of religion; that he was voluptuous to the last degree, a complete master of dissimulation, and regardless of all good faith, but magnificent beyond any pontiff that had ever filled the papal throne. At the time of his accession, though Italy had been desolated by war, yet never, even in the time of Augustus, and his successors, had she been so illustrious by the practice of the fine arts, which have, perhaps, been upon the decline ever This feems, in a great measure, to have been owing to that policy her princes and states had for some time adopted of employing foreigners to carry on their wars; by which her natives were left at leifure to cultivate their favourite studies.

> The accession of Leo'X. created a remarkable alteration in the affairs of Italy. The duke of Ferrara was restored to all his possessions in the Romagna, and carried the papal banner at the coronation of the new pope, which was performed with so much magnificence in the church of the Lateran, that it cost him one hundred thousand crowns. The schismatical cardinals, who had translated the sessions of their council from Milan to Lyons, submitted to Lea, who ordered them to remain at Florence; but in the mean while, to lay afide their habits, till they could be regularly reinstated in their dignity; of which they had been de-prived by the Lateran council. This tranquility of ecclefiastical affairs, however, was far from producing the like in temporal. The emperor refused to restore Verona to the Venetians, and for that, and other reasons, the latter leagued themselves with the French king, who prepared to recover the Milanese. The pope's inclinations led him to wish for peace; but he continued the plan of his predecessor's conduct so far, as to engage the Swiss to defend the Milanese, and the English to continue their hostilities against France.

The war renewed in Lombardy.

The French king was not to be diverted from his scheme of recovering the Milanese; and his generals Trimuille, and Trivulzi, passing the Alps with an army, soon retook Brescia. The Venetians, and the French, complained of the perfidy of Ferdinand, and the irrefolution of Maximilian, and appeared more united than ever. Alviano, the Venetian general, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Verona; but reduced Pescara, and Cremona, which he pretended to hold for the French king; but the Venetians were defeated by the imperialists and Spaniards, in the Vicentine. When the French took Brescia, Maximilian Sforza, distrusting the firmness of his subjects the Milanese, and leaving his capital, that himself up in Novara, which was immediately befreged el of

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fieged by the French. The approach of ten thousand Swifs, and a Spanish army, forced them to raise the siege, and the Swifs attacked and defeated the French in their camp. The Venetian general, upon this, was obliged to retire to the Veronese, and from thence beyond the river Adese. During those combustions in Lombardy, pope Les was negociating a peace between Maximilian and the Venetians, whom he earnestly desired to disjoin from their alliance with the French. The affairs of the Venetians, at this time, wore a very indifferent aspect; but nothing could shake the good faith they professed towards Lewis, nor would they enter into a negociation with the emperor, unless he consented to vield them up Vincenza, and Verona. Lewis requited their firmness but poorly. Instead of reinforcing his army in Lombardy he courted the friendship of the pope, who upbraided the Venetians for having invited the French back into Italy; and encouraged the emperor to continue hostilities against their republic. A powerful confederacy was thus once more formed against the Venetians, by the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain. Their general Alviano, was obliged to abandon Rovigo, which fell into their hands, and the bishop of Gurck persuaded the allies to lay siege to Padua; the loss of which, he faid, would humble those haughty republicans.

Alviano threw himself into Padua, which then contained The fiege a garrifon more numerous than the army of the beliegers. of Podua The latter was destitute not only of money, but of every formed thing requifite for carrying on a fiege, and notwithstanding and raised. all the bishop of Gurck's efforts, they raised it, marched to Vincenza, and subsisted upon the plunder of the country. It is faid, upon this occasion, that the viceroy of Naples, who commanded the Spanish army in Lombardy, by way of

infult, fired some guns against Venice itself; but the Venetians, rather than hazard the loss of Padua, would not, for some time, consent that Alviano should leave that city, and take the field against the enemies of the republic. At last, they were perfuaded to give him leave, and he reduced the viceroy's army to fo much distress, that nothing but despair could have faved it. Being favoured by a fog, he endeavoured to escape, and was pursued by the Venetians. But the rear of the Spaniards, under Prospero Colonna, making an unexpected stand, the Venetian cavalry were seized with a panic, and were defeated, with the loss of four thousand soldiers, and four hundred men at arms, and a number of As this defeat was entirely owing to the inferior officers having deserted their general, who had acted as a brave and wife commander, the Venetian senate punished

them accordingly; and passed a decree for honouring and supporting Alviano. The public spirit the Venetians shewed

doge Loretano, threw his private fortune into their treasury.

on this occasion has but few examples in history.

His

A GENERAL HISTORY

His example was followed by the most wealthy of the citizens, and a new army was foon raifed.

The treat.

The allies, in the mean while, as usual, were divided Spaniards concerning their operations after their victory; and Prof. and their pero Colonna, being secretly unwilling that either the allies re- Spaniards, or the imperialists, should raise themselves upon the ruins of the Venetians, disfuaded them from investing Treviso till they were better provided with artillery, and the necessaries for carrying on a siege. Colonna's policy in this was dictated by the pope, who, that he might enjoy his favourite repose, effected a temporary reconciliation be. tween the French king, and the cantons of Swifferland, by concluding a three years truce with regard to the Milanefe, This was followed by a truce between the kings of France and Spain; by which it was agreed, that Lewis should ful. pend all operations against the Milanese during the year 1514. Nothing was now wanting for the tranquility of Italy, but a reconciliation between the emperor and the Venetians; and at last, by the indefatiga ble address of Leo, they agreed upon for peace. a truce, till a treaty could be concluded in form. The policy of Leo was defeated, by the infincerity of all the parties, for whom, or with whom, he negociated. Each, notwithstanding the truces that had been concluded, seized every favourable opportunity of gaining all the advantages they could. Alviano actually surprized the imperialists, of whom he killed and took prisoners some thousands, and recovered feveral towns belonging to the republic. Leo still continued to labour for a reconciliation, and to fettle the

> preliminaries of peace, between the emperor and the Venetians. He employed, for this purpose, his secretary the famous Bembo, who was himself a Venetian, an able politician, and a fine writer. The Venetians paid him great deference, but informed him, that they chose the French king's neighbourhood in the Milanse, preferably to that of the Spaniards or Germans. In the mean while, Lewis died, and was succeeded on the first of January 1515, by his

> cousin of Valois, Francis I. This prince was still more determined than his predecessor had been in the conquest of the Milanese, and privately encouraged the Venetians to come to an accommodawith the emperor. The vast armaments which he daily made, pointed too plainly against Italy, for the emperor, or the king of Spain, to be mistaken as to their object. Pope Lee offered to gratify him in any thing but the re-annexing the Milanese to his crown; and yet he was still less desirous to fee it in the possession of the emperor. By his mediation, a peace was concluded between France and England; and finding all his negociations unsuccessful for a definitive treaty between the Venetians and the emperor, he accused the former of obstinacy, and sent a considerable body of troops to reduce Crema, in which attempt they were

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disappointed and defeated. Leo, about this time, had His amformed a scheme for the aggrandizement of the Medici bitious family (of which he was passionately fond), by expelling views in the Spaniards out of Naples, and giving that crown to his favour of brother Julian. With this view, he had endeavoured to his own bring the kings of England, and France into a confederacy family. against Ferdinand, but in this he failed; and was contented with giving the emperor forty thousand crowns for the investiture of Modena, and Reggio, in his brother's favour; on whom he likewise intended to bestow Parma, Placenza, and

Among the matters that were agitated in the council of Francis I. Lateran; which was still fitting; the usual practice of raif-invades ing money on pretence of a war against the infidels was not Italy. forgotten, and indulgences were decreed for that purpose, with heavy penalties upon all who should obstruct the papal agents in their collections; a matter that afterwards gave rife to the reformation. Leo, perceiving that Francis continued his preparations, thought to ballance the interests of Italy, by entering into a private confederacy with the emperor, and the king of Spain, into which the Swifs were admitted. Francis, on the other hand, having renewed his engagements with the Venetians, and confirmed his peace with England, passed the Alps at the head of near fixty thousand men. The pope, who was apprehensive that Francis would strip him of Parma, and Placenza, was now obliged to take off the mask, and to contribute forty thousand crowns a month for paying the Swiss, to oppose the French. At the same time, he ordered his troops to march towards Piedmont against the invaders. Those precautions prevented Francis from penetrating into Italy by the way of Piedmont; but, by a most amazing march over the Alps, he arrived on the frontiers of the marquifate of Saluce. He was chiefly apprehensive of the Swifs, who upon his arrival there, retired to Novara, in a very mutinous disposition for want of pay; and this encouraged Francis to make them proposals for their joining him. They were inclined to have accepted of them, when they heard that the cardinal of Sion, at the head of twenty thousand of their countrymen, was on his march to join them, and was policited of money for paying all their arrears; upon which, their negociation with the French king was broken off.

Francis was in the flower of his age, sensible, ambitious, Battle of and vigorous. Finding all his efforts to render that formi- Marignan dable body of infantry his friends, he resolved to fight them; and to shew his subjects that they were not invincible. He had concerted measures with Alviano; he had defeated a body of troops under Prospero Colonna, and he marched towards Marignan, to effect a junction with the Venetian army. The pope's spies informed the Swifs of this, and VOL. X.

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formed. Alviano was in the French camp, when intelligence was brought that the Swiss were at hand, and were attacking the post where the artillery was planted, which was defended by German mercenaries. The impetuous onset of the French was too violent even for the Swiss infantry to bear; but the battle continued undetermined for two hours. Francis, and his constable, Bourbon, fought with amazing intrepidity, and when darkness put an end to the dispute, neither fide could boast of the victory. Next day, the the French Swifs were on the point of conquering, when they were attacked in the rear by Alviano, at the head of the Venetians, and forced to retreat; but they did it in good order, nor were they purfued by the French, who claimed the victory, and their descendants reckon it among the most illustrious in their annals; but the truth is, it was in a great measure owing to their German mercenaries, though their merit and that of the Venetians are industriously concealed by French historians. The Swifs, a credulous, but honest people, imputed their defeat to the cardinal of Sion, who was obliged to fly from their camp, and the French and Venetians found no relistance in taking possession of Milan, though the citadel, with that of Cremona, still held out.

A treaty between Leo and king.

Leo X. valued his quiet too much to excite confederacies, as his turbulent predecessors had done, against a victorious enemy. He had not made himself personally obnoxious to the French Francis, and by the duke of Savoy's mediation, a treaty was concluded between them, by which Parma, and Placenza, were ceded by Leo to the French, and the duke of Ferrara was to obtain possession of Modena, and Reggio, while Francis promised to befriend the pope, as to the sovereignty of the Medici family in Florence. Leo afterwards met Francis at Bologna, and they there settled the state and privileges of the Gallican church, each receding from his rigorous claims. They differed, however, about the duke of Urbino, nephew to the late pope, who was patronized by Francis, but whose possessions Leo coveted. It was easy for Francis, confidering the difgust which the Swifs entertained against the imperialists, to make them his friends, which he did, and then returned to France.

The emperor invades Italy.

The part which pope Leo had acted, when he concurred with Francis, was forced and unnatural; and no fooner did the emperor Maximilian enter Italy with a powerful army, than he began to relax in his attachment to Francis, but without breaking with him. Maximilian laid fiege to Milan, which he claimed as lord paramount of Italy; but being destitute of money, his army either forfook him, or entered into the French service, and he was forced to return to Germany. Pope Leo took advantage of his irruption, to annex the dukedom of Urbino to his family; and he entered into a fecret negotiation with Charles, who by the

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death of Ferdinand, was now king of Spain, and afterwards the emperor Charles V. the king of England, and the Swiss; for recovering the Milanese from France. Francis detached Charles from this confederacy, and the Venetians bought Verona from Maximilian for two hundred thousand ducats. Leo's schemes being thus disappointed, he applied himself for some time to the duties of his function, as supreme pontiff; and Italy recovered a tolerable degree of tranquility, till the duke of Urbino, affished by the Swiss, and Germans, recovered his dutchy; but Leo was, at this time, threatened with a formidable conspiracy.

threatened with a formidable conspiracy.

The cardinal of Sienna, and his brother Borghese, think-Conspira-

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ing themselves neglected for the great service they had done cy against to the house of Medici, had formed a conspiracy against the pope. Leo, for which, being discovered, they and their accomplices were put to death. Their executions rendered Leo unpopular, and the prodigious expences of his court drove him to vast necessities; which he supplied by the extent of his prerogative as pope, and by his venal promotions, having in one day created thirty one cardinals, who had purchased their preferment with money. He never lost fight, however, of the possession of Urbino, and that prince being supported only by mercenaries, who accidentally enlisted in his fervice, was obliged to yield his possession to Leo, upon certain conditions. But though the peace of Italy was restored by this compromise, the pope's necessities still con-Bred up as he was to the love of every thing that was magnificent, or elegant, he was infatiable in his purfuits of both; and he conceived the noble defign of completing the cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome, the most superb edifice, perhaps, that the world ever beheld. His favourite, cardinal Pucci, advised him to publish a sale of indulgences (the most scandalous traffic that can be conceived) all over This commerce was carried on with the most barefaced venality. They were farmed out to agents for the benefit of the pope's relations and creatures; and the Dominicans were generally employed. The reader is here to observe, that the polite arts were now making great advances in Europe; printing was established, learning was revived, and a spirit of enquiry, destructive of superstition and ignorance, took place. It is inconceivable, while the public were impressed with such dispositions, that the reformation of religion should be owing to so ignoble a cause as the jealoufy that sprung between the Augustine and Domimean friars, on account of the disposal of those indulgences. The Augustines thought they had an equal right with the Deminicans to the traffic, which was carried on with fuch proffitution, that indulgences were staked at tippling houses for ready money; and there was not a finful gratification In life, which the venders were not impowered to fell by virtue of their commissions from the papal court. R 2 Stulpitz,

Progress of the reformation. See Vol. IX. p. 63.

Stulpitz, the vicar general of the Augustines in Germany, piqued at the preference given to the Dominicans in this infamous commerce, preached against the indulgences, at Wirtembourg, and he was feconded by Martin Luther, whose character we have already given. The dispute grew warm, and one John Tetzel, an ignorant Dominican, published propositions in defence of the papal authority; and as inquifitor he ordered those of Luther to be burnt. It was not long before the controversy became so serious that it engaged the court of Rome itself; but even Luther still venerated the pope's authority fo much, that he disclaimed all intention of withdrawing his obedience from the holy fee; and addressed Leo in the most submissive terms. His holiness was, at this time, so far from being apprehensive of the confequences which enfued, that he was negociating a universal crusade against the Turks; and a diet was held at Aughurg, in Germany for that purpose, at which cardinal Cajetan affisted on the part of the pope. The deliberations of the diet took a turn very different from what his holine's expected, and spiritual, were, at last, incorporated with temporal interests. Luther was cited to appear at Rome, and the duke of Wirtemberg was charged by the pope to deliver him into Cajetan's custody. The state of affairs in Germany at that time, was not favourable for his holiness, whose rapiciousness and venality had disobliged the princes of the empire. Some of them had the courage to patronize Luther, and to protect him from Cajetan; and the breach widened fo much, that Luther, from appealing to the pope, who was his bitter enemy, appealed to a general council, which he held to be an authority superior to any pope. Leo continued to difregard Luther's opposition, but admonished the elector of Saxony to withdraw from him his patronage; but this, far from damping, encreased the number of Luther's followers.

Luther's obstinacy pope.

It was in vain for Leo, by pompous authoritative bulls, and edicts, to endeavour to regain the implicit belief of his against the infallibility in Luther's followers. His cause lost ground every day, and Luther, at last, set his own judgment on a level with that of the pope, by declaring that he would not recant his opinions until he was convinced of their being erroneous. Charles V. was, by this time, elected emperor of Germany, and was king of Naples, in right of his grand-The pope dreaded him, but gave him father, Ferdinand. the investiture of Naples, and kept him firm to his interest. This retarded the progress of the reformation, though it began now to gain footing, not only among the German princes, but in Sweden, Denmark, and some parts of Swifferland. In England, the feeds of it had been fown long before; and tho' the vanity of Henry VIII. had induced him to take Leo's part, yet the bulk of his people were enemies, both to the papal religion and power. Erasmus, a great luminary

luminary of learning, began then to enlighten the world by his writings, which were equally learned and elegant. but the complexion of his religion was doubtful; for while he combated the doctrines of popery, he submitted to its authority; nor did he ever openly espouse the cause of Luther. Leo finding that he was but coldly supported by the emperor, and that the reformation was every day gaining ground, affembled a council at Rome, where he condemned Luther's doctrines, ordered his works to be burnt, and excommunicated him and his followers, unless they recanted their opinions in fixty days. This proceeding cut off all hopes of accommodation between Luther and his holiness; and the latter prevailed with the emperor Charles, to put him to the ban of the empire. Henry VIII. of England, about the same time, dedicated to Leo, a book in vindication of his authority, by which he obtained from him the oftentatious title of "Defender of the faith".

Leo was now greatly bewildered in his politics. He had Ambition an understanding equal to the greatest of his predecessors; of the but he was funk in voluptuous, luxurious, habits, and could pope. not exert himself in profecuting what he knew to be for his advantage. We may add to this, that his thoughts were totally engrossed by the aggrandizement of his own family, and that of the papal power. He was passionately desirous of recovering Ferrara, Parma, Placenza, and of expelling both the French and Germans out of Italy. For Hisdeath, this purpose he formed a confederacy against France, with the emperor, and the king of England; and by the affistance of the Germans he reduced almost all Lombardy, Parma, and Placenza; but died on the second of December 1521, as was thought, by poison. The English cardinal, Wolfey, the Succeeded celebrated favourite of Henry VIII. flattered himself with by Adrian the hopes of succeeding Leo, but he was deceived. The VI. emperor Charles, though almost inaccessible in his own difpolition to personal affections, had a kindness for his preceptor, Adrian, a Fleming by birth; and being well acquainted with his virtues, thought his preferment to the popedom might allay the ferment raised by Luther, which was now an object of his most serious attention. Charles himfelf was fensible of the degeneracy and corruption of the Romish church; but knew not how to side with the reformed, without wounding his imperial authority. He chose a middle way, and managed fo well, that Adrian was chosen pope. Charles, however, pretended the greatest friendship to Wolsey, and promised him his interest upon the next vacancy; which, considering the great age of Adrian, could not, as he faid, be far distant.

Wolfey appeared to be fatisfied, and he suffered his master Who fato enter into a new alliance with Charles against France. yours the Adrian's honesty and uprightness proved the chief obstacle emperor. to his passion for reforming the church. During the short

time of his pontificate, he reconciled himself to the dukes of Ferrara, and Urbino, and he annulled all the bulls that had been published against them by his two immediate predecessors. He openly acknowledged the necessity of a reformation in the church, and Luther, with his followers, laid hold of that acknowledgement, by drawing up a memorial containing a hundred grievances, under which Christians lay, from the power of the popedom. Adrian, far from contradicting their allegations, confirmed them, and manifested, on all occasions, his dislike to Italian prelates and cardinals. Perceiving that the French king was making preparations to recover the Milanese, he published a monitorial bull, addressed to all Christian kings, for a triennial truce; but finding it had no effect, he joined the confederacy that had been formed against France; in which the emperor, and the king of England, and almost all the states of Italy, were His death. parties. The French army was now in the heart of Italy; and Adrian, after gratifying the emperor in all he defired. died, in the fixty fifth year of his age, on the fourteenth of

VII.

September, 1523. He is The popedom, notwithstanding the progress of the re-

succeeded formation, was still a desirable object of ambition, and the by Clement cardinals remained for thirty days in the conclave before they elected a successor to Adrian. The dispute lay between the cardinals Colonna, and Medici, the first being recommended by the French, and the latter by the imperial faction; but the election was carried in favour of Medici, who took the name of Clement VII. He was reputed to be the natural fon of Ginlian de Medici, though he found means to create a belief in the public that he was begotten in lawful wedlock. His character, at the time of his election, was fo fair, that his name contributed greatly to the restoration of tranquility in Italy, and both the emperor, and the French king courted his friendship. He returned civil answers to both, and affected a neutrality, from which, however, he was foon driven by the violence of the German reformers, and the address of the emperor Charles, who found his authority necessary for driving the French out of Charles, by way of diversion, had besieged Marseilles, but Francis obliged him to abandon his enterprize, and shelter himself in Lombardy, which Francis entered with a great army. The event of his expedition, which terminated in his being taken prisoner by the imperialists, has been already recorded in this work. Clement was equally the dupe of his pufilanimity and policy. Being overawed by Francis, he had entered into a treaty with him; but upon the captivity of the French king, he was ftruck with the greatest dismay, and though he had it still in his power, with the affistance of the Venetians, to have balanced the imperial interest in Italy; he concluded a treaty with Charles's viceroy of Naples, by which the latter agreed that

Clement

The French defeated in Italy. ibid. p. 101.

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Clement should dispose of all ecclesiastical livings in the kingdom of Naples; but that the investiture of the Milanese should be given to Francis Sforza; and the Florentines, whom Clement now confidered as his subjects, were to pay Charles two hundred thousand crowns, upon his holiness being put in possession of Reggio. Charles refused to ratify this treaty, and Clement entered into a correspondence with the marquis of Pescara, the imperial general, (to whom he promised the investitute of Naples) the Venetians, and the duke of Milan. The marquis of Pejcara discovered this treaty to the emperor, who upon that feized the Milanese, and Clement was forced to conclude a treaty against the emperor, with the French king, who had now regained his liberty, and the Venetians, whose forces joined those of the pope under the duke of Urbino. As the yoke of the imperialists, and the Spaniards, was excessively detested in Lombardy, nothing but the duke of Urbino's misconduct could have prevented them from being expelled out of that country. He suffered the imperialists to strengthen themselves, and they took the castle of Milan from Sforza, while the Colonna family at Rome, forced the pope to confent to recall his troops from the Milanefe. Clement, on fecond thoughts, refused to ratify The pope that treaty, and the cardinal of Colonna, in the emperor's cited to name, cited him to appear before a council, that was to be appear held at Spire. Clement, to be revenged, depoiled the cardinal before a Colonna, declared his family rebels, and plundered their general The progress of the reformation was now council, pollessions. fuch, that the Lutheran princes in Germany, by the connivance of the emperor, were at liberty to indulge their lubjects in the public profession of their religion; and his imperial majesty insisted upon a general council being immediately called, and at the same time poured troops into

Lombardy, and Naples, out of Spain, and Germany.

In 1527, the feat of war was transferred by the pope, the Progress Venetians, and the French, to Naples, which was governed of the by Lanoy, as viceroy for Charles. The Anjouvine faction French in was not yet wholly extinct, and the pope invited the prince Naples.

was not yet wholly extinct, and the pope invited the prince of Vaudemont into Italy, to head it, as he claimed to be the heir of the house of Anjou. Lanoy took the field against the pope's general, Renza di Ceri, who surprized Aquila, and some neighbouring places; while the French, and Venetian galleys, plundered the Neapolitan coasts. The prince of Vaudemont took the title of king of Naples, was constituted lieutenant general to his holiness, and in the beginning of March seized upon Castello a Maro, Torre del Greco, Sorrento, and Salverno. The duke of Bourbon was then general of the imperialists, and commanded in Lombardy; from whence he led his army towards Rome. This daunted Clement, who was but poorly supported by the French king, and he applied to Lanoy for a truce, which was granted him for eight months, upon his giving orders for evacuating all

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the towns his troops had taken, and paying fixty thousand crowns to the imperialists. The duke of Bourbon alledged. that Laney had no power to agree to fuch a truce, and continued his march towards Rome, where he expected to indemnify his army, most of whom were Lutherans, for their

long want of pay, by the plunder of that capital.

The death of the of Bourbon.

Rome.

It has, (not without reason) been supposed, that the transaction between Lanoy and the pope, had been dictated constable by Bourbon himself, if not by the emperor, that Clement might dismiss his army, and restore the places; both of which he faithfully did, almost to his own ruin. On the other hand, perhaps, if Bourbon had ratified the truce his army would not have flood by him; so violently were the foldiers bent upon the plunder of Rome, before which he arrived on the fifth of May, and demanded a passage for his troops to Naples. That being denied him, next day he army facks prepared to affault the city; but he was shot dead as he was applying a scaling ladder to its walls. His troops, however, stormed it that same day, and amply revenged themfelves for the loss of their general, and their own sufferings. They omitted no species of cruelty or torture, that could force the richest and most illustrious of the Romans to disclose, and deliver up their treasure and effects. The repositories of the dead were rifled. The churches were despoiled of their ornaments, and it was remarked, that the Italians, and Spaniards, though Roman catholics, exceeded, if possible, the German Lutherans, in rapiciousness and cruelty. The plundering continued for fix or feven days, during which time, his holiness, and his chief cardinals, thut themselves up in the castle of St. Angelo, where they entered into a negociation with the prince of Orange, who succeeded the

constable of Bourbon in the command of the imperialists.

We have already mentioned the exquisite distinulation of

Charles on this occasion; but it is certain, that he became the dupe of his own over refined policy, and avarice. The

pope agreed to deliver up to him the castle of St. Angelo, Civetta Vecchia, Citta, Castellana, Parma, Placenza, and Modena, and pay to the imperialists four hundred thousand ducats; the payment of one hundred and fifty thousand of

ibid. p. 104.

> which was to entitle him to his liberty. Even that sum was more than Clement could raise, so greatly were his finances exhausted; and he continued a prisoner for fix months longer, though the plague was then raging at Rome, and even within the walls of the castle, where he was confined. To complete his mortifications, the Florentines drove the princes of his family out of their city; demolished his statutes, with those of Leo X. and refored the antient form of their constitution under a gonfalonier. The dominions of Charles, large as they were, were not so extensive as the scenes of business in which he was now engaged. There was scarcely a power in Europe,

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with whom he was not embroiled, or to whom he did not pay subsidies; and he trusted for the payment of his armies Italy to the plunder of the places they took; but without executing any scheme for recruiting them. Francis pre- A confevalled on Henry VIII. of England, to enter into a new deracy treaty with him and the Venetians, by which they agreed formed to transfer the feat of war from the Netherlands to Italy. against Both princes resolved to pay no regard to the council that the emhad been indicted by the imperial authority; and to take peror. into their own hands the ecclefiaftical government of their respective kingdoms during the pope's captivity. treaty had for its profest object the reduction of the Austrian greatness, in the person of Charles, which now appeared so formidable, that it feemed to abolish the deep rooted animolities that had so long subsisted between the French and the English. It was formed and animated by the refentment of Wolfey, who never could forgive Charles, for having difappointed him of the popedom. A message was sent by ibid. the two monarchs, requiring him to comply with their de- p. 105. mands; and upon his refusal, Lautrec, the French general, marched with an army towards Italy, took Alexandria, with other frontier places, reduced Genoa, and fet out about the

middle of October in his march against Naples.

Lautrec's successes restored his holiness at once to his Henry liberty and his importance; for Charles now courted his VIII. of friendship, especially after Clement had, by the affistance of England cardinal Colonna, escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, to sollicits Orvieto. He, however, agreed to all that the emperor had the pope proposed, and refused to become a party in the triple league for a diagainst Charles; but soon found himself involved in a mat-vorce. ter of the utmost consequence and delicacy. Henry VIII. of England, affected to entertain some scruples with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catharine of Arragon, who was the widow of his eldest brother, Arthur. Those scruples were perhaps, not a little influenced by the charms of Anne Bullen, whom he had made marchioness of Pembroke; and it is certain, that both the French, and Spaniards entertained great doubts as to the legitimacy of the princess Mary, the iffue of that marriage, and, at that time, the heir of Henry's crown. The English divines in general, were disposed to pronounce the marriage unlawful, and Henry for some time had ceased to cohabit with Catharine; but thought that he could not attain to the completion of his wishes without a buil from the pope, declaring his marriage to be unlawful. Clement had smarted so severely under the emperor's indignation, that he professed a neutrality between him and the confederates, and avoided giving any determined answer to Henry's application for a divorce. The friendship of that prince, was, however, a matter of lo great moment, that he feemed disposed to gratify Henry, and even recommended his request to the consideration and

examination of his divines and cardinals; but still without coming to any positive resolution, for fear of exasperating Charles, who was deeply concerned for the interest of his aunt, and her daughter. After various delays, he granted a bull to the cardinals, Wolsey, and Campegio, dissolving the king's marriage; but with an express injunction, that they should not make it public without his leave; so much was he overawed by the emperor.

Lautree forms the fiege of Naples,

but loses

his army

and his

life.

The progress of Lautrec in Italy, awakened Charles at last, to a fense of his danger, and he ordered his army to evacuate the ecclesiastical dominions, and march to the defence of Naples, where Lautree had already made a great progress. His army consisted of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. He had stormed Melphis, and taken Ascoli. Barletta, Venosa, Capua, Nola, Acerna, and Aversa, while the Venetians took possession of other places, and the French fleet insulted the coasts of the kingdom. Lanoy was now dead, and he had been succeeded by don Hugo di Moncado. who threw a strong garrison into Gaeta, and withdrewall his troops from the outports, to the defence of the capital. His measures were attended with success, and though the Neapolitans were in the utmost consternation when the siege of their city was formed, on the last of April, by Lautre, yet they resolved to make a vigorous defence. Moncada was killed in a fea engagement with the French, and the prince of Orange succeeded him as viceroy; but the affairs of the French were ruined by the defection of the famous admiral, Andrew Doria, from that king, and an infection which invaded the French camp, destroyed their army, and cut off their general Lautrec, prince Vandemont, and other officers of diffinction. The marquis of Saluce, who fucceeded to Lautrec's command, found it impracticable to continue the siege, and withdrew his army towards Aversa, but it was now fo weakened, that it was eafily defeated, and the French were once more driven out of that kingdom, and lost most of their conquests in it.

By this time, the emperor had many reasons for making Clement his friend; but the chief was, that he might prevent his proceeding in Henry's divorce. He engaged him privately to promife to oppose it, or to raise such delays and difficulties as might entirely evade it; and to make Clement the more hearty in the cause, he promised to affile him in re-establishing his family in the sovereignty of The chief motive of Clement for closing with the emperor, and accepting of those fair proposals, and others, was the bad success of the French in Italy, and the ruin of their army. He was at this time at Viterbo, and feemed wholly ingrossed in crushing the growth of Lutheranism; but, in reality he was meditating how to impose upon the The emperor promised to oblige the Venetians to restore all their conquests in the ecclesiastical state; upon which, Clement fent orders to Campegio to burn the bull of

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Henry's divorce, and enter into stricter connections than ever both with Charles, and his brother Ferdinand, king of Hungary. June 1529, his holiness agreed to give Charles The pope the investiture of Naples, for the sole tribute of a white gives the horse, and Charles was to make Clement's grand nephew, emperor Mixander de Medici, sovereign of Florence, and to give him the invesmarriage his own natural daughter Margaret, with an titure of annual revenue of twenty thousand ducats. He engaged Naples. farther to restore his holiness to the possession of Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, and Rubiera, and to affift him in reducing the duke of Ferrara, and the Lutherans, to his

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The moderation of Charles did not fuffer him to carry The remeasures to extremity against the French. The quiet of formation Germany was threatened by the Turks, and the Lutherans; gains and upon the diet of Spire revoking the toleration for re- ground. ligion, the reformed princes of the empire protested against that revocation, by which they obtained the name of Pro-This measure had been rendered necessary by the close union that had been formed between Charles and Clement, and terminated in the league of Smalcald, which the protestants afterwards entered into for their own defence. The pope had an interview with Charles at Bologna, where he brought that prince to adopt part of his scheme for a ballance of power in Italy; but could not prevail on the Florentines to restore his family to its power in their state. The duke of Brunswick had now arrived in Lombardy with an army of twelve thousand veteran Germans, and joined the Spanish army, which was commanded by old Antonio de Leva, who, though above seventy years of age, and bowed down with infirmities, was still one of the most accomplished and active generals of his age. Charles had restored the Sforza family to the dutchy of Milan; but the Venetians held Lodi, which was belieged by the duke of Brunswick. The duke of Urbino was then the Venetian general, and he acted with so much address, that he forced the duke to abandon the liege, and to return to Germany. It is thought that Charles himself was not fond of the duke's presence in Italy, and favoured the dispositions of the Venetians in oppoling him, and even cutting off part of his army in his retreat.

Though Francis had lost a fine army in Naples, yet it did The not cure him of his fatal passion for conquering that king- French dom; and he sent the count of St. Paul with a fresh army again ento join the duke of Urbino, in Lombardy. Leva had no ter Italy. more than eight thousand troops in that country; but he took his measures so wisely that he maintained his ground, while the confederates wasted their time in forming the lieges of Vigevano, and Pavia. Andrew Doria took that opportunity for executing the generous defign he had long formed for delivering Genoa, his native city, from the

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tyranny of the French, which he nobly effected, by reprefenting to his countrymen the shame of living undera the foreign yoke. He was favoured by the weakness of the French garrison, which had been thinned by the plague, and took possession of the city without bloodshed, Trivulzi, the French general, who held the citadel, being obliged to captitulate. This glorious proceeding entitled Doria to a magnifice it statue, with a proper inscription, erected at the public expence; and to every other mark of honour and The war was still Affairs of gratitude that his country could bestow. Lombardy, going on in Lombardy, where the confederates had reduced Pavia; but all their schemes were disconcerted by there. volt of Genea. Leva was so hard pressed, that, to maintain his army, he had monopolized all the wheat and flourin the Milanese, and obliged the people to purchase it at the exorbitant price of a crown, each loaf. This faved his

army, but many thousands of the poor died for want. The inhabitants massacred a number of his officers, and would

have put himself to death, had they been supported by the confederates, who facrificed their interest in Milan to the

Magnanimity of the Venetians.

defire they had to recover Genoa. All parties were now heartily tired of the war, and ne-The pope infifted upon the Venetians restoring to him Cervia and Ravenna; while a league actually was concluded at Cambray, between the emperor and the French king; the latter being extremely defirous of recovering his children, who remained still hostages in Spain. This peace cost Francis two millions of crowns; but his Italian allies complained that he had facrificed them to his fears. The moderation of Charles foon restored the public tranquility; and though Leva, who had received a reinforcement from Spain, was victorious in the Milanese, where he had taken the French general, (St. Paul) prisoner, yet he listened to an accommodation with the Venetians, who were at last persuaded, to yield up Cervia and Ravenna, to his holiness, together with Modena, Reggio, and Rubiera. This relaxed the fury of the war both in Lembardy, and in the kingdom of Naples, and Francis, to excuse his defection from his league with the Venetians, acted as mediator for a general peace in Italy. The Venetian fenate proceeded at this juncture with great magnanimity. They were fenfible of the disorder into which the progress of the Turks, and the protestants had thrown the emperor's affairs in Germany; they kept their armies on foot during the negotiation, and they infifted upon the Milanese being immediately restored to the house of Sforza, which was agreed to by the emperor, who was then at Bologna. He had ordered the prince of Orange to march against the Florentines, whom he compelled again to submit to the house of Medici. The tranquility of Italy being thus restored, the Venetians fent a complimentary embasly to the emperorat Bologna;

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y representation, loaded the ambassadors with rich presents, which under a however, deposited in the treasury, as belonging to republic. After this, a mutual openness and hospitaprevailed between the imperialists, and the Venetians; the long continuance of wars had introduced habits of entiousness and profligacy all over Italy.

The pope was now in a fituation far more defireable than The emhad reason to expect, from the pulsilanimity, and the peror meadiness of his conduct. He had not only recovered all crowned whad been wrested of late years from the ecclesiastical ter- at Bobut he had succeeded in his favourite scheme of esta-logna. thing the sovereignty of his family among the Florentines, hough by a most cruel and shameful exertion of force on the part of his holiness. On his birth-day, the twenty unh of February 1530, Charles received from Clement the ingerial crown at Bologna, and then he returned to Germany, allement did to Rome. Notwithstanding the conclusion of helate peace, the affairs of Naples continued still in a dehorable situation. Of late years, its viceroyalty had been mercifed by foreigners, who had most unmercifully oprefled the people of all denominations; and cardinal Coma succeeded the prince of Orange, who was accused of wing encouraged a licentiousness of manners among his Miers, and had actually put some of the chief nobility to tath; and confiscated the estates of others, on pretence their favouring the Anjouvine faction. Colonna was, in manners more rapacious and licentious than the prince; ad notwithstanding the exhausted state of the kingdom, les sent three hundred thousand crowns, which he raised mong the Neapolitans, to the emperor at Bologna, and ollged them to agree to a tax of fix hundred thousand wats upon houses. Upon the death of Colonna, don lun de Toledo was appointed viceroy, and he introduced afevere police into Naples, to remedy the universal degenemy of the inhabitants, who were, under his government, not terribly harrassed by the famous Turkish pirate Barvarolla.

Though the emperor and the pope continued upon a Difagree. hendly footing, yet each of them had exceptions at the ment bemodulet of the other. Charles could not prevail with tween the Climent to act with vigour against the king of England; and pope and ament thought Charles too remiss in his endeavours to ex- the eminpate the Lutheran herefy. Charles had likewise thrown peror. out to his holiness some hints of the necessity of a general

council for the reformation of the church; which were very dagreeable to Clement, and he brought his cardinals to join with him in remonstrating against any such assembly being called; while the interests of religion were endangered by the growing power of the Turks. It is certain, that the Pope grew every day more and more uneary with regard to

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the convoking a general council, and thought it was high time to check the pope. He had foon an opportunity of doing this, by interfering in the disputes that remained between his holiness and the duke of Ferrara. Charles befriend. ed the latter, and adjudged to him the possession of Modena, and Reggio, upon his paying the pope one hundred thoufand ducats. Clement objected to this decision, and the duke accused him of carrying on a secret correspondence with the kings of France and England. The religious distractions of Germany did not fuffer Charles to examine this charge to the bottom; and after agreeing to grant liberty of conscience to the Protestants, who now offered to serve him against the Turks; he returned to Italy, where he was considered by Clement as little better than a Lutheran he. retic. Being attended on his march by cardinal de Medici, the pope's nephew, as cardinal legate, he put his eminence under arrest for having encouraged some very irregular proceedings of the Italians in his army against the Germans; but he foon fet the legate at liberty, and proceeded to his A peace interview with the pope at Bologna. This measure was concluded dictated by their mutual cenveniency. The kings of France and England, continued still united, and the latter was every day making wide strides towards throwing off the papal authority. The emperor having forced the Turks to retire, disengaged himself so far as to overawe Francis in Italy; but Henry actually married Anne Bullen, without waiting for any divorce from Rome; upon which Clement laid him under an interdict. His holiness was then intent upon a marriage between his own niece, and Francis II. fon of the duke of Orleans, and under the pretext of a meeting between him and Francis for fettling an expedition against the Turks; he and his court embarked at Pisa, and failed to Marseilles, where the interview between him and Francis, the French king, took place, and the marriage, which was afterwards fruitful of fo many calamities to the Christian world, was concluded on, and afterwards celebrated; but Francis still endeavoured to affect a reconciliation between his new ally the pope, and his brother of England.

Charles disobliges Clement a fresh.

Clement was the more desirous of this, as he was heartily disgusted with the emperor for the award he had pronounced in favour of the duke of Ferrara, and because the loss of England deprived the holy see of its most beneficial acquisition. He agreed, that if Henry would send a proxy to Rome, he would form the process, and pronounce the sentence of divorce between him and Catharine of Arragon. Henry, on the other hand, at the earnest request of Francis, by his ambassador Bellay, bishop of Paris, offered to refer his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the imperial cardinals were excluded from it. Bellay went to Rome, where

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where he had Henry's consent, which was no more than verbal, before the pope, who insisted upon the king's reducing his agreement to writing; but before that could be done, some violent agents had exasperated the pope, by informing him that Henry had encouraged a libel against his person and authority, and that he had ordered a farce to be acted, in which he was ridiculed, as being the head of the church. This account exasperated Clement so much, that forgetting his usual moderation, he entered the consistory with his furious cardinals, pronounced the marriage between Henry and Catharine to be valid, and that Henry should be excommunicated if he resused to adhere to it.

This disconcerted the scheme that Francis had long labour- The reed for, which was a reconciliation between Henry and his formation holiness; at the time when the public thought that it was on takes the point of taking place. All payments to the apostolic place in chamber were stopt, and the papal authority in England was England. utterly abolished, or gave way to the regal. Campegio, whom Henry had made bishop of Salisbury, was deprived of that see, as was Guinucci, another Italian, of that of Worcester; and Henry pushed his resentment so far, as to cut off the princels Mary, his daughter by Catharine, from her succession to his crown. Clement discovered, when it was too late, that he had mistaken his measures. He had trusted to the oppofition which he hoped would be formed by the people and dergy of England against such an altertaion of religion; but he was deceived, for the English were so unanimous in supporting him in every step he took against the pope, that even the emperor found it was in vain for him to interpose; and this amazing revolution was brought about with little or no bloodshed, if we except the deaths of Sir Thomas Moore, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester.

Among other matters, it had been verbally agreed be-Death of tween Francis and Clement, that the house of Sforza should Clement. be stript of the Milanese, which was to be given to the duke of Orleans. This was among the last acts of Clement's life, excepting his excommunicating Henry VIII. upon his return from Marseilles to Rome. He died on the twenty sist of September 1534, in the sisty seventh year of his age. He had many of his family's good qualities, but he reckoned dissimulation and ambition among the virtues of a prince. His passion for the advancement of the house of Medici hurried him into many measures that were highly disagreeable to the Italians, by whom he died universally detested. He had the glory however, of procuring a royal match for his neice Catherine de Medici, by which he aggrandized that

house beyond that of any Italian prince.

He was succeeded in the pontificate by cardinal Farnese, Succeed-bishop of Ostra, who, under infirm appearances, had art-ed by fully concealed a vigorous constitution both of body and Paul III. mind; and he assumed the name of Paul III. He was by

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GENERAL HISTORY

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birth a Tuscan, which rendered him very agreeable to the Italians, who were now difgusted with the house of Medical He trod in the paths chalked out by his immediate prede-The aggrandizement of his own family was one of his chief objects, and he created two of his nephewe The pope said to be his natural sons, cardinals. He prosecuted Henry VIII. of England, with great, but ineffectual, acrimony, not municates only with his spiritual arms, but by exciting against him the Roman catholic powers in Germany, by feeding them with the hopes of his convoking a general council. He endeavoured, for the same purpose of exterminating the protestants, and recovering England to his allegiance, to effect a reconciliation between Charles and Francis; but the German protestants entered into closer connections than ever with the king of England, and refused to acknowledge any council where the pope should preside, or that was not held in Germany according to the promise that had been made them by his imperial majesty. One of Paul's great purposes was to encourage Francis and Charles to erect themselves into maritime powers, not only that they might be more able to defend the coasts of Italy against the infidels. but that in case a union of the Roman catholic powers could be formed, they might make a descent upon England; a scheme that was afterwards carried into excution by Charles's fon.

Promotes an expedition to Algiers,

He succeeded so far, by granting the tythes of the Gallican church to the French king, and those of the Spanish churches to the emperor, that the latter was able to fit out a very confiderable fleet, to which the pope added thirteen of his own gallies; and this joint force made a descent upon Algiers, where Charles restored the prince of that country to his throne, from which he had been driven, and then returned in great triumph to Naples, where the French King, while Charles was absent on this expedition, made preparations for seizing upon the Milanese, in his family right, as descending from the house of Orleans; Francis Sforza being now dead without heirs. At the head of a powerful army he attacked his uncle, the duke of Savoy, dispossessed him of the greatest part of his dominions, and had entered the Milanese about the time that Charles had returned to Naples; and just as Paul had thundered out the most dreadful excommunications against the king of England, whom he pretended to depose, and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance. Charles came to Rome, where he was entertained by his holiness with the highest splendour, and bitterly inveighed in public against the ungenerous proceeding of Francis, who had, during his absence on an expedition against the insidels, attacked an undisputed fief of the empire, and an ally of the house of Austria. The pope offered to mediate, but declined entering as a principal into either party, and all the emperor could do, was to obtain from him a bull for appointing

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for ting appointing a general council to be held at Mantua, which was to commence the twenty fecond of May 1527.

The pope continued still to consider Henry as his capital He neenemy, and fent the famous cardinal Pole, one of his near gociates relations, to negotiate with the French king for a descent with the upon England. Henry hearing of this, demanded Francis king of to deliver Pole up as his rebel subject, and the pope was Scotland. obliged to recall him, and to appoint him a guard for his protection, as he pretended, against Henry, who had offered a large sum for his head. Paul was more successful with James V. of Scotland, a young prince, who had parts, but was deeply tinged with an affection for popery, and a family attachment to the crown of France. The emperor had endeavoured to gain him over to his interest, by making him the most magnificent and flattering offers, if he would invade the dominions of Henry, who was his uncle; but James continued firm to Francis, and he gave the pope affurances that he would not imitate his uncle in matters of religion; but maintain that of the fee of Rome throughout his dominions. The pope was fatisfied with this answer, which was attended with suitable effects; and the duke of Mantua making some opposition to the council assembling in his dominions, it was ordered to be convened at Vicenza.

The pontificate of Paul III. is diffinguished by the infti- Order of tution of the order of the Jesuits; the founder of which the Jesuits was, Ignatius Loyola, a Bifcayan subaltern officer, who being founded. wounded at the fiege of Pampaluna, made a vow for devoting the remainder of his life to the interest of religion, and going through a course of studies upon his recovery, he met with various adventures; but at last he affociated with himself fix other persons, who took holy vows upon themfelves, and were bound to an implicit obedience to the holy fee. Presenting themselves before Paul, he readily confirmed the rule they had chosen; and from them sprang the order of the fefuits, who were long the support of the

church of Rome, and the pests of human society. Many writers have, with some reason, supposed that State of Paul, in his private capacity, was no enemy to a reforma- the Romifo tion of religion; but that he was opposed in it by the church. venality, ambition, and bigotry of his court and clergy.

The church of Rome, it is true, had never before, nor has the fince, feen fo many great and learned men her rulers, as at that time; but they were subject to human passions and prejudices. Every cardinal and bishop lived like a temporal prince. Their revenues entitled fuch of them as loved the fine arts to indulge their favourite passion, without concerning themselves with the affairs of religion. The few among them who had fentiments of piety, thought that a decent submission to a church, even though not perfectly reformed from error, was preferable to the wild anarchy and infernal VOL. X. **Ipirit**

A GENERAL HISTORY

foirit which actuated many of the German reformers ; neither did they see that the heads of protestantism were agreed among themselves in almost any one point, but their hatred for the church of Rome; and indeed it is certain, that the divisions among the chief reformers were, at this time, deplorable, nor did even Henry himself carry on his reformation with any uniformity of principle. Besides the two denominations of Roman catholic prelates we have already named, there was a third, which was, perhaps, more numerous than both, and who had no idea that they were separated from the laity by any distinction, but that of being enabled more commodiously to gratify their incontinence and intemperance. Many of them were men of quality, and looking upon all advances towards a reformation as fo many attacks upon their rank and properties, they engaged their friends and families to oppose them. Those ecclefiaftics, however, we have mentioned, were generally Italians and Spaniards; but the revival of literature, and the discovery of printing, had now enlightened England, France, Germany, the northern nations, and the Low Countries; and though learning had not made such a progress among them as it had in Italy, yet it had produced many great and eminent men, and few of the inferior clergy were now fo grossly ignorant as not to be sensible that the Romillo church food absolutely in need of a thorough reformation, in points of doctrine and discipline, especially the latter.

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Imperfect fcheme for its reformation.

Such was the state of the Roman catholic religion, when Paul ordered the council of Mantua to be indicted, and at the same time appointed a committee of four cardinals, and three ecclefiaftics, for drawing up a plan of reformation; which they accordingly did, and presented it to his holiness. It contained some severe animadversions upon the pride and ignorance of many of the clergy, and the neglects of education for holy orders. Translations from one benefice to another, refervations, non refidencies, and pluralities were censured. They complained of the vast increase of convents, and proposed that some of them should be abolished, together with the shameful trade of collecting alms for the feveral orders of the monks, and other They proposed that the goods of the clergy, ecclesiastics. on their death, should go to the poor; and that the vast number of beggarly priests, and pompous equipages belonging to whores, who were kept and attended by cardinals, should be reduced. At the same time they observed, that many of the ecclefiaftical abuses were owing to the licentiousness of the press, which they proposed to put under a regulation; and among other books, they thought that the Coloquies of Erasmus, in which the superstition of the church of Rome was freely lashed, ought no longer to be taught in schools or seminaries of learning. The

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The reader, from this small sketch of the reformation An expeproposed by Paul, may easily see that it was very inadequate dition to the pupofes proposed, and did not so much as touch at against the the root of all their grievances complained of by the pro- Turks. testants, the enormous power of the pope and the court of Rome. Henry VIII. who still loved to figure in theological disputes, published a paper, affirming, that the calling a general council did not belong to the pope, but to the temporal princes of christendom. The protestant German princes assembled at Smalcald, still refused to acknowledge any council in Italy, where the pope, who was their greatest enemy, was to be their judge likewise. In this state of un- ibid. certainty, as to religion, the pope had concluded a treaty p. 110. with the emperor, and the Venetians, and each party had furnished its quota in fitting out a strong naval armament for acting against the Turks, under the command of Andrew Doria; but though this fleet affembled at Corfu, Barbaroffa still remained master of the sea.

The emperor had by this time driven Francis out of A truce Piedmont; but had been unsuccessful in an attempt he made between against Marseilles, and had been forced to retire to Italy the emwith the remains of his broken army. This gave the pope peror and an opportunity of effecting a negotiation at Nice, between the French Francis and Charles, at which his holiness was present, and king. he prevailed upon them to agree to a truce for ten years. It was, however, remarkable, that those two sovereigns did not meet in person, but negotiated through the pope, who artfully prevented any interview between them from taking place, that he might the better complete the views he had in favour of his grandfon Octavian Farnese. This prince was the grand-fon of Peter Lewis Farnese, whom his father Paul III. had made at first duke of Castro, and Camerino, and then of Parma and Placenza; and his history is one of those events that are inscrutible through the policy and

deep diffimulation of those concerned.

Though reasons of state and interest suffered Charles to History wink at the aggrandizement of the Farnese family; yet he of the could not, with any fecret complacency, fee two fuch noble Farness feifs of the empire vested in Peter Lewis, as those of Parma, family. and Placenza. Lewis was of a most turbulent and unamiable nature; and it is faid, that he intermedled against the emperor's party in the affairs of Genoa, where he encouraged the Fiesquese, and opposed Andrew Doria. Charles, however, was too profound a politician to refent this conduct in Lewis, farther than to enter complaints against it to his indulgent father, who overlooked them. It was not long before Lewis, by his irregularities, effected his own ruin. He generally resided at Placenza, where he had begun to build a strong citadel, which the nobility of the dutchy difliked, as they thought it to be intended to bridle them, and to secure Lewis, who was of a very amourous disposition,

from his daily invalions of the chastity of their wives and daughters. They communicated their difgust to Gonzaga, duke of Guastalla, who was at that time the emperor's governor in the Milanese; but told him withal, that they had certain intelligence that he intended to furprize and cut off fuch of them as he suspected to be the least disfavourable to his profligacy and tyranny. The complainants were the heads of the families of Palavicini, Landi, Anguisciola, and Confalonieri. It is uncertain what answer Gonzaga gave them; but upon their return to Placen-za they stabbed Lewis dead, threw his body out of the cassle window into a ditch; and Gonzaga, in the emperor's name, took possession of Placenza, and protected the conspirators.

The emperor

Charles, in his letters to Paul upon this event, condoled with him upon the death of his fon, and though his holifeizes Pla. nefs was entirely convinced that he had not been affaffinated without the privacy of Charles, he diffembled likewife; and required the emperor to restore the possession of Placenza to young Octavian, the fon of Lewis. Charles being then greatly chagrined at Paul not complying with his request of calling a general council, raised difficulties to that of his holiness. He observed that Parma, and Placenza, had come into the church's possession only so late as the popedom of Julius II. a warlike prelate, and one who was by no means scrupulous about the justice of his acquisitions. Paul, in answer to this, produced the grant of his grandfather Maximilian, confirming the possession of the territories in question to the church; but it was replied on the part of Charles, that fuch grant was null and void, as being inconsistent with the constitutions of the empire. Thus this affair flood at the time of the negotiation at Nice; but the pope prevailed with Charles to agree to a marriage between Octavian and his natural daughter, Margaret, the widow of Sforza, the last duke of Milan. Paul was so much afraid that Charles would seize upon Parma, as he had done upon Placenza, that he immediately reannexed the possession of it to the church; by which Octavian remained, at this time, without any territory.

Peace with the proteffants.

The interest of religion, and the great concerns of the church, remained still undetermined. Both monarchs left Nice out of humour with Paul; who from a vifible distrust he had of the emperor, now infifted that the general council should be removed to Bologna, instead of Trent, to which it had been fummoned at the request of the emperor, who found his authority in Germany, and that of his house, in a dangerous fituation. His brother Ferdinand, king of Hungary, was unable to make head against the Turks without the affiftance of the protestants, and both he and Charles endeavoured to bring the pope into milder measures. His holiness accordingly sent cardinal Alexander Farnese, as his legate, into Germany, to effect, if possible, a reconciliation,

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which was found to be impracticable. The protestants, ibid. however, appeared very ready to join with the catholics p. 111. in defence of the empire against the Turks; upon which they came to the famous agreement at Francfort, and fifteen months longer indulgence was granted to the avowed profession of protestantism, and some provisions made for the farther continuance of the public tranquility of Germany. We have already feen the event of these commotions. ibid. ibid. The pope accused the two heads of the house of Austria opposed with shewing more favour to the protestants than was con- by the differ with his dignity as head of the church; and Charles pope. not being at that time on good terms with his brother, discovered some backwardness in ratifying the agreement at Franckfort. By the advice of Granvelle, his first minister, he entered into a negotiation with the league at Smalcald, which was traversed by the cardinal legate. But Charles at last found himself obliged to order a diet to be held at Haguenau, and in the year 1541, the Interim, was published by Charles, which gave liberty to both religions, till measures

During those disputes in Germany, the pope was employ- The couned in reducing the Perugians, who had been discontented cil of at some late imposts. Beginning to find the utility of the Trent inorder of the Jesuits, he confirmed and augmented their disted. privileges, and reduced the number of idle monks, and

clergy, that swarmed at Rome. There is great reason for believing, that, during the course of the disputations upon religion, which were then held between the heads of the two parties in Germany; the emperor was become, more than ever, a convert to the protestants, so poorly had Contarini, the legate, and Eckius, defended the cause of popery. emperor foon after publishing the Interim returned to Italy, where he found Paul's court divided, with regard to the conduct of Contarini, who was accused by some warm Roman catholics of having betrayed their cause. The emperor took his part, and foon after fet out on a fecond expedition to Africa, which did no service to his judgment; and he returned unfortunate to Spain, his fine fleet and army being ruined by tempelts and other caules. Upon his return, he prevailed with the pope to appoint the council to meet at Trent, where he ordered three cardinals to prelide as his legates a latere; but in the mean while he eltablished a college of inquisition at Rome.

The pope, old as he was, would fuffer neither Italy nor The duke Europe to taste repose, nor could he enjoy any himself. of Savey The progress of the reformation, the dread of the approach-attacked ing council, which was to be held in the Austrian domi-by the nions; the new connections that had been formed between French, the emperor and the king of England, but above all, the state of the Parmesan, and the Placentine, disturbed his thoughts so much, that he courted and obtained another

interview

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interview with the emperor near Placenza. Charles was deaf to all his proposals, for he refused either to restore Placenza, or to fell the pope the Milanese, the investiture of which he intended to purchase for Octavian. He was equally unfuccessful in his endeavours to restore a good understanding between Charles and the French king; and returning to Bologna, without gaining any one point, he fulpended the meeting of the council of Trent. About this time, the French king pretending it was lawful for him to call in dogs, for his defence, if he was attacked by wolves, had joined his fleet with that of the Turks, and they had attacked Nice; but the duke of Savoy, to whom it belonged, received such seasonable supplies from the pope, that the combined fleets were defeated, and forced to retire into A peace foon after took place between Charles and Francis; and though it had been transacted without Paul's mediation, he expressed vast joy upon its being concluded. He found now, that he had loft great part of his authority, even with the princes of his own communion; for both Charles, and Francis, began, without consulting him, to regulate religious affairs and doctrines in their own dominions; and the emperor took upon him to order every thing relating to the convocation of the council at Trent. He even caused religious points to be settled in the diets of the empire. The protestants still refused to acknowledge the validity of the council; and when the emperor infifted upon their being subject to it, they threatened to withdraw their contingencies against the Turks.

The council at
Trent
opened.

It was the fifteenth of December, 1545, when the celebrated council of Trent was opened with great folemnity. Charles pretended that the pope ought not to have opened the council without his permission; but he thought fit to diffemble, and fent ambaffadors to all the Christian powers, inviting them to be present; but without taking any notice of the pope's authority. This was so palpable an affront to Paul, that he repented of having proceeded fo far, and would have retracted all that had past, if he could have done it with the least shew of decency, even towards the princes of his own religion. We have already, in the history of Germany, touched upon the various events which influenced the conduct of Charles on this occasion. The truth is, from being a dispute between two religions, the quarrel between the emperor and the protestants turned entirely upon temporal points, the former being refolved to support the power of the house of Austria, and the latter to reduce it. Those growing differences, however, operated towards a re-union between the pope and the emperor. The latter affected to lay religious matters out of the question, and to proceed against the protestants only as traitors and rebels. Paul offered to deposite two hundred thousand crowns in the hands of Charles, for carrying on ras

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the war against them, and to assist him with twelve thoufand horse, and five hundred foot, besides granting him vast revenues out of the ecclesiastical benefices of Spain. This bargain being struck, the papal army began its march to staly, under the command of Octavian, and cardinal Farnese, who discovered a most savage thirst after the blood of the German protestants.

The history of the council of Trent, which continued to Its frivo-

fit, belongs to that of the church, nor, indeed, does it lous proafford much entertainment to readers of any class in this ceedings. age. The whole of it was a juggle between the pope and his legates. On its first sitting, the members were all Italians, excepting two French, five Spanish, and one Illyrican bilhop. Their numbers were foon increased by some additional bishops, who reforted to it for the conveniency of sublitting upon the charity of the pope, who allowed them forty ducats a year. The time of the affembly was mostly confumed in faying mastes, and performing other religious services; which variations of business, gave the legates, who were John Maria de Monte, cardinal bishop of Palestina; Marcellus Cervinus, cardinal priest of the holy cross; and Reginald Pole, cardinal archdeacon of St. Mary in Colmedin, leifure to carry on a correspondence with his holiness, from whom they received all their instructions how to proceed. On the eighth of April no more than five cardinals, fix archbishops, (of whom some were nominal) thirty bilhops, three abbots, and five generals of monkish orders, composed the council, whose proceedings were of the most frivolous kind; and so far from tending to the reformation of the abuses complained of, they established the authority of traditions, vefted the right of interpreting the facred writings in the church, a vague inexplicable term, and imposed prohibitions upon the press. The emperor difliked their proceedings, and as he wanted to difunite the protestants among themselves, he admonished the fathers not to disoblige such of them as were inclined to join him; not to be too hasty in determining points of faith; but to proceed upon those of reformation, the necessity of which, was allowed of on all hands, by Roman catholics, as well as protestants. His remonstrances were difregarded by the pope, who was resolved to avail himself of the name of a general council, to lay down such rules of faith as were most conformable to the principles and interest of the see of Rome.

By this time, the troops of the pope under Farnese, had The counjoined those of the emperor, whose arms proved superior to cil adthose of the protestants; but the pope accused him of sa-journed
vouring heresy, by the advantageous terms he granted them, ed to Boand not only recalled his troops, but discontinued his sub-logna.
sidy; and a contagious distemper breaking out at Trent, the
selsions of the council were provisionally adjourned to Bo-

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logna. This adjournment, however, was opposed by the emperor, who contended, that his confent was necessary to render it valid. We shall now, for a short interval, leave the pope amusing all christendom with the trisling ridiculous decrees of his council, to attend the history of the other parts of Italy.

History of Naples.

Don Pedro de Toledo, the viceroy of Naples, found that city, when he entered on the exercise of his government, to be no better than a nest of thieves and murderers. Robberies and affaffinations happened every night in the streets; and the criminals were fure of sheltering themfelves in the houses of the nobles, which were held as fanctuaries for the most notorious offenders. Toledo gave a full scope to justice, for their punishment or reformation. He ordered fome of the most illustrious of the criminals to be executed, and he published severe edicts, to which capital penalties were annexed, for reforming the police of that city, without any exception of persons; which had fo good an effect, that the Neapolitans presented to the emperor one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, to enable him to defend their coasts against the Turks. This salutary severity of Pedro, created him a number of enemies, and those of the first rank. The marquis del Vasto, and the prince of Salerno, were at their head; and upon the return of Charles from his African expedition, they applied to him for the removal of Toledo from their government. They were seconded by a majority of the nobles, who in a parliament voted to Charles a subsidy far above their ability to raise. Charles knew the meaning of their liberality, and it ferved only to encrease his esteem for the marquis, to whom, on his leaving Naples, he gave more enlarged

Good Toledo.

powers than ever. Toledo made use of them, by providing conduct of for the health, the strength, the conveniency, and magniits viceroy ficence of the city, and provinces. He drained unwholesome lakes; he fortified Naples, and stored it with salutary fountains; he established regulations to prevent the scarcity of corn, and he encreased the force of the marine, so as to be able to face the small Turkish squadrons that insulted the coasts. Having understood that the Turks were preparing for a descent; he called a meeting of the states, or, as it is termed, a parliament, and after rendering them fenfible of their danger, he was enabled to raife thirty thousand men, which defeated all the attempts of Barbarossa. After this, he took such precautions in fortifying the sea coasts, that the kingdom of Naples remained for seven years secure against the invalions of the barbarians. On the expiration of that term, Barbarossa made a descent upon the islands of Ischia, and Procida, and cannonaded Puzzoli; but by the excellent dispositions made by the viceroy he was defeated in his farther attempts. One of the most memorable acts, however, of Toledo's government, was his establishing the bank, callMonte della Pieta, which still subsists, in order to rescue the people from the necessity of complying with the exorbitant demands of the Jews, who were then very numerous in Naples; but after the erection of the bank, they were

driven from thence by the viceroy.

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Toledo, with all his excellent qualities as a governor, was Who perfrongly tinctured with the Spanish failing, that of bigotry fecutes the to the Roman catholic faith. The inquisition had for many protestants years been established in Naples, through the submission of the Anjouvine kings to the papal authority; and it was fo great, that the inquisitors found means to establish in Naples an authority that was actually independent of the regal. This was fo disagreeable to the people, who had heard of their barbarous proceedings in Spain, and had smarted under them in Italy, that after the Anjouvine race was expelled, the Spanish viceroys had been obliged to drive those tyrants out of the kingdom, and to engage that they should never This stipulation was of no longer continuance, than till the popes could recover their authority in Naples; for then the inquisitors recovered theirs, but without having any other objects to exercise it on, than the commission, or omission, of the lowest superstitions among the people. By degrees they extended their jurisdiction; and at last their tyranny became so intolerable, that Ferdinand of Spain was obliged to consent to their final expulsion with ignominy. The reformation introduced by Luther, had, about the time we treat of, made a progress in Naples that alarmed equally the pope, and the emperor, who commanded the people, on pain of death, to hold no correfpondence with the Lutheran heretics. Bernard Ochino, was then the most celebrated preacher in Italy, and had been called to Naples to preach before the emperor. Ochino was, in his heart, a Lutheran, and the vast credit he acquired by his learning and eloquence, both with Charles and the public, gave him many opportunities of privately differninating his favourite doctrines, which gained fuch root, that the Neapolitan Lutherans began now to affociate themselves in religious affemblies, and introduced, to the public there, the works of the reformers.

Toledo exerted himself in condemning those books to the and introflames, and in punishing all who either read them or main-duces the
tained the doctrines they contained. Not contented with inquisithis, he published edicts, which in fact, abolished all infortion,
mation from the press with regard to religious points, and he
prohibited the future meetings of certain noble Neapolitans,
who had affociated themselves for the advancement of true
philosophy and learning. Finding all his severity ineffectual, he desired the pope to send him an inquisitor, properly qualified for suppressing and punishing heretics; and
such a person accordingly arrived at Naples, where he was
soon armed with the imperial, as he had been before with

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GENERAL HISTORY

which is opposed by the people.

the papal, authority. This was no fooner publicly known, than the people of all ranks complained to the viceroy, who found them fo much resolved to get rid of their new grievance, that he immediately put a stop to the inquistion; but in two months time the reformation made fuch a progress among the Neapolitans, that he re-established it. The people now, instead of remonstrating, ran to arms. tore down the viceroy's edicts, and chose a magistracy of their own. Toledo, who was then at Puzzuoli, immediately repaired to Naples with a body of troops, and a civil war commenced, even in the streets of the capital. Both parties applied to the emperor, but Toledo being reinforced with five thousand Florentine infantry, in the numerous skirmishes that happened, generally defeated the undisciplined citizens, and peremptory orders arriving from the emperor that they should obey the viceroy, they laid down their arms. One person out of thirty fix who were excepted out of the general pardon was executed; and though a muld of one hundred thousand crowns was imposed on the city. it never was exacted.

War with Henry II. and the Turks.

Though the viceroy prevailed over the people in this contest, yet he afterwards acted with great moderation, and of France, proceeded against heretics not by inquisitors, but according to the ecclefiaffical canons. Henry II. was then king of France, to which kingdom the prince of Salerno, whole enmity against Toledo, still continued, sled. Perceiving Henry to be infected with his family ambition of gaining a footing in Italy, he persuaded him to attempt the conquest of Naples, and Henry was mean enough to follicit the affiftance of Solyman, the Turkish emperor, for that purpose. Solyman ordered a fleet of one hundred and fifty gallies to ravage the Neapolitan coasts, which it accordingly did, and then appeared before the capital itself. In the mean while, the French fleet was at sea, under the prince of Salerno, who was unable to fulfil Henry's engagement to join that of the Turks, as foon as the latter should appear upon the coast. Toledo assembled the troops and militia of the kingdom, and fent for the Genoese gallies under Doria, which came to his assistance, and destroyed some of the Turkish The superiority of the infidels, however, was too great for the viceroy to withstand, and it is said, that he employed one of the Neapolitan exiles to bribe the Turkish admiral with two hundred thousand crowns, upon which he carried his fleet back to Constantinople, before the French fleet could arrive to join them.

This danger being over, Toledo proceeded with feverity, if not cruelty, against all whom he suspected to hold a correspondence with the prince of Salerno. The Siennese were at this time subject to the emperor; but the oppressions of his governors were fuch, that they drove his troops out of their

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tity, and admitted a French garrison. Toledo, by order of Death of the emperor, fent twelve thousand troops under his son, Toledo. don Garcia, to reduce the Siennese, and was preparing to follow them in person, when he died at Florence. He was succeeded as viceroy of Naples, by cardinal Pacecco, a noble spaniard, who exercised his viceroyalty with a moderation and humanity, that endeared him to the Neapolitans. refigned his functions, when the emperor Charles V. ceded the crown of Naples to his fon don Philip; who appointed

the marquis of Pescara to be his viceroy.

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Cardinal Pacecco had recommended himself to the emperor Differby his heading the opposition against the pope, to the re- ences bemoval of the council from Trent, to Bologna. Charles, foon tween the after, entirely defeated the protestants at Muhlberg; but councils made a more moderate use of his victory, (though he treat- of Trent ed them with greater severity) than the pope expected or and Bodefired. His holiness sent cardinal Sfondrato to congratu-logna. late him upon his victory; but could not prevail upon him to consent to remove the council of Trent to Bologna, where the appearance of the prelates was as yet very inconfiderable. Charles was now fo much mafter of Germany, that the protestant princes offered to acknowledge the authority of the council of Trent upon certain restrictions, which Charles construed into an absolute submission, and made use of it as an argument to prevail upon the pope to order the fathers of Bologna to return to Trent. Paul durft not difoblige him; but managed so, that the refusal of the emperor's request seemed to come from the fathers themselves, while he himself being now quite tired of the emperor's tyranny, (as he called it) most earnestly sollicited an alliance with Henry II. of France, and cited the fathers, both at Trent and Bologna, to appear before a committee of his cardinals to justify their respective proceedings; affirming, that he himself was the sole judge in what place the council ought to be held. The Trentine fathers being countenanced by the emperor, refused to obey the citation. Those at Boligna appeared at Rome; but no decision was given, and the Bolognese council soon dwindled to nothing; nor would his holiness enforce his censures against the fathers at Trent. Charles had, by this time, feen how eafily Henry VIII. had, by his temporal authority, shaken off that of the pope in his dominions, (but not without retaining some errors of popery,) and refolved to imitate that prince's example, by enforcing the observation of the interim, the ground work of which was popery; but admitted of the marriage of priests, and the administration of the communion under both kinds. This mixture was disagreeable equally to proteltants as papists; and Charles endeavoured to put it in force by military execution.

The differences between the emperor and the pope induced the latter to make some compliances, without con-

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fulting the emperor, to foften the protestants; but Charles prohibited the nuncios he fent into Germany for that purpose to execute their commissions. The pope, at this time, received a fensible, and indeed a fatal, mortification, from his grandson Octavian Farnese, who opposed the re-annexation of the dukedom of Parma, and refused to accept of any equivalent for it from his grandfather. Not being able to prevail with his holiness to restore it, he left Rome with an intention to seize it; but failing in the attempt, he wrote a letter to his brother cardinal Farnese, threatening to throw himself into the hands of the imperialists, and to treat with Death of Gonzaga. This letter being communicated to the pope, the pope. who was now full of infirmities, gave him fuch uneafiness that it finished his life on the tenth of November, 1540. Notwithstanding the attrocious charges brought against his memory for ignorance, wickedness, and even forcery, he certainly had the address to maintain the rights of the holy fee; which, under a less resolute head of the church, mult have been swallowed up by the imperial power.

Who is by Julius III.

Cardinal Farnese had a powerful party in the sacred succeeded college; and the venerable character of the English cardinal. Pole, would have raised him to the popedom, had he not at night declined to accept it till the next day; but in the mean time, the intrigues of the conclave fet him aside, and cardinal Farnese siding with the imperialists, cardinal de Monte, who had been the first legate at the council of Trent, was chosen pope; after passing a private promise to cardinal Farnese, that Parma should be dismembered from the church's patrimony, and given to his brother. The new pope took the name of Julius III. and the jubilee year being then arrived, he began his pontificate with the celebration of that festivity. He fulfilled his promise of giving the dutchy of Parma to Octavian Farnese; he reinstated the Colonna family in their possessions, and he created, at one time, twenty cardinals, one of whom was a mean Placentine boy, no more than thirteen years of age. His zeal led him into all the feverities of his predecessors against the heretics; but he consented to restore the council to Trent, with the approbation of the French king. The emperor had done all he could, both by force and persuation, to stifle the discontents of the protestants, who still held out against the council; but upon its being reaffembled, they broke out fo violently, that Charles was obliged to render himself anfwerable for the moderation of the pope, in matters ecclefiaftical as well as civil.

His doubtful conduct.

Though Octavian Farnese had not only received possession of Parma from the pope, but a pension of two thousand crowns a month; he was diffatished with Placenza being still in the hands of the emperor. He applied to Julius to prevail on Charles to restore it, and received a favourable answer; Charles

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onliwer; but his follicitations were fo cold, that Ostavian resolved to become his own agent; and he repaired to the emperor, who was then holding a diet at Augsbourg, with a most magnificent equipage. Charles received him with vast marks of esteem and affection, but gave him only fair words and promises in answer to his request; so that Octavian returned greatly disappointed to Italy. He renewed his applications to the pope, who had neither the power nor the inclination to serve him, and his brother, cardinal Farnese, was so warm in the cause, that he pressed Julius to make use of ecclesiastical censures against Charles, if he did not comply. Octavian finding it to be in vain, entered into a correspondence with Horace, his natural brother, who was then in the service, and a favourite, of the French king, and a man of merit. Horace, at Octavian's defire, engaged Henry II. who was fond of every opportunity to check the imperial power, to affift him to recover Placenza. This could not be done unless Octavian agreed, which he

actually did, to admit a French garrison into Parma.

The news of this alarmed the emperor, and he accused Italy the pope, in very severe terms, in acting in concert with again in-the French king and Octavian. Julius easily satisfied him of vaded the falshood of that charge, and they united together to by the oppose the fresh preparations made by Henry to invade French Italy, by the affistance of his new ally. Julius cited Octavian to appear before him at Rome, and upon his neglecting to obey, he was excommunicated, with all his aiders and abetters, in which number the French king himself was understood to be comprehended, if he did not instantly recall his troops from Italy. But by this time, they had taken quarters in the ecclefiastical state, and Julius flew, for protection, to Charles, who ordered his general, Gonzaga, to besiege Parma. A French army under Brissac, Strozzi, and on ac-Horace Farnese, who had married Henry's natural daughter, count of was then advanced to Piedmont, where his march was stopt by the duke of Savoy, to whose affistance Gonzaga was obliged to draw off part of the troops he had employed in the fiege of Parma. Octavian growing tired, and apprehensive of his French allies, entered into a correspondence with the pope, who offered him a pension of fifteen thouland crowns a year, and the dutchy of Camarino, if he would refign his right to Parma. Julius, at the same time, fecretly entered into another negotiation with Henry, whom he endeavoured to withdraw from his connections with Farnese. He was so far from succeeding, that the French troops having forced their way into Italy, defolated all the ecclesiastical state; and upon the death of Horace Farnese, who was killed by the fall of a tower, Octavian resolved to quit his French alliance, and threw himself upon the protection of the emperor, to whom he submitted all

his claims upon Placenza; but he died without obtaining his fuit.

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The council fufpended.

Upon the breaking out of hostilities between the French king and the emperor, the former threatened to withdraw his prelates from the council of Trent, and to disclaim its authority. This did not prevent the proceedings of the fathers, which were, all of them, in favour of the Roman catholic religion; but, at the emperor's defire, they granted a safe conduct for the protestant deputies to repair to Trent. In the year 1552, the pope concluded an accommodation with the French king; but the protestants, who had been admitted to the council of Trent, demanded that the papal legates should not preside in it, but that the points they contended for should be referred to an impartial arbitration. They infifted, at the same time, that the fathers of the council should suffer their confession to be publicly read in their affembly; and receiving no fatisfaction, they printed and published it. The war which then recommenced in Germany between the emperor and the protestants, under prince Maurice of Saxony, who was advancing to Trent, drove many of the fathers from thence to Verona, and the council was suspended for two years. The pacification of Passau, which ensued, first established the profession of the protestant religion in Germany, on a footing that rendered it independent of the emperor, or the Roman catholic powers.

Queen Mary of England restores popery there.

It received, however, a terrible shock at this time, by the accession of Mary, daughter to Henry VIII. to the crown of England; and a treaty of marriage that was proposed between her and the king of Naples, to whom Charles likewise offered to relign the crown of Spain. Julius dispatched cardinal Pole, as his legate, to complete the reconciliation between the holy fee and England; but Charles had formed many unforeseen objections to this commission. He suspected there might be some secret clause in Pole's instructions that might fet aside the proposed marriage, and that Mary might prefer the cardinal to the king as her husband. On pretence of mitigating the terms that were to be proposed to be English parliament, Charles even ordered Pole to be arrested, on his journey, and detained him till the queen confented to the match, and the parliament approved of it; and foon after it was consummated. Julius having received the welcome news of this event, fent a new commission to Pole, the terms of which were dictated by the emperor; and he gave him leave, at the same time, at the request of Charles, to have an interview with the French king, for refloring the public tranquility. This negociation proved ineffectual, but Julius had the glory of feeing the English ambassadors sent to Rome to complete the reconciliation of their nation with that fee in the most ample manner. Julius sent cardinal Moron to Augsbourg, to perfuade aining

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nersuade the protestant princes assembled there, to follow the example of England, by being reconciled to the church; but, in the mean time, he died on the twenty third of March

His fuccessor, Marcellus II. during the short time of his Marcelpontificate, expressed so earnest a defire for reforming the lus II. and church, that he was carried off by poison. A conclave be- Paul IV. ing held for a new election, it fell upon cardinal Caraffa, popes sucwho took the name of Paul IV. He had the character of cessively. being a virtuous and learned prelate; but he had fearcely mounted the papal throne, when he declared himfelf of the French party, and gave specimens of his severe disposition by encouraging the inquifition, which he had always favoured. Though magnificent and expensive in his own person, he reformed the luxuries and excesses of his clergy; but gained the affections of the Romans so entirely, that an hundred of their nobles formed themselves into a life-guard for his person. His taste for grandeur and majesty was gratified, to the full, by the reception he gave to the English ambaffadors, who had been fent to his predecessor, and who profrated themselves at his feet in the consistory, befeeching him to restore their country to the bosom of the church. Though he granted their request, he insisted upon a restitution of all that had been taken from the church during the two last reigns, and the re-establishment of the payment of Peter's pence in England. The ambassadors, who were the bishop of Ely and the lord-viscount Montague, not being instructed to treat of this matter, returned home; but his holines insisted with so much vigour upon his demand, that it was thought Mary would have been weak enough to grant it, had it not been opposed by the emperor Charles, as tending to raise a rebellion in England.

Paul had formerly received feveral affronts, and some in- Insolence juries, from the Germans; and, being now strengthened by of Paul, the accession of the holy see to his authority, he ventured to threaten Ferdinand, king of the Romans, with his indignation, if he should confirm the treaty of Paffau with the pro-The influence of Philip, queen Mary's husband, prevented his menaces from taking place; and this encreased his hatred to the house of Austria. The first measure he pursued against it, was his entering into a confederacy with the French king for stripping Philip of the kingdom of Naples. He then created one of his nephews duke of Paliano, and made him general of the troops of the church. He raised another to be a cardinal, and he gave the marquifate of Montebello to a third. In all his conduct, he acted in a manner that, in another man, would have been accounted frenzy;

but such were the dispositions of the Christian powers at this who viojuncture, that in him it appeared to be firmness. His hatred lently opfor the house of Austria led him to court the friendship of the poses the French king, who was unable to affift him, while the Spa- house of mards Austria.

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niards were in possession of Naples and the Milanese, truce that, about this time, took place between the emperor and Henry II. gave him great disquiet; and he sent his nephew, the cardinal, to Henry; who, being backed by the follicitations of the powerful house of Lorrain, persuaded him to break the truce; for which he received absolution from the legate. Cardinal Pachecco, the viceroy of Naples, was, by Philip, appointed to refide at Rome, to watch the motions of his holiness; and the famous duke of Alva, governor of the Milanese, was made viceroy of Naples. Paul pretending that the Spaniards had formed a conspiracy against his person, imprisoned Philip's ambassador at Rome; and the preparations made in France for the invasion of Italy, leaves us in doubt as to the nature of the engagements between Paul and Henry II.

His firm. dangers.

Paul, having fortified Rome, the ecclefiaftical state, and Paliano, upon the confines of Naples, was waiting for his amidst his French allies; when the duke of Alva, in September, 1556, after all his proposals of accommodation had been rejected by Paul, attacked and subdued the dominions of the church to the very gates of Rome; which he might have entered likewise had he not been over-awed by the fanctity of Paul's character, which induced him to conclude a truce for forty The duke then returned to Naples, where he made preparations for opposing the French army, which was then

in Piedmont, under the duke of Guise.

Paul's danger, and his disappointment of being supported by the French, did not abate the rigour with which he treated all the friends of the house of Austria at Rome. Ferdinand, the emperor, follicited him to confirm his election, he never could be brought to acknowledge him in that character. He deprived the Colonna family of their estates and dignities, and he imprisoned ail the cardinals whom he knew or suspected to be in the Spanish or Austrian interest. To maintain the war against the duke of Alva, he had rendered his subjects miserable by his taxes and oppressions; and, amidst all the terrors of surrounding hostile armies, he founded the order of the Theatins; enforced the penalties of the inquisition against heretics; formed the famous Index Expurgatorius, by which the keeping or reading prohibited books was rendered highly penal; and he put the laws rigoroufly in execution against ecclesiastics who were guilty of luxury, fimony, or other vices; and, in the mean while, his own life was irreproachably blameless.

His virtues

gain him friends.

Such were the virtues that inspired even the enemies of this obstinate pontiff with a veneration for his person, which was encreased by the public justice he executed upon his own unworthy nephews, who had most scandalously abused his indulgence. He stripped, in a full confistory, the cardinal of all his preferments, and banished him to Patricia. He took from the duke of Palliano all his commands, both by land and sea; and he confined the marquis of Montebello to his own castle. The instruments of their oppressions were punished; and Paul was heard to declare, that he never had

been pope before.

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VOL. X.

The victory of St. Quintin, gained by Philip over the He is French, by the affistance of the English, obliged the duke of forced to Guife, who had left the Milanese that he might carry the war make into Naples, to return to France; by which Paul was once peace with more left defenceless, and deflitute of support against the the Stapowerful enemies he had raised; and he was then obliged to niards. conclude a peace with the Spaniards, who had defeated his troops, and retaken all the places that had been feized by the French in Naples. The terms of this accommodation, which was concluded on the thirteenth of September, 1557, were, That Paul should renounce his alliance with the French; that he should be put in possession of all the places the Spaniards had taken from the holy see, but that their fortifications should be demolished; that a pardon should be passed on both fides to all offenders, the Collonnas excepted, whom Paul never could be brought to forgive; and, that the duke of Alva should repair to Rome, where he was to ask pardon

for all he had done against his holiness.

Philip had such a veneration for the pontiff, that he made public rejoicings for this peace, as if he had gained a victory; and Paul proceeded, as before, in his fevere and unrelenting exercise of government. He imprisoned cardinal Moron, whom he suspected of favouring heretics; and he He recalls took from cardinal Pole, whom he had formerly branded Pole from with herefy, his legantine power in England, and recalled England. him to Italy. As Pole was inoffensive, and even virtuous, in his manners, and had been an eminent fufferer for his attachment to the see of Rome, to which he had likewise done the most important services, we are to ascribe the rigorous ingratitude of his holiness, next to his own fiery implacable disposition, to Pole being the favourite of Philip's wife, and not sufficiently active in spreading the slames of religious persecution in England. Paul, however, before his death, Queen had the fensible mortification of seeing Elizabeth, whose sen- Elizabeth timents were known to be in favour of the reformation, succeeds mount that throne. Her peaceable accession astonished and to that disconcerted all the powers upon the continent. Even the crown. protestants had but feint hopes of her declaring in their favour; and the Roman catholics, with Paul at their head, were in hopes of gaining her by formally acknowledging the legitimacy of her birth. When Elizabeth appeared to be unmoved, either by hopes or fears, upon that head, Paul publicly declared, that, without his approbation, the could not succeed to the crown of England; but that declaration only rivetted the affections of her subjects the more strongly to her title and person.

Paul,

Paul, about this time, was eighty-four years of age; and, perceiving his end drawing near; he affembled the confistory in his own apartment, and recommended the continuance of the inquisition to their care. This being published, and that he was then probably lying on his death. bed, the Romans, in an infurrection, demolished the build. ings of the inquisition, together with the pope's statues and arms; and would have burned down the convent of the Dominicans, had not the guards interposed. Paul died on the fixteenth of August; but so much hated by the Romans, that they did whatever was in their power to obliterate the memory of the Caraffa family during the vacancy of the popedom, which lasted above four months.

Pius IV. pope.

Paul IV. was succeeded by the cardinal of Sancta Prisca, a Milanese, who took the name of Pius IV. He began his pontificate by pardoning the excesses that had been committed during the late vacancy; and by bringing the nephews. agents, and creatures of the late pope, to exemplary pu-nishment. The nephews, and some of their kindred, were imprisoned and prosecuted; and several prelates of their party were deprived of their bishoprics. Those proceedings were, in general, thought to be rather popular than equitable; but his holiness soon gave a fignal proof that he was far from difliking nepotism, by the honours and preferments he bestowed upon his own family; one of whom, Charles Boromeo, afterwards fo celebrated for his piety and virtues, he created a cardinal, though he was but twenty-two years of age. Pius, about the same time, set cardinal Moron at liberty, and took him into his most intimate friendship.

Tho' Pius, in some cases, checked the exorbitant power of the inquisition, yet he encouraged and set on foot the persecutions of the reformed in Piedmont and Savoy; and, by his rigorous adherence to his pontifical prerogative, he endangered the entire defection of the kingdom of France from the see of Rome. The French Roman catholic clergy, in general, were for a reformation of their church by a national council, which should proceed without the authority of the pope; and in this they were so warmly seconded by the laity, that his holiness revived the council of Trent, as being the only means of preserving his authority over the Gallican church, notwithstanding all the opposition made to fo difagreeable a measure by the imperial and French courts.

He continues the Trent,

Pius sent nuncios to invite all the princes of christendom to this continuation, as he called it, of the council of Trent; council of but, in general, they were coldly received; and the German princes returned his letters unopened, while the other protestant powers refused to admit the nuncios into their dominions. Even the Roman catholic princes objected to reaffembling of the council, as it was to be a continuation of the former, which was so disagreeable to the bulk of their

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The protestant interest became so prevalent in France, during the minority of Charles IX. that the queenregent, Catharine of Medicis, demanded from the pope a licence for the administration of the communion under both kinds; but the pope, who knew that she made that request only from compulsion, refused it with great firmness, tho' the huguenots had been already indulged with the free exercife of their religion, and had been suffered to defend it in several disputations held in presence of the court; which, as usual in such cases, ended only in widening the breach. It was in vain for Pius to publish bulls of indulgence for the members who should repair to the council at Trent, where the appearance of prelates was fo thin, that its opening was deferred to the eighteenth of January, 1562. duplicity of the queen-regent of France was of great service to his holiness during these debates, as it occasioned a vio-

lent civil-war in that kingdom.

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At the opening of the council, it plainly appeared that no which is reformation from its proceedings was to be expected. The opened. papal legates were instructed to oppose all motions tending to confirm the divine right of bishops, which they maintained to be entirely dependent upon the papal pleasure; and, after many tiresome, but ineffectual, debates, the most important points were left undecided. The strenuous oppolition made by the French, German, and some of the Spanish bishops, to the legates, encouraged several princes to fend their ambaffadors and prelates to attend it; in hope of prevailing, by the superiority of numbers, over the legates: but the pope had a reserve of Italian, nominal, and needy bilhops, whom he poured in to counterballance all the voices of the reforming party. The arrival of cardinal Lorrain, who was confidered as the leader of the Gallican church, and who inveighed bitterly against the papal usurpations and abuses, served only to renew the ridiculous disputes about the pre-eminence of the Roman see; and, when the emperor, The Ferdinand, complained that nothing was suffered to be pro- pope's leposed in the council but by the legates, who received their gates op. instructions from Rome, he was answered by Pius only with posed. vague excuses, and empty compliments of his holiness being ready to crown him at Bologna, if his imperial majesty would confent that the council should be translated to that city. Ferdinand refused to agree to this proposal, and the french ambassadors presented to the assembly a proposal, containing thirty-four articles of reformation, which ftruck at the very vitals of the papal power and grandeur. A negative was imposed upon the reading of those articles by the legates, at the command of the pope; upon which the cardinal of Lorrain went to Ipsburgh, where he had an interview with the emperor Ferdinand, who feemed greatly affected with the scandalous management of the pope and the legates.

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A GENERAL HISTORY

Transactions of the council

The affairs of christendom were, at this time, in great disorder, chiefly on account of religion, which seemed rather to be injured, than benefited, by the council of Trent. The pope, though alarmed by the accounts of an irruption of the German protestants into Italy, and the growing prevalence of the protestant interest in France, seemed to rise in his demands of submission and homage to the holy see; and deposed several French bishops, whom he suspected of favouring the hugonots: but the mafter-piece of his conduct lay in his dividing the opposition to his legates; which was, in fome measure, effected by the imprudence of the protestants, Catharine of Medicis thought that they encroached too much upon the royal authority in France; Philip II. was naturally their determined enemy; and the emperor, Ferdinand, com. plained that they had reduced the imperial authority in Germany to be a meer shadow. The cardinal of Lorrain, who hitherto had been the most formidable opponent of the pope in the council, faw that the queen-regent's compliance with the protestants was meerly the effect of compulsion, and knew that the pope had it in his power at any time to gain her over, began to cool in his opposition to the legates; and taking a journey to Rome, he there entered into all the views of his holiness for the extirpation of the French hugonots, who were the cardinal's declared enemies. The French ambassadors, however, continued firm in their opposition; and the pope had the address to introduce into the affembly a plan for the reformation of princes themselves; which was fo derogatory to their temporal prerogatives, that the ambassadors protested against its being received, and retired to Venice. Pius considered their contumacy as proceeding from the queen of Navarre, a professed hugonot, and the patroness of that party in France; and was so far from being difmayed by the refistance he had encountered, that he cited her to appear at Rome upon a charge of herefy, and continued the fentence of excommunication that had been pronounced against her.

in favour of the pope.

It is diffolved, The council continued its session, and every meeting produced some favourable decree for the encrease of the papal authority and the confirmation of religious absurdities and superstition, through the vast superiority of Italian bishops who had been sent by the pope to the council; but, at last, it was dissolved. Its decrees were subscribed by the sour legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-sive archbishops, and other bishops, abbots, and generals of orders, to the number of two hundred and fixty-sive; of whom one hundred and fifty were Italians, and entirely devoted to the pope. It was remarked, that, during the last session, no German prelate attended; and, through the whole, none appeared from England, Scotland, the Low Countries, Sweden or Denmark.

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Thus ended this scandalous assembly, after establishing. instead of abolishing, abuses. All their decrees of reformation confifted of suppressing, or regulating, a few superfluous offices about the pope's court; and he was fo fenfible of the fervices the members had done him, that, underflanding, to his great joy, the council was dissolved, he created nineteen of his creatures, who had attended it, cardinals; but affected to enforce the residence of bishops upon

their respective diocesses.

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The protestants, and many Roman catholics, both in and dif-France and Germany, refused to acknowledge the validity of owned by the council's decrees; and the futility of its proceedings the prowas fully exposed by the protestants all over Europe. But testants. the pope's security lay in the bigotry and the divisions of the European powers. Though Ferdinand and Maximilian, who were successively emperors of Germany, insisted upon the reformation being carried farther than it had been by the council, that their priests should be permitted to marry, and their subjects be allowed to communicate under both kinds; nay, though they refused to profess obedience to the pope, yet he knew that they were compelled to what they did by their dread of the protestants; and he prevailed upon them and the king of Spain to employ their good offices, to persuade Charles IX. king of France, to revoke the privileges that had been granted to the hugonots.

The Greeks and Nestorians, who, at this time, resided in the Two Sicilies, and enjoyed the exercise of their religion, being accused of spreading heretical notions among the natives, had their privileges cut off by Pius. They were then forced to conform themselves to the Latin church; and the pope foon discovered, and severely punished, a conspiracy that had been formed against his person by a set of reforming

enthusiafts.

Amongst the last actions of his life, was his sending a Death of seasonable supply of men, money and amunition, to the Pius. affiltance of the knights of Malta, who had been belieged by the Turks; by which the infidels were compelled, with disgrace and loss, to abandon their enterprize. In the midst of the rejoicings for that happy event, Pius was carried out of the world, as was faid, by a furfeit; leaving his name memorable for the art and address by which he had brought the fathers of Trent, who were assembled to abridge the power of the popedom, to contribute to its enlarge-

The cardinals Farnese and Boromeo, who had the greatest Succeed. way in the conclave, were fenfible of the necessity, at ed by that time, of giving their church a head that should join Pius V. great experience in business to a zeal for reforming the manners of the clergy, but, at the same time, jealous of the power and dignity of the pontincate; and fuch a one they thought they found in the person of the cardinal of Alexo

Alexandria; who, being unanimously elected, took the name of Pius V. His birth was mean, but, being an Italian, he had gone through many of the chief posts of the church, during the last two pontificates, with great regularity and feverity of manners; and was likewife distinguished by his eloquence. He had, under Paul IV. been supreme inquifitor; a place of fo unlimited a power, that it has ever fince been annexed to the popedom.

His zeal, virtues.

Upon his accession, his hatred of nepotism prevailed with him to remove his relations from Rome; but he gave a carand vices. dinal's hat, though with some difficulty, to Bonello, one of his nephews. He then proceeded upon the work of reforming the public vices, with a mixture of virtue, good fense and enthusiasm; for he prohibited physicians from attending any patient who did not, in three days after they fell ill, confels their fins to a prieft. He restored the Caraffa family to the honours and dignities they had lost by popular clamour; but, above all, he proceeded with unrelenting feverity against heretics of all ranks and denominations. He ordered his legate, Commendam, to threaten the emperor, Maximilian, with deposition, if he suffered religious matters to be agitated in the diet, whose attention was now turned entirely upon the means of opposing the formidable progress of the infidels. Commendam, therefore, being under no necessity of producing his unpolitic instructions, presented the emperor with fifty thousand crowns, as a subsidy from the pope against the Turks; which prevailed with him, and the Roman catholic princes of the empire, to receive the decrees of the council of Trent. However defective Pius might be in that kind of policy

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which modern popes have been obliged to act by, in order to preferve their small remains of authority from utter contempt and rejection, yet he acted in his pontificate with a fincere zeal in all he undertook, and thereby obtained an entire mastery over the consciences of those who were still the unalterable votaries of the Romish see. He made a prefriendship sent of twenty thousand crowns to Mary, queen of Scotfor Mary, land, to enable her to make head against her rebellious subqueen of jects; and, during his pontificate, he was a generous and faithful friend to that unfortunate princess. He ordered supplications to be made at Rome for the duke of Alva's fuccels against the revolters in the Netherlands; and he sent sour thousand five hundred foot, and nine hundred horse, to ferve against the French hugonots. He subdued the spirit and conscience of Philip of Spain, who was impatient at the arbitrary manner with which Pius governed the Spanish clergy, by commanding them to pay nothing to the civil power without his confent; and he even brought that prince to back him in the menaces he vented against the emperor, who was inclined to enlarge the indulgences enjoyed by the German protestants. The

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The senate of Venice, whose laws and resolutions are less Piuserects liable to alteration than those of arbitrary princes, gave Tuscany Pius some uneafiness about a bull which he published, into a threatening all fecular princes with excommunication who great fould, by their own power, levy any taxes or subsidies up-dutchy. on their clergy; nor was it suffered to be published in their dominions. He took the offices of the inquisition into his special protection; and, for the zeal which the duke of Florence had expressed against the French hugonots, he sided with him in a dispute with the duke of Ferrara about certain falt works; and he created him and his fucceflors great dukes of Tuscany. This was an uncommon stretch of prerogative in his holiness, as both the emperor and the king of Spain had claims upon Tuscany; the former, as head of the empire; and the latter, as the elder branch of the house of Austria. Pius, however, carried his point, and the title remains acknowledged to this day.

Pius, during his pontificate, had three great points in Views of view, which he purfued with the most unremitting zeal. Pius. The first was a union of the chief Roman catholic powers against the Turks; the second was a perpetual enmity to the person and title of queen Elizabeth; and the third was the suppression of the French hugonots. With regard to the See first, we have given a full account of it in a former part of Vol.VIII. All that remains for us to observe here is, that p. 101. this work. Pius V. had the glory of being the foul of that confederacy which, in the battle of Lepanto, gave so dreadful a blow to the naval power of the Othmans, that they never have fince recovered their marine. The parties in this confederacy Confedewere, his holiness, the king of Spain, and the Venetians; racy and the negotiation by which the confederacy was formed against was conducted by Pius in a most masterly manner, though the Turks. he was unfuccessful in his endeavours to prevail either with the emperor, the French king, or the king of Portugal, to join it. The Turks, by this time, had conquered the illand and kingdom of Cyprus; and they were malters of such an extent of sea-coast, that they bade fair to be the greatest maritime power in the world. Pius very wifely enabled the king of Spain and the Venetians to pay great part of their armaments by the fubfidies which he empowered them to raife upon the ecclesiastics of their dominions. He had farther formed a noble plan for supporting a standing marine, which was to confift of two hundred gallies and one hundred large thips, with fifty thousand foot and four thousand five hundred horse on board, and he provided the proper funds for that purpose; but the decisive battle of Lepanto rendered that

precaution unnecessary. As to the fecond favourite object of Philip, the depoling, Misconand indeed destroying, queen Elizabeth, he acted with an duct of the equal portion of barbarous zeal and mistaken policy. This, pope in in a great measure, seems to have been owing to his igno- England.

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rance of the temper and disposition of the English nation. He had received his information from bigots and zealots, who had ferved in foreign armies, or had been immured in religious cloisters, and who had misrepresented both the power and the principles of the English Roman catholics. The former was inconsiderable, excepting in the northern parts of England; but even there the nobility, as well as the people, disowned the deposing power of the pope, and continued firmly attached to the queen's person and government, till an inundation of English and Irish priests staggered them with regard to the future succession of Mary, queen of Scots, and her iffue, to the crown of England. This raised a seeble infurrection, which was easily quelled, though headed by the two powerful earls of Northumberland and Wesimoreland.

The intemperate zeal of the pope and his clergy against queen Elizabeth, served only to fix her throne in the greater The numerous bulls, fentences of deposition and excommunication, published against her by Pius, form great part of the English history at that period, but have very little relation to that of Italy; and the repetitions of them render them tiresome and uninteresting to the reader, as they were attended with no other effect than that of bringing the unhappy agents who published and dispersed them to racks and gibbets. The reader, in the history of France, will find that of the pope's efforts for supporting the Roman chatholics of

that kingdom.

The rejoicings and thanksgivings made at Rome upon the victory of Lepanto, were excessive; and Colonna, the pope's admiral, who was second in command, made a triumphal entry into that capital. An opportunity then presented, had the ardour of Pius been seconded, to have dispossessed the infidels of all Greece. In a council of war it was resolved, chiefly through the influence of don John, to go into har-bour; though it is certain, that, had they speedily pursued their blow, they would have found Constantinople itself unprepared to refult them. Venieri, the Venetian admiral, whole divition fustained the greatest loss during the fight, thought he faw a rifing jealoufy of the republic's glory gaining ground among the Spaniards; and the tempeltuous feafon of the year served him as a pretext for agreeing to don John's proposal; fo that the fleet sailed in a body to Corfu, where the admirals divided their plunder; and the reader, from the following account, may form some idea of the importance of the victory.

The Spaniards had, for their share, fixty-four capital thips, called gallies; fixty-eight large cannons, eight bombs, with at the bat- smaller artillery and ammunition in proportion; and one thousand, seven hundred and thirteen prisoners. netians had, for their share, forty-four gallies, and a great many ships of an inferior rate; a hundred and thirty-one pieces of cannon, and about twelve hundred prisoners. The share allowed to the pope was according to the quota he had contributed

Division of spoils tle of Lepanto.

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contributed to the fleet; and confifted of twenty-one galles, with a number of vessels of an inferior rate; fifty-four pieces of artillery, and near nine hundred prisoners. But his allies made him a present of their two most illustrious prisoners, the two sons of Hali, the Turkish admiral, who had been killed in the late engagement. Before Venieri returned to Venice, he took some small places belonging to the Turks; and don John, with Colonna, entered the port of Messina with the most pompous display of their naval trophes.

As the Venetians had borne the greatest expence in fitting The conout this victorious armament, many of them blamed Ve-federacy nieri, for not pursuing his advantage by making a descent against the upon the Morea; and Pius was of the same sentiment. He Turks renewed his most earnest applications to the other Roman continues. catholic powers to join the confederacy; but he was unsuccessful, and all the preparations they made were for celebrating the victory with public rejoicings. Though his holine's continued still to have great credit with Philip, yet that prince was at this time, so much embarrassed by his differences with England and France, which were every day widening, that he was very flow in his motions for future action against the Turks. Pius on the other hand, more animated than ever, dispatched a nuncio to the imperial court to persuade the emperor to break his truce with the Othmans, and both he and the Venetians joined in representing to the sophy of Persia, the fair opportunity that then presented for his recovering the provinces that the Turks had differenbered from his kingdom. The German emperor excused himself from renewing hostilities with the infidels, who remained his superiors by land on the side of Hungary especially, and when the battle of Lepanto was mentioned to the fophy, he compared the loss of the Turks to the cutting off a beard which would grow again; but your mafters, added he to the Venetian ambassador, by losing the kingdom of Cyprus, have lost an arm. While those unsuccessful negotiations Death of were on foot, pope Pius died at Rome, on the first of May, Pius, 1572, of a suppression of urine, in the fixty eighth year of his age. The great blemish of his pontificate, was his unthilltian behaviour towards the queen of England, which can be excused only by the inherent bigotry of the Romish priesthood, and his encouraging the inquisition, to which he was inclined by his natural disposition. The purity of his life and manners was fuch that it has been unimpeached even by the protestants, whom he so much hated and perlecuted. The Romans revered his memory, as Rome for many centuries before had not beheld the spoils of her enemies; and fince his death he has been canonized.

Pius V. was succeeded by Buoncompagno, cardinal of St. who is Sixtus, a Bolognese, who was esteemed an excellent civilian, succeeded and he took the name of Gregory XIII. The zeal of Pius by Gregory against XIII.

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against the Turks attended him to his grave; for at the time

he expired, Colonna was on his journey to put the fleet in readiness at Messina. Colonna returned, and obtained from the new pope a renewal of his commission, he sent an account to the Venetians of his being continued in his command. and that Gregory was resolved to pursue and the engage. ments into which his predecessors had entered against the in. fidels. When the confederate fleets rendesvouzed at Mel. fina, Suranza, the Venetian, and Colonna, found a backward. ness in Andrada, the Spanish admiral, to proceed upon any vigorous enterprize. Gregory fent messengers to don John, to quicken the Spaniards; but both he and Andrada answer. ed with great dryness, that they could not leave the island of Corfu, where their fleet lay, without farther orders, which depended upon the turn which affairs might take in other parts of Europe, particularly in Navarre, and the Low Countries, While the Spaniards were waiting for these orders, many quarrels sprung up between them and the Venetians, who accused not only Philip, but the Spanish Spaniards nation in general, of deceiving them into a war by their against the fair promises, which they had broken on all occasions; and that don John had been blamed by the Spanish ministry for venturing their fleet against the Turks, though it had produced the glorious victory of Lepanto. The Spaniards were unmoved by those and many other charges, and still pleaded the necessity Philip was under of guarding against the French. The Venetians declared themselves unable by themfelves to carry on the war against the Turks, and threatened to make a separate peace with that emperor. In the mean while, they fent an able minister to the court of France, and another to that of Spain, to reconcile them, so as that the war which wore so favourable an aspect might proceed vigorously against the infidels. The reader, has already feen the fequel of this year's operations, which were unfuccessful through the persevering backwardness of the Spaniards, and the antipathy that still continued between them and the Venetians.

ibid. p. 162.

Back-

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Turks.

Obliges the Venetians to make a difadvantageous

When Colonna went on board the ecclefiaffical fleet. which was in excellent order, he was attended by the duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guise, and many of the young French nobility, who were all of them ambitious of ferving as volunteers under so distinguished a commander; and don John, at last, signified to the consederates, that he peace with had leave from Philip to join them; he recommended the Turks. however, circumspection and caution in their conduct, and that they should attempt nothing of consequence till the whole of the confederate fleet was joined. The Venetians exclaimed against this backwardness, as it endangered the loss of the island of Candy, the Turkish fleet being now almost as powerful as it had been before the battle of Lepanto. Nothing could quicken the Spaniards, and the Venetians continued their negotiations for peace at the

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the Porte. Happily for them, though the Turkish fleet was manned to the full, yet most of their best and bravest failors had been killed in the battle of Lepanto; nor would their admiral Kilij Ali, hazard a battle, though greatly superior to the confederates in strength. Don John had not yet joined with his division, and Kilij failed in an attempt he made to interrupt the junction, which was at last formed, and don John took upon him the command in chief. He renewed his exhortations for caution, which the Venetian admirals refented fo sharply, that Colonna, who acted with more coolness, could scarcely keep them from separating. At last they failed, but the dilatory measures of don John prevented any enterprize of moment from being undertaken, though the confederates were now equal in force to the infidels; and thus the feason was spent, without any thing remarkable, but a gallant attack made by Colonna's division upon the Turkish fleet, which must have been defroyed had he been properly seconded. Don John was assimmed and vexed at the reproaches with which not only the Venetians but Colonna himself now loaded him.

Navarino was besieged by don John, but he abandoned Its terms.

the fiege on pretext that the unwholesomness of the rains was prejudicial to his troops. The combined fleet returning home thus ineffectually, the Venetians applied themselves in good earnest to obtain a peace with the Turks, through the mediation of the French king, which, ingloriously for the Venetians, stipulated that they should pay a large sum of money to the infidels, who were to reftore none of their conquests, though the Venetians were to deliver up all theirs. This peace was concluded February 1574. As the negotiation had been very fecret, Gregory had no knowledge of it till it was published through all the courts of Europe, by the Venetian ambassadors. Gregory had been some time before employed in public devotions and thanksgivings at Rome; where he even celebrated a kind of jubilee, for the great blow that had been given to the protestant cause, by the infamous mallacre of the French hugonots, on the eve of St. Bartholomew's day. He made the like rejoicings on account of the duke of Alva's bloody conquests in the Low Countries, and he even ordered medals to be coined in grateful commeration of both events. When he heard of the peace between the Turks and the Venetians, he was exasperated beyond measure; but the latter soon convinced all Europe that they had been forced to make it through the backwardness and perfidy of Philip, who cooly bore all the blame, without either shewing resentment, or denying the charge.

Henry, brother to Charles IX. of France, had been by Conduct this time, chosen king of Poland, and had promised some of the indulgences to his protestant subjects, which Gregory, by pope, presenting him with a consecrated rose, prevented him from sulfilling. The year 1575 brought on the periodical jubilee,

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ridiculous ceremonies; in the midst of three hundred thoufand foreigners, whom curiofity or devotion drew to Rome on the occasion. The affairs of Genoa now attracted the History of attention of his holiness, and indeed of all Europe. government of that republic had been always a bone of motions of contention, and for ages past had filled it with factions and parties. After their liberties had been rescued from the French by Andrew Doria, the old nobility complained, that too great regard was paid to the plebeians, and that too great a number of them were admitted to places of power and profit. Of four hundred members who compofed the grand council, scarcely one third of them were of antient noble families. In short, the democratical powers of their constitution had almost swallowed the aristocratical. Lommelin, the doge, persecuted Senarega, first chancellor. and fecretary of the republic, who was accounted one of the most consummate politicians of the age; and was the oracle of the young nobility. Several incidents too tedious and particular to be mentioned here, encreased the public animofities; and it was with difficulty that the wifest and most respectable citizens could keep the two parties from coming to blows. At last, the city was divided into three factions; but the young nobility, and the people joining, they were reduced to two, the young nobility, by the affiffance of the plebeians, being in hopes of turning the old nobles out of the fenate, by propagating a notion that the old nobility were about to throw themselves into the arms of the Spaniards. These and various other reports to the disadvantage of the senate, foon filled every quarter of the city with murder, rapine, and confusion; but the people were fomewhat appealed and brought into order by the eloquence of Senarega.

where the plebeians are outwitted.

The young nobility did not, however, lose fight of their claims, and demanded a general affembly to be fummoned, in which they were fure of a majority, for totally altering the form of their government. The old nobility called upon John Andrea Doria, the nephew, and heir of their deliverer, who at first quieted them, but in a short time, the public commotions were renewed fo violently, that the old nobility were forced to shut themselves up in their houses, which were guarded by the tenants they drew from their estates in the country. The Spanish ambassador Idiaquez, prevailed on both parties to agree to a truce for three months; and the old nobility accordingly laid down their arms, and dismissed their tenants; but the populace, instigated (as was supposed) by the young nobility, renewed the tumults with more fury than ever, and drove from their posts the foreign guards that had been hired by the senate for keeping the public peace. A few of the old nobility, were for suffering the most cruel extremities rather than yield to

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an insolent lawless rabble, who demanded a repeal of the most fundamental law of their state, that of keeping up a diffinction between the antient and the young nobility; but the law was abrogated through the fear the fenators had for their own persons. It was not long before the plebeians perceived that they had been made the dupes of the young The latter ordered the subjects of the republic in the valley of Poseveri, to take possession of all the passes by which any foreign troops could march from Lombardy to Genoa; as they knew that the old nobility depended upon the Spaniards for protection. They were however, obliged to give way to the new modelled government; but many of them left the city with difgust and indignation, and refusing to appear before the general affembly, their posts and dignities were taken from them, and given to young noblemen. The old nobility, who remained in the city, dif- Civil difapproved of the secession of their brethren, but with all sentions at their address and authority they could not disposses their Genea, antagonists, who raised troops, and sent their oracle Senarega to Rome, to implore the protection of his holines, pope Pius V. and his mediation for restoring the tranquility of the republic. The old nobles fent another agent at the same time, but Senarega carried his point; and the pope, who was strongly disposed in favour of the new nobility, fent a legate, with power to accommodate all differences. The public divisions increasing on account of the animosities which prevailed in the other towns, who had each separate privileges; and the people becoming now sensible, that they were to expect no advantages from the new model of their government, inclined to restore the old nobility, but they were diverted from this resolution by the arts of the young nobility, who represented the old, as intending to seize Savona, and when they had recovered that, to enlarge their powers, and perpetually engross the administration of government.

The legate fought to moderate matters. Lercari, and in which Stephen Mario, two of the most respected members of the don John old nobility, were sent to Genoa, where they gained the interposes, Spanish ambassador, and the nuncio to their party; upon which, the plebeians renewed their violences, and forced the deputies once more to quit the city. Their party then raised troops, and offered the command of them to Doria, who declined it, unless he was authorized by the catholic king, but having applied for leave to Philip, in whose service he was, it was refused. As Philip, and don John had often declared themselves in savour of the old nobility, both parties construed this resusal as proceeding from a design that his catholic majesty had formed of making himself master of Genoa; and the emperor thought that juncture savourable for interposing in savour of the imperial rights over the republic. His mediation by his deputies was received, and

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for some time he acted with great impartiality between both factions; but when the new nobility confented to admit German troops into the city, they were opposed by the old administration. It was thought not without reason, that don John of Austria, by Philip's permission, had an eye to the fovereignty of Genoa for himself, and he had advanced fome troops towards that city, though without declaring his intention; but thirty thousand Genoese putting themselves in arms to oppose him, he returned to Naples. Henry III. of the French France, was not backward in taking part in the dispute, as his ancestors had formerly possessed the state of Genoa; but the new nobility and the people were now fo firmly united, that all his endeavours, as well as those of don John proved to be in vain; and the estates of the old nobility in Genoa. who had feceded from the government, were actually conficat. ed, and fold to pay the expences of the public in maintain-

ing its independency upon all foreign princes.

The old nobility court Philip.

The Genoese of both parties, now understanding that Philip was not a little jealous of don John's conduct, in aspiring without his leave to the fovereignty of Genoa; applied to his catholic majesty for protection. Philip affected vast moderation, and without declaring for either fide, he told them that he could not interfere in the dispute without involving all Italy in a war; but strongly recommended the restoration of unity among themselves. His moderation overawed the antient nobility, who had depended on his favour, and who had raised a considerable force. however, fecretly employed three nobles, who had been exiled from Genoa, to get possession of Novi, and Spezzia; but their design was deseated by the appearance of a Spanish fquadron under the duke of Gandia. The old nobility took that opportunity to clear up their conduct to Philip, and to convince him that they had given no encouragement to don John farther than to offer to submit to him all the differences between them and their antagonists; which propofal had been obstinately opposed by the new nobility, who thereby incurred the refentment of his holiness, and his catholic majesty, as well as don John Doria, who being now at the head of the old nobility, repaired to Naples with twenty five gallies. Don John sollicited the great duke of Tuscany to prohibit his subjects from furnishing the Genoese government with arms or ammunition; but the new nobility not daunted with this, having then all the power in their hands, hired foreign troops, and made dispositions for defending themselves to the last extremity. foreign ministers at Genoa still undertook a mediation, which was feemingly accepted of by deputies appointed by the old nobility, who retired as foon as Doria's fleet appeared off Genoa; and the negotiation was broken off. acted with such vigour and was so well supported by don John, that he carried all before him without the walls of

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Genoa; and his progress gave such umbrage to the great duke of Tuscany that he raised an army of ten thousand men to watch the motions of Doria, who, at last besieged Novi. It was bravely defended by Figarella, the governor, but, soinula, who commanded under Doria, at last took it, mough with great loss. The town of Gavi, after this, surrendered, but the citadel held out so vigorously, that spinula thought proper to raise the siege, and to advance towards Genoa, where his approach struck the minds of the inhabitants with the most dreadful consternation.

Not only Doria, and Spinula, but the antient nobility in An acgeneral, began now to tremble for the fate of Genoa, least commo-either Philip or don John should become its master. The dation immense riches from all quarters lodged in its bank, render- effected. ed it a most interesting concern to all the powers of Europe; and their ministers were endeavouring to mediate a peace between the two parties, to which the old nobility was now the better disposed, as Philip had for some time stopt the interest due upon the immense sums he owed them. In the year 1576, the accommodation was completed, chiefly through the unremitting labours of the pope. All distinctions between the old and new nobility were abolished. Trade was deemed to be no disqualification for nobility. A new body of four hundred nobles were chosen to form the chief tribunal of the republic; proper checks were inrented to prevent the election of vicious, weak, or immoral persons into public offices, and a kind of censorial power, was erected for regulating the manners of all ranks of citizens. Such, with a few alterations, are the foundations of the present Genoese government.

Cardinal Borromeo, at this time, was archbishop of Milan, Charitable and amidst the universal profligacy which then prevailed actions of among all the Italian ecclesiastics, he exhibited a striking cardinal pattern of Christian charity and beneficence, by his beha- Borromeo viour in his fee, during a most dreadful pestilence, which during a desolated the northern parts of Italy, especially the Milanese. pestilence. Without any dread of the infection, he vifited the chambers of the fick, and fold the furniture of his palace, even to the bed he lay on, for the relief of the poor. His example was imitated by the bishop of Verona; while his holiness affished the afflicted by fending indulgences and pardons to those who died without confession. He continued a fimilar kind of liberality to the French king, to enable him to make head against the hugonots, by impowering him to allenate church lands to the amount of fifty thousand crowns year. He founded fome colleges at Rome, and in imitation of his predeceffors he fought to gain a character by labouring for the conversion of the Maronites, about Mount Libanus, who being miferably poor, professed great converhon, accepted of his bounty; but secretly both detelted and despised his missionaries and their doctrines. He la-

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boured in like manner in the conversion of the people in the East Indies, and other distant countries; he established two colleges, one at Rheims, in France, and another at Rome, for the education of English exiles in the most detestable principles, there being nothing so wicked that they did not undertake; witness their repeated attempts upon the life of

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queen Elizabeth by affaffination.

The pope encourages Philip to invade England and Ireland.

He encouraged the expedition of don Sebastian, king of Portugal to Africa, where he lost his life; and when Philip of Spain had defeated don Antonio, the pretender to that crown, Gregory endeavoured to persuade Philip to lay down his arms, till he should decide the differences between them: but Philip refused to obey him, and entered into possession of the throne and kingdom. The most unfortunate quarrel that this pontiff was engaged in by his zeal and bigotry, was that with queen Elizabeth of England. He persuaded Philip to expend immense sums, and to send large armaments in support of the Irish, who had rebelled against her, and who were the slaves of ignorance and superstition. Their priests however, outwitted both his holiness and his catholic majesty; they had emissaries in Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries, who magnified the power of the rebels far above the truth; and, as many of them ferved with great courage and reputation in the French and Spanish armies, Philip made no doubt of becoming mafter of England, provided he could reduce Ireland. Every supply of troops and money he fent to that island was attended with numbers of priests, who by endeavouring to perpetuate their own power amongst the ignorant inhabitants, persuaded them to trust to charms and miracles instead of arms. Thus the English conquered them with as much ease as the Spaniards, about the same time, did the savage Americans, while their auxiliaries being, through the indolence and neglect of the Irish, destitute of all means of subsistence, were obliged either to re-embark, or deliver up their arms to the English.

The imposition of the Jesuits.

Gregory extended his negotiations to the most remote parts of the globe. St. Francis of Xavier, a Jesuit, and the apostle of India, made an incredible progress in converting its natives to Christianity; but the Jesuits who succeeded him made a very bad use of his labours, which were undoubtedly sincere and pious, in imposing upon the public by sictitious embassies from the East Indies, and salse accounts of their numerous conversions there. The popes never sailed to receive those ambassadors, and give them audience with a pomp so oftentatious, as makes it reasonable to think that they were not unconscious of the impositions practised by the sathers; and that they encouraged them merely to raise a high idea of the progress of Christianity, and the credit of the Romish see, in those distant, but populous and wealthy, regions. Those practices were so

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often repeated, that the iniquity began to be suspected, on octasion of a splendid embasily from three kings of Japan. The ambasiladors prostrated themselves before his holiness, who shed tears on the occasion in a public consistory, and were most magnificently entertained by his catholic majesty, and the grand duke of Tuscany. Some European merchants who were just arrived from Japan, and were well acquainted with that country, declared that they never heard there of any king being converted to christianity, or of any preparations being made for such embassies; and as their language was unknown to all but the Jesuits who attended them, the whole was looked upon as a juggle of that order, perhaps, with Gregory's connivance.

Whatever may be in this, yet all Europe, protestant as The cawell as popish, is indebted to this pontiff for that noble re-lendar reformation of the calendar, which is distinguished by his formed.

name, and which, though long rejected by protestants through the hatred and prejudices they bore against the fee of Rome, is so consonant to the principles of truth and aftronomy, that it is now univerfally used in Europe, and has been adoped by the British legislature. While he was intent on this great work, he was accused by the English protestants of employing affassins to take away the life of queen Elizabeth, and one Parry was executed on that ac-That Gregory was privy to certain commissions to be executed by Parry in England, was proved by a letter addressed to him from the cardinal of St. Como, who in Gregory's name exhorted Parry to persevere in his pious purposes; but it does not absolutely appear that they were directed against the life of queen Elizabeth. It is, however, difficult to determine to what lengths a man of Gregory's easy, credulous disposition might be led. While all Italy was diffrest with a famine, he suffered his relations to entrease the miseries of the poor, by buying up all the corn, and retailing it at an exorbitant price. Those oppressions filled the country of Italy with banditti and murderers, who lometimes, to screen themselves from justice, took refuge in the palaces of the nobility, who pretended that they had a privilege to protect them. This occasioned some disputes between the nobility and the sbirri, and other officers of justice, which, for some days, filled all Rome with blood and confusion; but it was at last quelled by the punishment of the most culpable on both fides.

Gregory, before his death, made a promotion of nineteen Death of cardinals; and declared himself an enemy to the holy Gregory; league, because he thought it was chiefly intended to raise the duke of Guise to the crown of France. He was a great friend to the seminaries of religion, and public institutions for the conversion of insidels, especially, the Jews. Besides

the king of Persia, he held a correspondence with the emperor of Abissinia, and he exhorted both those princes to Vol. X.

make war upon the Turks. He died of a quinzey on the tenth of April 1585, in the eighty fourth year of his age. A general diffolution of manners prevailed in the ecclefia. stical state, and indeed all over Italy, at the time of his death; but during the succeeding vacancy of the holy see, it rose in Rome to an avowed resistance to all law and government. Robberies and murders were no longer practifed in private; the richest palaces in Rome were broken open and rifled, and those who defended them, butchered in the day time.

Who is by Sixtus V.

When the cardinals, on the twenty first of April, to the fucceeded number of forty-two, entered the conclave, they were divided greatly in choice of a successor to Gregory. The necessity of giving a head to the ecclesiastical state was so pressing, that the cardinals agreed to the choice of cardinal Montalto, who was feemingly so feeble and decrepid, that it did not appear probable he could outlive a few months. during which time the electors might agree upon giving a more vigorous head to the church. Montalto, during the time of the ferutiny, acted his part exquisitely well; but he no fooner found that it had gone in his favour, than he thiew aside every appearance of debility, with the cloak that covered and the crutch that supported him; and attuned the Te Deum with a strength of lungs that promised a life of many years. The cardinal dean, pretending there was a mistake in the scrutiny "I know (replied he with knitted brows) there is none," and the cardinals, on examining his person, found him to be tall, strong, and vigorous, and in a green old age. When he was asked, according to the usual form, whether he was willing to accept of the papacy, he faid that the question was abfurd, as he had accepted of it already; but that he was forry they had not two papacies to offer him, as he found that he had strength and spirit sufficient to manage them both. In all his discourse he treated the aftonished cardinals with a vivacity which marked the contempt he had for their undertakings, in fuffering themselves to be his dupes; and when the people, as was common, called out for plenty and justice, he told them, if God gave them plenty, he would give them justice. It was not long before the public began to tremble before the decrepid old man, whom they had fo long reverenced and pitied, nor could they find the least appearance of cardinal Montalto in the person of Sixtus V. which was the pontifical name he affumed.

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The rigid, inflexible temper of Sixtus, would have been character, cruel and tyrannical in a time of less general profligacy than that in which he governed. He proceeded against the banditti and malefactors of all kinds with the most unremitting feverity; and one of his usual fayings was, that he chose to see the gibbets full rather than the prisons. An officer of juffice was in his eyes criminal if he shewed the

least tenderness or backwardness in the rigorous execution of his office. He treated the foreign ministers, cardinals, and princes of the first rank, with contempt and indignation, when they interceded for the condemned, be the cafe ever fo favourable; and he ordered twelve executioners to patrole the streets of Rome, each with a halter in one hand,

and an axe in the other.

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The behaviour of Sixtus shewed him to be a very extra- and extraordinary man in every respect; and he affected to appear ordinary superior not only to the weaknesses of human nature, but behaviour to the force of habit and the prepoffessions of education. He was, by his original profession, a swine-herd, and got his learning by pertinaciously infisting upon a friar, whom he had ferved as a guide to his convent, retaining him as one of his menial fervants, telling him, at the same time, that he would undergo the pains of purgatory, if they could make him a scholar. His parents giving their consent, he was received into the convent, which was a Franciscan one, at Ascoli; and he soon distinguished himself, by the progress he made in his studies, so much, that he was patronized and promoted by several of the leading men of the church. Though he had great ambition, yet it was of a very fingular kind, for he fought to gratify it by a turbulent, infolent, overbearing behaviour, which was so disagreeable, that it was with difficulty the most powerful of his patrons, among whom was Pius V. could protect him against the resentment of those he offended. Being inquisitor general at Venice, he endangered his life more than once, by his difrespectful treatment of the senate; but when he was by Pius V. admitted into the college of cardinals, he immediately formed the plan of his advancement to the popedom, by practifing the deep diffimulation we have described, and which he carried to fuch a degree, that his brother cardinals used to call him, by way of derision "the ass of La Marca."

He had a fister and a niece; the former had a daughter, Account and two grandsons, and Sixtus having called them from of his their obscure situation to Rome, they were richly habited family. by three cardinals; but the pope, when they appeared before him, obliged them to disrobe themselves, and return in their usual dresses. He then assigned them magnificent houses and appointments; but created the eldest of his grand nephews, Alexander Peretti, (afterwards famous by his abilities) a cardinal. He declined, however, the offers made by the king of Spain, and the great duke of Tuscany, to enoble his fister, but seemed well pleased, when his former enemies the fenators of Venice, admitted cardinal Peretti to

the degree of a noble in their state.

His plan of policy for the reformation of the ecclefia- and his flical state was executed upon the best civil principles. He maxims of appointed four supervisors of the poor, to compel all the policy. Mendicants who were capable of working, either to earn

their own bread or to depart his dominions; nor would he fuffer a stranger to settle or marry at Rome, unless he could prove that he was able to maintain himself and his family without being burdensome to the public. He was the patron of arts and manufactures; he bought up the debts of those who refused to pay them, though in a condition to do it, and he admitted of no privilege to screen them, having deprived the cardinals and the nobles of the power to protect fuch public nusances. He enforced such wife measures that he cleared the ecclefiaftical state of banditti and robbers, and capitally punished even nobles and ecclefiaffics who could be proved to shelter them from justice. He ordered returns to be made by all magistrates of vagrants and vagabonds, and other diforderly perfons who were found within their jurisdictions; and he judged the syndic of Albano to be publicly whipped for having omitted his nephew in one of his returns. His fpies were without number, and in all corners; and to shew how much he disregarded the canons of the church when they clashed with the execution of civil authority, he forced even priests to reveal confessions that criminals might be brought to punishment ..

He joins the French league,

While Sixtus was thus reforming his subjects, he projected a plan for reannexing the kingdom of Naples to the holy fee; and he had it fo much at heart that he could not avoid dropping some ambiguous expressions on that head to the Spanish ambassador, which alarmed Philip so much, that he ordered the duke of Oguna, then viceroy of Naples, to put the frontiers of that kingdom in a state of defence. Sixtus imagining that the king of Navarre, a protestant, had too much influence with Henry III. who had prohibited a nuntio from entering his kingdom, approved, at last, of the holy league, which had been formed by the Guife family; and excommunicated the king of Navarre, the prefumptive heir of the French crown, with the prince of Conde, and all their adherents; declaring them incapable of ever fucceeding to the crown. The king of Navarre refented this treatment in fo bold and spirited a manner, that Sixtus never would afterwards contribute any money for the support of the league, and declared that he knew only of two monarchs in the world whose friendship, were they not heretics, he would court, Henry of Navarre, and Elizabeth of England. It is faid, that out of hatred to Philip of Spain. he was not displeased at Elizabeth having interested herself in supporting the revolt of the Low Countries.

and embellishes many magnifi. cent WOIKS.

In the first year of his pontificate he promoted eight persons, all of unexceptionable merit, to be cardinals, and Rome with having established the internal tranquility of his dominions, he proceeded to embellish his capital with those stupendous remains of antiquity, and those elegant but magnificent structures, which to this day do so much honour to the

memory

memory of his pontificate, but are too numerous to be particularized here. It is sufficient to fay, that he exceeded the greatest of his predecessors in improving and ornamenting Rome, and the ecclefiaftical state, in which he employed daily some thousands of workmen; and that by the abilities of that great architect Fontana, he erected the stupendous obelisk, that now stands before the church of St. Peter. which is seventy eight feet high, and confists of one entire piece of granite. The aquaduct, which supplied with water his palace on Monte Cavallo, was twenty two miles in length, and one of the hospitals he erected contained two

thousand people.

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Sixtus V. filled every department of government with His great equal abilities. He restored his authority among the popish talents for cantons of Swifferland, he limited the number of cardinals governto seventy; and, being determined to prosecute his deligns ment. upon the kingdom of Naples, he not only formed and difciplined a regular militia, but built a fleet, and fortified all the towns upon that frontier. He appointed magnificent palaces for his nuntios refiding at foreign courts, and in every respect he lived with a splendor and elegance that was equalled by no crowned head in Europe. Compared to his. the court of France was barbarous, and its buildings rude. The nobility of England was then the most learned in the world; but they lived in a talteless extravagance amidst prodigious plenty, and, though the nation was rich, ingemous, and could produce more great officers both by fea and land than all Europe belides, yet the fine arts had scarcely then got a footing in Great Britain; so that Sixtus V. may be faid to be the only prince of his time, who, was lodged, and lived, as a prince. The Romans were so sensible of their happiness under his government, that they erected his statue in the capitol, and he restored or established fifteen congregations of cardinals for the administration, under him, of affairs both civil and temporal. He supported Ernest of Bavaria, who had succeeded to the electorate and archbishopric of Cologne, upon the former elector turning protestant, and upon the death of the great duke of Tuscany without male heirs, he regulated that succession by fuffering his brother duke Ferdinand I. to relign his cardinal's hat when he was fifty two years of age, and to fucceed his brother. He fent twenty two thousand crowns to enable Maximilian, archduke of Austria, to make good his pretentions to the crown of Poland, against his competitor, the prince of Sweden; and upon the barbarous murder of Mary queen of Scots in England, he excommunicated queen Elizabeth, and renewed against her all the old papal fulminations.

The conduct of pope Sixtus with regard to the invalion His mysof England by the famous Spanish Armada, is to this day terious mylterious; but the most probable opinon is, that though he conduct encouraged

with regard to England

lavish in his promises of affistance, but he performed them only by loading the fea and land officers with indulgences, and France pardons, agnus dei's, crucifixes, and other cheap trinkets of popery; and when the Armada was defeated, he laid the blame of its miscarriage upon the misconduct of Philip's generals. While Philip was exhausting the incredible treasures he received from America in his wars with England, and against the United Provinces, and all under pretext of zeal for the Roman catholic religion, Sixtus was amassing stores of money for depriving him of the kingdom of Naples; and though he gave a splendid reception to the ambassador fent him from Persia to implore his affistance, and that of the Christian princes against the Turks, yet he dismissed them only with fair words, and a few infignificant presents. It must be acknowledged, that Sixtus had a peculiar art in substituting marks of honour and distinction, for solid proofs of his friendship, and by that means he amused the vanity and superstition of Philip II. notwithstanding all the mortifications he gave him. Through all the course of his conduct it appeared plainly that he fought to support his interest in Europe in the cheapest manner possible; and when he heard of the affaffination of the duke of Guise, in France, he coolly faid, that if that duke had been his fubject, he would have punished his insolence in the same manner. He affected, however, great resentment and rage when he heard that the cardinal of Guife had been put to death without proof or trial; and that the cardinal of Bourbon, and the archbishop of Lions had been imprisoned. He even threatened to excommunicate the French king on that account, while the French cardinals and ambassadors left Rome; but he declined giving any encouragement to the deputies of the league, who applied to him for an absolution from the oath of allegiance they had taken to their

He publishes an Italian of the Bible.

Matters, however, were proceeding to great extremities between Sixtus and the French king, when the latter was Italian affassinated by Clement, a Dominican friar, on the first of translation August 1589. Though Sixtus approved of this affassination in terms equally impious and indecent, yet he was willing to to see whether Henry IV. who succeeded to that throne, might not be converted to popery for the fake of enjoying This was apparently the reason his crown in tranquility. of his fluctuating conduct between that prince and the league, and plainly enough intimated, that the accession of Henry would be agreeable to him, provided he would turn The behaviour of the pope was the more Roman catholic. disagreeable to the king of Spain, and the bigotted papilts, as, about this time, he published an Italian translation of the Bible, of which, notwithstanding all the pains taken to suppress it, several copies are said to be still extant.

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nublication drove Philip from his usual moderation, and he ordered Olivarez, his ambassador at Rome, to present a paper to the pope on the most public occasion he could find. intimating his intention to call a general council in Spain by his own authority. The pope hearing of the design of Olivarez, ordered the captain of his guards, and an executioner, to precede him in all his public processions; and to hang up any man who should present him with a paper. This deterred Olivarez from executing his order, and Philip was fo much a bigot to the papal authority, and fo averse to come to extremities with his holiness, that he never re-

fented it, nor did he ever call the council.

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Sixtus gave Philip still more evident marks of his displea- His hatred fure for the intended presumption of Olivarez, by forcing of king him to recall him as his ambassador, and to send the duke Philip. of Sella in his room; Philip bore all this, being still in hopes that the pope would declare himself head of the league in France; but in this he was deceived, nor would he even enter into an alliance with Philip for placing a catholic king on the throne of France, pretending that fuch a power was vested in the pope alone. He was even difpleased with Cajetan, his legate, for siding too openly with the leaguers, and checked him for fuffering his chaplains to preach against the king. A most dreaful famine, which at this time visited the ecclesiastical state, furnished Sixtus with an opportunity of shewing how well he deserved to fill a throne, by his alleviating the miseries of his subjects, to whom he remitted their taxes, and, in particular cases, Though the poor were then forced to feed gave money. on the flesh of the most loathsome animals; and though the price of bread was equal to fix shillings and fixpence the pound, yet no public commotion happened, nor was any private robbery complained of. Sixtus on that occasion, made a severe trial of his people's submission to his laws, by ordering a waggon load full of bread to be bought up at a distance, and driven through Rome, and it passed without the smallest attempt made to rise it. Before his death, he palled a fumptuary law, which was most punctually conformed to, and he ordered a body of troops to march towards the frontiers of Naples, intending (as was thought) to complete his great defign of reannexing that crown to the holy fee; and under pretence of visiting the works for draining the ma shes about Terracina, he followed them in person. The His death Spaniards were apprized of his defign, and opposed him with an army; but in the mean while, the pope having for some months been in a bad state of health, died on the twenty seventh of August 1590, and in the fixty ninth year of his age,

The character of Sixtus is best seen in the prosperous and genecondition of the pontificate at the time of his death. He ral chafound his subjects sunk in sloth, over-run with pride and racter.

poverty, and lost to all sense of civil duties; but he recovered them from that despicable state to industry, and then to plenty and regularity. He effected this by a plain maxim, the practice of which, however, none but a great genius could have enforced; which was, that a people not prest by taxes are apt to grow indolent, and that industry is the only source of riches and plenty to a state, Though Sixtus fate no more than fix years on the papal throne, he found the truth of this maxim remarkably verified. By forcing his subjects to work that they might pay the heavy taxes imposed on them; he rendered them happy and contented, and himself rich and powerful. Sixtus did not. however, require them to perform impossibilities. Though frugal of his money, he furnished materials for industry to the poor, who could not afford them, and paid himself out of their labour; and he was so severe a justiciary over the petty magistracy who executed his orders, that there was fearcely a beggar in his dominions, excepting these ho were disabled by age, sickness, or accidents, and who were provided for in the public hospitals Those offices about his court which were profitable, but required no great abilities to fill them, were put up to fale for his own profit; and by firiking off a number of expensive, but useless, employments, he is faid to have augmented his revenue fixty thoufand crowns a year. Sixtus, after all, feems to have been a hater of mankind, and to have had very little regard to distributive justice; for he often made no scruple of converting punishment into pecuniary mulc's when the parties could afford it; and to be accused before him was almost the fame thing as to be condemned. No part of the public business or revenue was too minute for his inspection; and though profuse in enriching his relations, he left in his treasury five millions of crowns, which he had amassed for executing the designs he had formed upon Waples. His nephew, the cardinal Montalto, besides possessing an annual revenue of a hundred thousand crowns, was presented by his uncle with two hundred and fifty thousand in ready money, houses, jewels, and furniture. He married one of his nieces into the Colonna, another into the Urfini family, two of the noblest in Italy; and besides giving a portion of one hundred and twenty fix thousand crowns to Colonna, who married the eldeft, he lent him four hundred thousand out of the public treasury for ten years, without interest, to pay his debts. He provided for his other nephew, Michael Peretti, (which was the name of his family) an estate of fixty thousand crowns a year, besides giving him a principality, a marquifate, and an earldom, and procuring him an alliance with the Colonna family.

VII. pope by cardinal Castagna, who was esteemed to be the worthiest member of the sacred college, and took the name of Urban

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VII. but he died on the seventeenth day of his pontificate. hefore he was inaugurated. He was succeeded, after a vacancy of two months and nine days, by Sfrondrati, cardinal of Cremona, who took the name of Gregory XIV. Upon his accession he affected to act with less rigour than Sixtus V. had done; and he gave donatives to his electors, on account of the scarcity of corn and provisions which still continued in Italy. He was a warm partizan for the holy league in France; and ordered his nuntio, the bishop of Placenza, at Paris, to publish his letter, by which he promised to supply it with fifteen thousand crowns a month; and he sent his nephew, Hercules Sfrondrati, with an army across the Alps to support it. He excommunicated Henry IV. but, before he could fignalize his pontificate with any great action, he died, on the fifteenth of October, 1591, after creating seven cardinals, one of whom was his own nephew.

The cardinal Santi Quarto was unanimously chosen to Innocent. fucceed Gregory, and he took the name of Innocent IX. He IX. pope. had begun to take measures for relieving his subjects under the diffresses they suffered from the famine; when he died, in the seventy-third year of his age, after filling the papal

throne only two months. He was succeeded, on the twenty-eighth of January, Clement 1592, by cardinal Aldobrandino, who took the name of Cle-VIII. ment VIII. He assumed the pontificate seemingly with great pope. diffidence and dejection; nor would he mount the papal throne without falling upon his knees before the altar. He fignalized his entrance upon his government, by viliting churches and religious houses, and by his zeal to suppress robbing and duelling; and he entered warmly into the interests of the Parisian league. The royal party remonstrated against all the bulls which he published to their prejudice; and sent the cardinal de Gondy, and the marquis of Pijani, to dilabule his holiness, as to the prejudices he entertained against Henry, who, about this time, to the confusion of all his enemies, renounced the protestant, and embraced the Koman catholic religion. It was, however, with vast diffi- Gregory culty, and not without great management, that Gregory was abiolves prevailed upon to give his majesty absolution, and not be- Henry IV. fore his ambasiadors, the cardinals Perron and Offa, had re- of France. ceived from the hands of his holiness, a flagellation, which he inlifted to be due to their master for his herefy. One of the conditions upon which this mighty favour was conferred, was, that Henry should cause the decrees of the council of Trent, to be received in France. The restoration of tran- See quility in that kingdom, left Clement at liberty to fend two Vol. VIII. thousand horse and eight thousand foot to the assistance of the p. 177. emperor against the Turks in Hungary; where they did emi- 180. nent service in the victories which the Christians obtained over the infidels in that and the succeeding year.

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Clement was likewise very follicitous to negotiate an alliance between the imperialists, Poles, and Transylvanians, against the infidels, but with very little effect. His legate, cardinal de Meaici, whom he fent to France with a confirmation of Henry's absolution, was received by that prince in person with the highest honours, and his instructions were registered by the parliament of Paris. Next year, Clement repaid those honours to the duke of Luxembourg, Henry's ambaffador at Rome; and it was greatly owing to his holiness that the conferences for peace were opened at Vervins, in 1597; which, next year, terminated in a treaty. But we are now to attend the history of other parts of Italy.

History of Naples duke of Alcala

In the year 1559, Philip of Spain, appointed the duke of Alcala his viceroy over the kingdom of Naples; which was under the equally harraffed by the Turks and the banditti. The former were so bold in their descents, that they plundered even part of the suburbs of Naples; and the latter chose for their head one Beradi, who assumed the title and ornaments of a king; but his followers were foon dispersed by the royal

troops.

The reader, in our history of the papacy, has seen the pretentions which the popes, from time to time, formed upon that kingdom; and which Alcala opposed with great vi-Though he suffered the decrees of the council of Trent to be printed and published in his government, yet he would allow none of those which were derogatory to the royal authority to be executed; nor would he enforce the acceptance of them by affixing to them the royal permission. Alcala prohibited all the other extravagant bulls published by the haughty pontiffs, to the prejudice of the royal authority; especially that called In Cana Domini; and in many other respects checked the encroachments of the see of Rome upon his mafter's prerogative. He was particularly careful, towards the latter end of his government, in fortifying the fea-coasts against the descents of the Turks, which were often attended with prodigious ravages; but he died in the year 1571, with the character of being a virtuous, wife, and vigilant viceroy.

and cardina! Gran welle.

Cardinal Granvelle succeeded him in his government, and, being a man of great abilities, the Two Sicilies, under him, fitted out a confiderable naval armament which did great fervices in the battle of Lepanto. Upon the conclusion of the separate peace between the Turks and the Venetians, don John carried a fleet and an army from Naples, and reduced Tunis; but the Turks foon dispossessed him of that kingdom, and pillaged the city of Castro. The prodigious expences of Philip's government, and of the wars he carried on in almost all the parts of the world, obliged him to make frequent demands upon the Neapolitans for money; and it is faid that cardinal Granvelle, during four years of his administration there, alli-

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here, raised upon the Neapolitans two million, three hundred thousand ducats, exclusive of the money arising from the fale of titles, and other perquifites; all which were fent out of the kingdom. The cardinal, however, was as vigorous as his predecessors had been in maintaining the royal, against the papal and ecclesiastical, prerogative. He ordered the prison belonging to the archbishop of Naples to be forcibly broke open, and tried and executed, by the civil au-thority, a felon whom he took out of it. The archbishop The viceexcommunicated the officers of the viceroy, and the latter roy puhad the spirit to punish those of the archbishop, who had nishes the published the excommunication, by imprisonment and other archbipenalties, to sequestrate the archbishop's revenues, and to shop of banish his vicar out of the kingdom. This resolute proceed- Naples. ing intimidated the pope and his confiftory, so that they did not dare openly to refent it. Don John of Austria had prefumed too much on his great fervices and his relation to Phih; for he confidered the kingdom of Naples as being little other than a provision for himself; but he was opposed by the cardinal, and don John secretly sollicited his recall from the viceroyalty. Philip fent the marquis de Mondejar, who The marwas known to be no friend to don John, to govern Naples. quis of The marquis, on his arrival there, affected an independ- Mondejar. ency upon the cardinal as well as don John, and made both of them his enemies; so that, though he was an able governor, he was so much hated by the Neapolitans, that the benefit they received from his administration was attributed, not to him, but to their patron, St. Fanuarius; and even the glory he acquired by defeating the Turks, when they made adescent upon the kingdom, was ascribed to his generals. The hatred of the Neapolitans would have been far from difcrediting the marquis in Philip's eyes, had he not violated the rights of a convent, by attempting to force a nun, who was a rich heiress, to marry his eldest son. This gave such a handle to Granvelle against him that he was recalled.

His fuccessor, the prince of Pietra Persa, reaped the be-the prince mest of his many wise regulations and edicts for the good of of Pietra the people. Upon his arrival at Naples, he ordered sisteen Persa, hundred crowns, that had been appropriated for destraying the expences of his entry, to be given to a public charity; and he obtained from the parliament of Neapolitan barons and freeholders twelve thousand crowns. This money he laid out on a considerable armament, which he sent to the assistance of Philip, under the command of the prior of Huntary and cardinal Spinelli, to serve in the reduction of Portugal to Philip's authority. Philip sinding the inconveniences of long viceroyalties, they were limitted to the term of three years; at the expiration of which the prince less Naples, universally esteemed and beloved for his wisdom, affability,

and moderation.

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GENERAL HISTORY

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and the duke of Offuna, viceroy.

His successor, the duke of Ossuna, having been bred in camps, could not, at first, reconcile himself to the habits of civil life. He, however, in the course of his government, fucceeded fo well, that he obtained from the parliament fub. fidies to the amount of two million, four hundred thousand, ducats; and, at last, by his care, assiduity, and public spi-

da viceroy.

The count rit, he became popular. He was succeeded by the count of This nobleman found Naples over-run by bande Miran- Miranda. ditti, who had formed themselves into a regular army under their leader, or, as they called him, their king, Benedetto The government's troops had been often baffled Mongone. by those of the banditti, whose numbers encreased to a formidable head after their expulsion by Sixtus V. out of the ecclefiastical state. They even befieged and took towns, and acted, in all forms, like disciplined soldiers, had they not been paid by the plunder they made and the military contributions they raised. Mongone being taken, and put to death at Naples by tortures, was succeeded in his command by one Sciarra, who assumed the title of king of Campagna, and became formidable to the pope himself; so that he gave the viceroy permission, at all times, to enter the territories of the church in pursuit of the banditti.

The pope · invade Naples.

His holiness had not foreseen the use that Philip made of intends to this permission; for the viceroy had secret orders, under pretext of pursuing the banditti, to observe the motion of the pope's troops, who was then Sixtus V. and who, as we have already feen, died just as he was about to have attempted the conquest of Naples; in which, according to fome authors, he was to have been affifted by queen Elizabeth of England. As the forces fent by the viceroy to the ecclefiaftical state, were chiefly designed to watch the pope, and not numerous, they were defeated by the banditti, who then redoubled their ravages to fuch a degree, that pope Cles ment VIII. found it necessary to unite his troops under those of the viceroy, which were commanded by the count of Con-Sciarra being, about this time, invited into the Venetian service, the banditti chose his brother, Lucca, to command them; and they still continued to give great unealiness to the viceroy. Lucca, at last, being betrayed and put to death, the count entirely suppressed the banditti, and entered Naples as triumphantly as if he had returned from a foreign conquelt.

During the count de Miranda's government, which, by triennial prorogations, continued for nine years, he raifed no less than fix million of ducats upon the Neapolitans; great part of which was employed in building, equipping, and manning ships to join the Armada of Spain in its unfortunate expedition against England, and to defend the Neapolitan coasts against the repeated descents and ravages of the He was, upon the whole, esteemed a good governor;

nor; and, upon his being recalled, in the year 1595, he was Count succeeded by the count of Olivarez; who, for twelve years, Olivarez had been minister from Philip at the court of Rome; during which time he had acted with uncommon address, patience, and penetration. The feverity of his manners and educaion led him to discourage the expensive modes of living, and the useless exteriors of government. He therefore apolled himself entirely to the administration of justice and to memaintainance of order, peace and plenty, throughout all parts of the kingdom: but, at the same time, he embellished hecity of Naples, by employing the famous architect Fonund upon public works that, for elegance, utility and maginference, are not inferior to those of the first cities of the world. Being no favourite of Philip III. of Spain, upon that prince's succeeding his father, Philip II. Olivarez was removed from his government, and succeeded by the count and count of Lemos, who arrived at Naples on the fixth of July, Lemos,

1599.

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As that year was the eve of a new century, it gave an opportunity for one Tommasa Campanella to form a most extraordinary scheme for expelling the Spanish government out of Naples, and rendering that kingdom independent of the pope. This person had lived and talked so freely, that he had been clapped up in the inquisition at Rome; where he had been so severely disciplined, that he had formed this plan of revenge. From the prison of the inquisition he was ant to be confined in a convent at Stilo, where he was born; and where he met with spirits that, by their gloomy habits of lite, were susceptible of enthusiasm, and could relish the most extravagant propositions. Campanella soon acquired a raft reputation for his skill in judicial aftrology, and he made use of it in awakening the attention of the monks and fiars to certain prodigious events, in the kingdom of Nahis, that were to usher in the approaching century. Having axed in their minds a firm opinion of his prescience, he proceded to declare, that these events were no less than those we have already mentioned. As the persons he converted with were Neapolitans, they the more readily believed him; because they equally hated the papal, as the Spanish, government: and the number of his profelyted followers, all of them monks, amounted to three hundred. In their fermons they inveighed against the Spanish tyranny; and the infection pread so far, that it was caught by the bishops of Nicastro, Giraw, Melito, and Oppido, as well as some of the chief noblemen of the kingdom.

As to Campanella himself, his history is remarkable. In History of learning he had an uncommon genius, and, with great Campapenetration, he saw and blamed that of Aristotle; and laid nella's aplan for a sundamental reformation of philosophy. It is conspibly no means improbable that Campanella's confinement and racy. Sufferings in the inquisition had touched his brain; and,

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among other articles with which he and his followers were charged, one was, that they intended to have killed all the jesuits, and to have called in the Turks to their assistance, The conspirators assembling in a body of about eight hundred, their defign took air; and, before their numbers grew formidable, they were quelled by Carlo Spinelli: their ring. leaders were seized, and many of them put to death. As to Campanella, the tortures he underwent are incredible; but, by his inflexible resolution, he surmounted them all, and was delivered from them by pope Urban VIII. who, how. ever, could not protect him; but he fent him to France, where he became a kind of favourite with Lewis XIII. and cardinal Richlieu; and he died peaceably at Paris.

Dispute about the possession of Fer-Tara.

Clement VIII. being now closely united with Henry IV. of France, he had the courage to affert his claim to the dutchy of Ferrara, upon the death of Alphonfo, its last duke, who had bequeathed it to one of his kinsmen, Cæsar de Este, whose legitimacy was disputed. Casar was in possession of the late duke's estates, and intimated his title to them to the pope, Clement VIII. amongst other princes. Clement treated Cæsar's letter, and the person who presented them, with the utmost indignation; tearing the one, and driving the other out of his presence. He then sent his nephew, cardinal Aldebrandini, with a body of troops, into the Bolognese; but, in the mean while, he cited Cæsar to appear before him at Rome; and ordered him, under pain of excommunication, to renounce his pretentions to the Ferrarefe. Cæfar, difregarding these citations, assembled an army and beat the pope's troops; upon which his holiness, cloathing himself in a suit of armour, which is still shewn in the Vatican at Rome, marched at the head of his army (which was far stronger than any that Cafar, though he was well beloved by the Ferrarese, could raise) to Ferrara; which Cafar was obliged to abandon at one gate, while the warlike pontiff entered it at another.

Clement owed this important acquisition to the friendship of Henry IV. of France, who was better pleased to see the Ferrarese in the hands of the pope, to whom it belongs at this day, than in those of either the emperor or the catholic Clement, after this, shewed himself very accessible to all applications in Cafar's favour. He absolved him and his followers from their excommunication; he restored to him half the artillery of Ferrara, and the allodial possessions of his family, with the dutchies of Modena and Reggio; which, with the emperor's consent, had been bequeathed to him by The pope the late duke. Clement soon after visited Ferrara; which he takes pos- took possession of in form, and re-annexed it, for ever, to the holy fee.

fession of Ferrara.

Clement made now a very illustrious figure in the affairs of Europe. His legate and nuncio had mediated the peace of Vervins between France and Spain; and he was arbitrator of the remaining differences between the French king and the ike of Savoy. He received the archduke Aibert, and Mar- and makes of Austria, with great magnificence at Ferrara; where, an illustriperson, he married him and Ijubella, the king of Spain's ous figure er; and Margaret to the king of Spain, who had sponsors in Europe. loon the return of his holiness to Rome, that city was vihed by an inundation of the Tiber, which had almost toally destroyed it, and carried off one thousand of its inhamants.

Though Clement, at first, was mortified by the edict of Mintz, which had been published by the French king in faout of the protestants, he was soon reconciled to Henry, no wanted to annul his marriage with Margaret of Valois, hat he might marry one of his mistresses; and he appointed

ommissioners to examine its validity.

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In the year 1600, the jubilee was celebrated at Rome to the Magnifimost extent of solemnity, ceremony and magnificence; cent jubiad the pope, with a generous disdain, refused to proceed in lee at hearbitration between the French king and the duke of Sa- Rome. m, because the latter had been heard to accuse him of parfailing to Henry; and refuted, for that reason, to confign, as but been agreed on, the county of Saluce into his hands. Never fince the decadence of the Roman empire had Rome In so many sovereign princes, from all parts, within her ralls, as on the occasion of this jubilee; and few popes had mer been courted so much as Clement was at this time, either through the policy or the weakness of the different princes of

The dutchess of Beaufort, the favourite mistress of Hen-IV. being now dead, he declared his intention to marry Mary de Medicis, daughter to the late great duke of Tuscany; which reason Clement confirmed the sentence of his commillioners, who had declared Henry's marriage with Marput of Valois to be invalid. He then fent cardinal Aldobranm, as his legate, to Florence; where he celebrated Henry's marriage, by proxy, with Mary of Medici; and, in the ume of his holiness, presented the bride with a set of rich wels and an hundred thousand ducats in ready money. the legate then proceeded to accommodate the differences Miween the French king and the duke of Savoy, which were last amicably adjusted, by the exchange of la Bresse for the marquifate of Saluces, which was ceded to the crown of trance.

Clement, having, before his accession to the popedom, been The pope protector of the Scotch nation, founded a college at Rome forms the for the education of the students of that kingdom; and a Scotch and monastery for the females of his own country, who, being other colestitute of all provision, were a burthen upon private cha- leges. my, and wandered about the streets of Rome; as he did a thool for the poor Roman boys. He would have prevailed With Henry IV. of France to authorise the decrees of the

the council of Trent within his dominions; but he met with fo vigorous an opposition from the parliament of Paris, that he was obliged to drop the defign; neither could he obtain at this time, the re-admission of the Jesuits, who had been, for some years, banished out of that kingdom. A solemn ambasily came, in the year 1601, from the sophy of Persia, to induce the pope to prevail with the Christian powers to affift him against the Turks; but this ambassy, like most others of the same kind, proved only to be a contrivance set on foot by an Englishman, and some of his confederates, to cheat Clement and the credulous princes of christendom, of their money. Clement, at last, became sensible of the arts of the Jesuits, who had invaded his authority in several parts of the gobe; in England, amongst the Roman catholics, particularly; and he published a bull, explaining, or curtailing, their privileges. To preserve an appearance of impartiality, however, he was present at a dispute concerning grace and free will; and regulated feveral abuses which had crept into the church of Rome with regard to confessions. The Jesuits were so much nettled at his not giving the preference to their order over that of the Dominicans, that some of them disputed his infallibility, and denied him to be the real fuccessor of St. Peter. They likewise defended the doctrine of Molina, one of their brotherhood, concerning grace, which had occasioned a great deal of noise between them and the Dominicans, and had been again and again condemned by the congregations at Rome.

its.

But, though Clement was averse to the Jesuits, their order the Jesu- was, at this time, very powerful in Europe; and Henry IV. had not only suffered them to return to France, but had appointed one of them to be his confessor. That prince, in the year 1603, had been shocked by the imprudent zeal of the protestants; who, in one of their synods, had declared the pope to be the real antichrist, just about the time that his holiness had sent twelve thousand men, under his nephew, Aldobrandino, to affift the emperor against the infidels in Hungary, which they did, but with little effect. Henry represented the indecency of this decree to the protestants, because it implied that he was a worshipper of antichrit; but he could not prevail upon them to withdraw it.

> The glorious actions that had been performed by Alexander Farnese, who was first prince, and then duke, of Parmas and was esteemed the best general of his age, had raised that family to great confideration in Italy. The emperor, Charles V. during his life-time, never could be prevailed upon to restore Placenza either to Alexander or his father; but Philip was so sensible of the high merits of Alexander while, in his youth, he resided at his court, that he sent an order to his governor of the Milaneje for its restitution, which he revoked that very night; but the revocation did not come to the governor till after he had executed the former order.

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Ranuccio, the fon of Alexander, was a favourite with pope A riot at Clement VIII. whose niece he married; and, being con-Rome. tented with the glory he acquired under his father in the Low Countries, he led a tranquil and inoffensive life upon his own dominions. His brother, cardinal Edward Farnese, was not of so peaceable a disposition; and embroiled himself with the pope's prefect of Rome, on account of a criminal who had taken refuge in his palace, which was befet by the officers of justice. The other princes and nobility of Rome. refolving to maintain their shameful privilege of protecting criminals of every kind, put themselves under arms, and carried the felon by force to a confiderable distance from Rome. The pope, irritated at so daring a violation of public justice, deprived the cardinal of his government of St. Peter's patrimony, which the cardinal refused to refign. Upon this, Clement had recourse to force; and the cardinal thinking proper to fubmit, all differences between them were made up, at the intercession of his elder brother the duke of Parma.

Soon after this, the pope died, on the second of March, Death of 1605, without making any formal decision upon the disputed points between the fesuits and the Dominicans. His character seems to have been too severely treated by some warm protestant writers. He filled the pontificate with great dignity and moderation; nor, perhaps, were the protestants themselves entirely blameless, as to the use they made of their toleration under several Roman catholic princes, particularly in France. We know of no violent exercise of his supremacy, nor did he exert the insolent, but inessectual, sulminations of his predecessors against the crown of England. On the contrary, he admonished the Roman catholics, both there and in Scotland, to a quiet and respectful submission to the civil power; and, if any examples were made, the punishments were owing to their own violence and improvedence.

Cardinal Baronius, the famous annalist and historian, was, at that time, in high reputation for his learning, and stood the fairest of any member in the facred college to have succeeded Clement in the popedom; but he had disobliged the Spanish faction, which was then very powerful in the conclave, by some exceptionable passages, in which he impugned the independency of their master's right to the trown of the Two Sicilies, by vesting the paramount power in the see of Rome. He was befriended by cardinal Aldobrandini, who had the greatest interest of any single member in the conclave; but the Spaniards were powerful enough to impose a negative, not only upon his election, but upon that of the samous cardinal Bellarmine, the most zealous, and perhaps the ablest, advocate that ever appeared for the see of Rome. The choice, at last, fell upon the cardinal

lee of Rome. The choice, at last, sell upon the cardinal Succeedde Medici, a relation of the great duke of Tuscany; and he ed by Vob. X. mounted Leo XI.

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mounted the papal throne by the name of Leo XI. He was adorned with his family's virtues, those of liberality, munificence to learned men, affability, and a wonderful dexterity in managing business, which had rendered his ministry at the French, and other, courts, very successful, and useful to the late pope. His elevation made, to appearance, no alteration upon his behaviour, but he died in the seventieth year of his age, and the seventeenth day of his pontificate.

Paul V. chosen pope.

Upon his decease, the conclave was again divided, and after many cavaffings of the cardinals, Camillo Borghefe, who took the name of Paul V. was chosen pope. He was then no more than fifty years of age; and being esteemed an excellent civilian, he had discharged several commissions with great fuccess. Upon his election he promoted to the degree of cardinal, his nephew, by his fifter, Scipio Caffarelli; and gave high posts to his other relations. His first care, as pontiff, was to advance the power and revenue of the holy fee; and he prest the French king to order the decrees of the council of Trent to be received in his dominions. He folicited for the Jesuits in Spain, an exemption from their being obilged to pay their tythes, and he censured the commonwealth of Lucca, for the proneness that its inhabitants had discovered to embrace the protestant religion. It is true, the magistrates had prohibited all commerce and intercourse with the converts to protestantism; but his holiness considered this edict as an invasion of his authority, and insisted upon its being repealed, that the censures of the church might have their full effect against the delinquents. Paul had, likewise, some difference with the court of Spain, the viceroy of Naples having imprisoned two booksellers, who had published and fold the eleventh volume of the annals of Baronius. But the chief transaction which distinguished the pontificate of Paul V. was his celebrated difference with the republic of Venice.

History of We have occasionally remarked that the laws of Venice his differ- are not of so flexible a nature in matters of religion, as ence with those of other Roman catholic countries, where a single the reperson gives law. The Venetians had long complained of public of the encroachments of the church upon their civil policy; and their government had issued two edicts for preventing the increase of religious buildings, and the farther augmentation of the enormous wealth of the clergy, by prohibiting them to make farther purchases of lands or houses,

ing them to make farther purchases of lands or houses, without the consent of the figniory. They had likewise imprisoned two ecclesiastics by their own authority; nor could the pope prevail with the republic, as the ecclesiastics were accused of capital crimes, to give them up to the spiritual jurisdiction. Paul V. had in his disposition all the tiery materials of his most haughty, predecessors; but was

destricte of their policy and firmness in conducting great affairs. He stilled himself the vicegod, the monarch of christendom,

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christendom, and the supporter of papal omnipotence. His presumption and overbearing spirit was encreased and encouraged by the cardinals Baronius, and Bellarmine, men of reading, and of some abilities, in that useless controversial learning, which was then in vogue among the votaries of the Roman church. Like him, they were intoxicated with veneration for the papal power; and they undertook to defend Paul in his most absurd and ridiculous claims. As if he had really been persuaded of his own omnipotence; he fent two briefs to his nuntio at Venice, for avocating to the ecclesiastical court the two imprisoned ecclesiastics, and for annulling all the laws made by the republic relating to the clergy. He was seconded by the Jesuits and the Capuchins, who disowned the civil authority when put in competition with that of the pope; and the Venetians employed the famous Sarpi, commonly called father Paul, one of the best pens in Europe, to defend their conduct. The quarrel foon became serious, for the Venetians treated the mandates of his holiness with the utmost contempt. Upon this, he laid their republic under an interdict, while they banished all the Jesuits and Capuchins out of their territories.

Some of the cardinals, by pretending to mediate an ac- Progress commodation, in reality inflamed the difference, in hopes of the that the pope's violent temper would put an end to his same.

days, in resentment of the disrespect that had been shewn him. All they could obtain was a forbearance of twenty four days before he proceeded to execute his threats; but the Venetians, in the mean while, knowing the inutility of all other arguments, prepared for war. They ordered all the clergy within their dominions to pay no regard to the papal decrees; they gave leave to the Capuchins to return to their city on promise of good behaviour; but the Jesuits were exiled for ever from their territories, and even corresponding with them was rendered highly penal. Henry IV. of France, was the only prince in Europe on whom the pope could depend with any degree of fecurity. That prince, desirous of quiet, promised Paul his friendship, and the king of Spain did the same, but upon condition of the Neapolitan tribute being remitted, and Ferrara and Ancona delivered into his hands. The Venetians, on the other part, had private affurances of support from the king of Great Britain, whose ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, then lived at Venice, and the republic of Holland; and it was even said, that the porte promised them assistance likewise. The Venetians recalled their ambassador from Rome; a stop was put to all proceedings of the inquisition in their city, and proclamation was made by found of trumpet, that it any person should receive a papal interdict published at Rome, they should bring it to the council of ten, under pain of death. A sudden and close intimacy grew up between Mr. Bedel, chaplain to the English embassy, and Sarpi; and Sir

A GENERAL HISTORY

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Henry Wotton was almost every day in conference with the fenate, which gave some countenance to a general report, that the Venetians were about to declare themselves protestants. Both parties having appealed to arms, the republic took eight thousand Swifs into its pay, fitted out a fleet, and ordered troops to march towards the frontiers of the Milanese, while the pope affembled an army in the dutchy of Spoleto, and formed his confistory into a council of war.

Disposi . tions of the Venetians towards protefgantism.

There is great reason for believing that the Venetians, at this time, actually had thoughts of throwing off the papal yoke; and had they been vigorously supported by James 1. of England, they would have made fuch a declaration; but that pusilanimous prince talked to Giustiniano, the Venetian ambassador at London, in a strain of reverence for the papal authority, that proved no dependence could be placed upon him for any vigorous support, should the republic take that step. Henry IV. in the mean while, laboured fincerely for an accommodation, it being his interest to keep equally well with the Venetians as the pope. He fent the cardinal de Joyeuse, an able negotiator, to Italy, where he pressed the Venetians to make some submissions to his holiness; but all was in vain; and the cardinal was obliged to proceed in good earnest in his negociation.

Their difference with the pope accommodated.

The pope faw the Venetians every day more and more determined to oppose him. At first he insisted upon their recalling the Jesuits; but the senate continued inflexible on that head, and he was obliged at last to agree to their terms, which, in fact, were imposed upon him by Henry. The two ecclefiaffical prisoners were, by the republic, delivered into the hands of the French ambassador, to be given up to the pope; all the protests against the validity of the papal censures were annulled, and the ecclesiastics were restored to their estates; and, though the republic disowned the zet, the pope absolved it from the excommunication he had pronounced. It has been generally thought, that the papal power received an irretrievable blow by this accommodadation, as it discovered how meffectual the fulminations of the vatican are, when opposed with spirit and steadiness.

Paul's moderation and

In the year 1507, Paul endeavoured to diffuade the Roman catholics of England from fwearing to the king's supremacy, and to the independency of his dominions upon the fee of indolence. Rome; and he had, about the fame time, fome thoughts of fending missionaries to Congo. Next year he entered upon feveral ridiculous negotiations with the Perfians, the Neftorians, and other foreigners, who pretended a willingness to embrace the Romish faith; but attended with no other effects but that of useless parade, and that of exciting in weak minds, a veneration for St. Peter's fee. He maintained, however, a first neutrality in Italy, between the kings of Spain and France, at the time when it was thought Henry intended

intended to invade the Milanese. When that prince was flabbed by Raviliac, Paul expressed great concern for his death, and he fent some Frenchmen to the gallies for seeming

to rejoice at that barbarous event.

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Toward the end of his pontificate, he became moderate His difin his measures, and he sent four cardinals to examine into ference the dispute between the duke of Bavaria, and the archbishop with the of Saltzbourg; and they made a report unfavourable for the French bishop. He enriched the persons, houses, and estates, of the court and Borghese family, with every thing that was curious and parliamagnificent in painting, sculpture, and architecture. He ment. gave his nephew, the cardinal of that name, estates as it is faid, to the value of two millions of crowns, which he raifed by oppression and simony. At last, he sunk into senfuality and luxury, nor would he take any concern but that of a neutrality in the differences between the courts of Spain and France, which embroiled Italy in a war, on account of the dispute between cardinal Ferdinand of Mantua, and the widow of his brother the late duke. Paul confirmed the institution of the Congregation of the Fathers of the Oratory at Paris, and had fome differences with that parliament, for having condemned to the flames' a book written by his favourite Jesuit, Suarez, which approved of regicide. The weak administration, during the minority of Lewis XIII. gave him fome hopes of prevailing in this contest, but they were disappointed by the firmness of the parliament; nor did he succeed in his endeavours to introduce into that kingdom the decrees of the council of Trent.

Upon the affaffination of the marshal D'Ancre, a Flo- The marrentine, who had been first minister to Lewis XIII. of quis France; the parliament of Paris confiscated all his estates, D'Ancre's and the French ambassador at Rome demanded that his master estate dishould be put into possession of all the marshal's property in vided bethat city; which amounted to the value of four hundred tween and twenty five thousand livres. This demand was so stre- the pope nuoully infifted upon, that Paul actually gave to the king and the two hundred and fifty thousand livres, and put the rest into French his own pocket. Hearing that the bishop of Lugon, after-king. wards the famous cardinal Richelieu, had been concerned in some transactions to the prejudice of the see of Rome; he withdrew his countenance from that prelate, though he permitted him, during the time of his exile, to refide at

Avignon.

The last great action of Paul's life was his affisting the See imperialiasts against the Bohemians, who had chosen the Vol. IX. elector Palatine for their king; but who were entirely p. 144, defeated in the battle of Prague, a few months before Paul's death, which happened on the tenth of January, 1621, in the fixteenth year of his pontificate, and the fixty minth of his age. His memory is condemned for his nepotism, and for his neglecting, before his death, all ecclesia-

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ffical discipline, and encouraging all kind of corruption

and simony, to aggrandize his nephew, cardinal Borghese. Grecory

Paul V. was succeeded by cardinal Ludovisio, a noble XV. pope. Bolognese, who took the name of Gregory XV. and began his pontificate with nine canonizations, among which were those of Loyala, and Francis Xavier. He published a universal jubilee, and employed one Dominicus de Jesu Maria, a most impudent enthusiast and impostor, to animate the French papists against the protestants, who had taken arms when their liberties were violated. This pope was the author of some new regulations concerning the election of a pontiff, so as to make it more safe for the inferior cardinals to give their votes according to their consciences, by way of private scrutiny. He interposed in the famous dis. pute which had been much agitated during the reigns of his immediate predecessors, concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, which was maintained by the Dominicans, and denied by the Franciscans; and he took the part of the former, by publishing a bull, which contains the abfurd, unintelligible jargon, in which that dispute consists. During his pontificate, he was a vigorous ally to the emperor of Germany in his wars with the Bohemian protestants; and in his time the famous library of Heidelberg, belonging to the elector Palatine, was carried to Rome, where part of it still remains, though it is faid, that the most valuable books were imbezzled in Germany, and some loft by flipwreck. Gregory's zeal led him to excite the weak French king,

His zeal for the Roman catholic religion.

Lervis XIII. not only against his own, but the German, protestants; and he was privy to the famous attempt made by the duke of Savoy to surprize the city of Geneva. Gregory had a most favourable opportunity, by the unbounded zeal of Fames I. for a match between his fon, and the infanta of Spain, to propagate his religion and authority. That prince was to infatuated, as to believe, that if his holiness and he were in good correspondence, they could reconcile all the religious differences of christendom. This notion had prevailed upon that misguided monarch to make several unfeemly advances towards an intercourse with the pope. He fet at liberty all the papifts who were confined in England on account of religion; and the pope artfully encouraged His nego. his schemes for a general reconciliation of religions. fent one Gage, to Rome, to follicit the pope's dispensation for the marriage; but the rounds of negociation attending that affair, are at once so tedious and so immaterial, that we must omit them here. It is sufficient to say, that when Gage arrived at Rome, and produced his credentials, Gregory infifted, before he would grant a dispensation, that the English Roman catholics should have a public church in London, under the ministry of a bishop, besides a private chapel, in which the infanta was to be indulged after her marriage.

tiation with the laing of England. marriage. He farther infifted, that the popish ecclesiastics in England should be responsible only to their own superiors; that the children of the marriage should be educated by the mother, and that farther expedients should be found out for the benefit of popery. James made little or no scruple of suffering the infanta to have a church or chapel in London; but objected to the independency of the ecclesiastics upon the civil power. His mind, however, was so much bent upon the match, that he would have granted all that Gregory requested, had not the Spaniards been infincere in the negotiation, and the dispositions of his people averse to all indulgences of popery.

In the mean while, the possession of the Valteline by the Spaniards, who had there massacred the protestant inhabitants, was disputed by the French, Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; but till the difference could be compromised, the country was sequestered into Gregory's hands, and he filled the forts with his troops, under the command of his nephew. Some weeks after this transaction was finished, Gregory died, and left behind him the character of equalling the most sanguine of his predecessors in his zeal for popery; but of exceeding most of them in charity, piety, and learning.

At the time of Gregory's death, the factions of Borghefe, Urban and Ludovisio, the nephews of the two last popes, were VIII. powerful in the conclave; but they joined in recommend-pope. ing to the pontificate cardinal Barberini, a noble Florentine, who was accordingly elected, and took the name of Urban This pontiff had been honoured with many posts and commissions under the late pope, which he had discharged greatly to his credit. Before his accession to the popedom, he was esteemed as a poet, and as a person of a free, liberal, and independent spirit; and during his reign he was a patron and benefactor to men of learning and genius. The Jesuits, the great instructors of youth in those days, taught his Latin verses in their schools, as classical compositions, nor could the most severe of his brother cardinals find any fault with his elevation, but that of his not being above fifty-five years of age at the time of his election. He began his reign with a great shew of piety, and added eight faints, to those canonized by his predecessor, whom he excelled in nepotism. He bestowed his own cardinal's hat on his brother, Antony; he raised his nephews to the lame dignity; and in a short time, the Barberini family were among the richest and most powerful of any in Rome.

Urban's polite literature was far from softening his man-Grants a ners towards the protestants, whom he hated and persecuted; dispensabut his zeal received a terrible shock, when the prince of tion for Wales abruptly left the Spanish court, and his father, (whom the marke looked upon to be as good as a convert to popery) retract-riage of ed all his concessions to the Roman catholics. Urban was a the prince strenuous opposer of the satal match between the prince and Wales.

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the princess Henrietta Maria, sister to Lewis XIII. But he at last agreed to grant the dispensation, upon Lewis assuring him that the conclusion of the marriage should be of no service to the hugonots. Urban saw that James had quarrelled with Spain, but not with the holy see; and prevailed upon Lewis to send an artful agent, the archbishop of Ambrun, to London, where he negotiated privately with James in savour of the Roman catholics, for whom he procured many savours, by soothing that prince's ridiculous vanity in

his reconciliatory schemes.

Urban, foon after his accession, published several bulls, one of which abolished the order of female Jesuits; another condemned the doctrine of Jansenius; another conferred the title of eminence upon cardinal legates, and the three ecclefiaffical electors of the empire, together with the great master of Malta. He laboured incessantly for an accommodation between the French and the Spaniards, as to the affair of the Valteline; but he was, by the court of France, looked upon as being too favourable to the Spaniards. In the year 1625, the French troops entered that country, and reduced all its forts. This produced bitter complaints from the pope, but all he could obtain was a suspension of arms for two months; while his nephew, cardinal Barberini, endeavoured to negotiate an accommodation at Paris; but without any effect. Barberini returning from Paris, went upon a fresh legation to Spain, and the pope raised six thousand troops to affift the Spaniards against the French in the Valteline. We are now to attend the history of Italy independent of the popedom.

History of Naples.

The count of Benevento succeeded the count of Lemos, as viceroy of Naples, which kingdom still continued to be fleeced on the one hand by the insatiable court of Spain, and to be harraffed on the other by the Turks. The count of Benevento (like his predecessors) had many disputes with the pope about ecclefiaftical immunities, and made no scruple of dragging criminals from their fanctuaries to punishment. He took the castle of Durazzo, in Albania, from the Turks, to whom it served as a retreat; and he subdued the banditti of Calabria. The intrigues of the court of Spain occasioned the marquis to be recalled, about the year 1610, and he was succeeded by the count of Lemos, fon to him already mentioned, who proved likewise an excellent governor. He retrieved the finances of the kingdom, and spent out of his own pocket a hundred and fifty thoufand crowns in erecting a magnificent school-house in the university, under Fontana's direction. His example pievailed with the Neapolitan nobility to form themselves into literary affociations, in which the viceroy himself used to exhibit his performances, particularly in a comedy, of which he was the author. His fuccessor, the duke of Ossuna, was magnificent and liberal, and upon the invasion of Monthe

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ferat by the duke of Savoy, and the Venetians, he fitted out affect to oppose them; and fent a body of troops to the affiftance of the governor of Milan. The Venetians complained of this infraction of the neutrality of Spain, and that court ordered the duke to defift from hostilities, but to no effect; for his cruizers continued more than ever to diffress the trade of the republic. The dark defigns of the court of Spain renders this part of the Italian history uncertain. It is improbable that the duke of Offuna would have ventured, without some private authority, to disobey the orders of his court; and it is certain, that when the peace of Italy was restored, he and the governor of Milan, with the marquis of Bedmar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, entered into a most dangerous conspiracy against that republic. The Neapolitans, who fuffered deeply in their trade in the reprizals made upon them by the Venetians, joined in their complaints of the viceroy; but all was to no purpose, so strong was his credit at the court of Madrid. As he had great parts, and and the fill greater ambition, it was thought (with some shew of Venetian reason) that he intended to have made himself king of Naples; conspiracy and that, finding he could not fucceed, as the Venetians were now closely connected with the Spaniards, he had projected the ruin of that republic, and had brought the governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedmar, into the conspiracy, which was discovered by the remorse of one Faffier, a Provençal, It is supposed, that it was one of the bloodiest that history mentions, as all Venice was to have been burnt down, and the fenators massacred, together with the doge and the nobility. When the conspiracy was defeated, the duke's conduct was so suspicious, that the court of Spain ordered cardinal Borgia to superfede him in his government, which he did with great difficulty; but the dake's vast power and estate, and his artful address, screened him from punishment at the court of Madrid during the reign of Philip III. and he would even have been restored to his government had not that prince died. Count Olivarez, who was first minister to Philip IV. was less favourable to the duke, for he was confined to the castle of Almeyda to the time of his death, which happened in 1624.

Don Antonio Zapetto, succeeded cardinal Borgia in the vice- Zapetto royalty of Naples; but notwithstanding all his good inten-viceroy of tions for the reformation of the state, and restoring plenty Naples. to the people, a natural scarcity which afflicted the kingdom, rendered all his endeavours vain; and he was so much infulted by the populace, that he was forced to make feveral levere examples of the rioters, by ordering some of them to be broke upon the wheel, and fixteen to be fent to the gallies. The excessive oppressions, however, of the court of Madrid, were the true fources of all the mileries the people fuffered; and the abuses of the coin, which he endeavoured to remedy, prevailed upon the Spanish court to

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by the duke of Alva.

viceroy.

fucceeded recall him. He was fucceeded by the duke of Alva, who proved to be an excellent viceroy, and would have removed all the public complaints, had not his efforts been rendered ineffectual by the perpetual demands of the court for money, and a scries of earthquakes, and other natural misfortunes. He was obliged to furnish his court not only with money, but troops, to serve in the Spanish armies then at war both in the Valteline, and the Low Countries; but all being infufficient for fatisfying the incessant demands of The duke the state, he was recalled, and the duke of Alcala was ap-

of Alcala pointed to succeed him.

This new viceroy had the same difficulties, that his predecessors had struggled with, to encounter. As the ambition and mismanagement of the Spanish court, which continued to be governed by Olivarez, encreased, the distresses of the Neapolitans encreased, till, at last, the perpetual demands of the court for men and money, occasioned a fort of public bankruptcy; and the crown lands and cities were put up to fale to supply the king's necessities. The descents of the Turks, and the ravages of the banditti were again renewed; a pestilence, attended by a famine, broke out in many places, while the people refused to submit to be governed by the purchasers of their cities and provinces. The public diforders at last arrived to such a pitch as to bid defiance

by the count of

to civil government, of which a total ceffation enfued. Succeeded The duke of Alcala was recalled, and the count of Monterey, then the Spanish ambassador at Rome, succeeded him. The count was a favourite with Olivarez, and an eruption Monterey. of Mount Vesuvius, which threatened the total destruction of the capital, rendered the commencement of his adminifiration very calamitous. It was however, upon the main, equitable and moderate, but he was unable to supply the growing demands of the Spaniards to maintain their foreign Those perpetual oppressions, however, with the immense sums furnished by the Neapolitans, and the troops they fent to the Low Countries, the Milanese, and other parts of Europe, amidst all their distresses and oppressions, fufficiently prove the vast natural riches of the country, and the resources which the inhabitants had in trade and manu-The feverity of the government in raifing taxes, factures. fuffered none of them to be idle; and their industry mult have made them a great and powerful people, had they been governed by princes of their own, reliding among themselves. Upon the removal of Montery from the viceroyalty, he was fucceeded by the duke of Medina de las Torres, who had been fon-in-law to Olivarez, and was again married to a rich Neapolitan heirefs. Under him, the taxes of the Neapolitans were rather encreased than diminished, and a number of cities and villages were reduced to ruins by the earthquakes, in which ten thousand inhabitants were buried. Had it not been for the interposition of the Venetian marine, the Turks

Diftreffes of the Neapolitans.

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would have at that time seized upon the rich chapel of Loretto. At this time, the French had got a powerful sooting in Italy, and had formed a conspiracy for surprizing the city of Naples; but it was discovered, and the chief conspirator, a Neapolitan nobleman, was beheaded in that capital. They afterwards appeared off Gaeta with a fleet of thirty sour men of war; but all their attempts were rendered ineffectual by the resistance of the castle, and the vigilence of don Melchior de Borgia, the Neapolitan admiral. Upon the revolt of Portugal, and Catalonia, from the Spaniards, the oppressions and taxes of the Neapolitans were redoubled, and they were involved in the war which at that time broke out in Lombardy, between the duke of Parma and pope Urban VIII.

In the mean while, Olivarez lost his credit at the court of Spain, and being succeeded by don Lewis de Haro, the admiral of Cassile, who had strong pretentions to be first minister, was appointed to succeed the duke of Medina, as viceroy of Naples, a post which, however distinguished, was now become irksome to every man of humanity, on account of the incessant oppressions and cruelties of the Spaniards upon the inhabitants. The appearance of the Turks upon the Neapolitan coasts obliged the new viceroy to increase his marine, and he laid a capitation tax upon all the citizenes.

his marine, and he laid a capitation tax upon all the citizens of Naples. This fresh oppression exasperated the inhabitants The duke so much, that apprehending a general insurrection, he or- of Arcos dered the tax to be discontinued; for which instance of hu-viceroy. manity and prudence, he was so much blamed by the court

of Spain, that he was removed from his viceroyalty; and the duke of Arcos was appointed to succeed him. He proved a cruel, proud, and rapacious governor, tinctured with all the ridiculous vanity of a Spaniard, and rejoicing in every opportunity which the discontent and miseries of the people afforded him for being severe. The appearance of the French upon the coasts of Naples obliged him to raise a numerous army; but the militia of Naples refused to attend him at that capital. The duke de Matalone was then the most powerful, as well as popular, subject of Naples; but he entertained a profest hatred for the Spaniards. A capital Spanish ship of war, happening then to be burnt in the gulph of Naples, with the loss of four hundred lives, and three hundred thousand ducats on board; the viceroy ordered the duke of Matalone, upon suspicion, to be imprisoned, that he might strike the Neapolitans with the greater terror. He had imposed a tax upon fruit, which he mortgaged to certain merchants for raising a million of ducats; and as truits were not only the chief delicacies, but the chief lubfiftence of the Neapolitans, this imposition drove them from all patience and moderation. One Giulio Genuino, now in the eightieth year of his age, who had suffered severely by the Spanish tyranny, and had thereby become venerable

among the lower people, encouraged their discontent which arose to such a height, that the viceroy would will lingly have abolished the tax, if he had been able to satisfy the demands of those to whom it was mortgaged.

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Massaniello's in-

The wife of a low fisherman, one Tommaso Aniello, which has fince been contracted into Massaniello, had been punishfurrection. ed, for smuggling a small quantity of meal, so severely, that he was obliged to fell his houshold furniture to discharge the fine. He was in his person desperate, active, intrepid, and of so frank and open a disposition, being not above twenty-four years of age, that he was beloved by his companions, and a leader in all their diversions, to which the Italians are the more devoted, the more they are oppressed. He naturally hated the Spanish government, and as the common people were indulged with the exhibition of mock fights, in which Massaciello was a principal conductor, he formed the defign of freeing his country from its oppressors at the head of five or fix of his countrymen, who were to be employed in a sham siege. One Pione was his sole confident; but on the feventh of July 1647, his design was anticipated by a dispute which arose between the taxgatherers and the fruiterers in the market place. Massaniello feized this opportunity, and headed the tumult, in which the booths of the tax-gathers were demolished and plundered, and themselves pelted with stones, so that they were forced to take refuge in the viceroy's palace; who flighted the infurrection, and feemed pleased with an opportunity that might ferve as a handle for farther oppressions. Massa. niello, by this time, was at the head of his companions, and had given orders for the demolition of all the other booths of the tax-gatherers; which was executed with inconceivable rapidity. He then proceeded, at the head of the infurgents, to the palace of the viceroy, whom they leized as he was endeavouring to escape, but by the help of some gold, he took shelter in a convent, where, by the advice of the archbishop of Naples, cardinal Filomarini, and some of the nobility, he not only figned a declaration abolishing all the taxes upon provisions, but offered an annual pension to Massamiello of two thousand four hundred crowns; who rejected it, and faid, that he wanted nothing but to fee his countrymen delivered from their oppressions; in which cale, he faid, that he and his countrymen would be dutitul subjects.

Genuino, and some of his affociates had deeper schemes than Massaniello probably had formed; and upon his return to the market place, they advised him to complete the deliverance of his country by fetting fire to the houses of all the tax-gatherers, and their confederates, which, with all their rich furniture, were accordingly confumed in a few Massaniello's followers were now encreased to a hundred thousand men, and he commanded the viceroy, who

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had retired to Castel Nuovo, to abolish all taxes by a formal deed uner his hand. The viceroy pretended to comply, and sent the duke of Matalone to the populace with a salse deed; but the imposture being discovered, the duke was maltreated, and committed prisoner to the custody of Perrunne, one of the heads of the insurrection.

The duke of Matalone, though a patriot, was not with- Confpira. out ambition, and beheld Massaniello with secret indigna- cy again ion, clad in tattered attire, barefooted, and half naked, Maffanigiving law to the capital. He formed a defign of substituti ello. ing his brother don Joseph in his room, and by bribing his keeper Perrone, he obtained his liberty, while the viceroy ferretly found means to prevail with Genuino to betray Molfaniello to certain banditti, who were hired by the duke to take his life. The attempt was made, but Maffaniello ecaped, and both don Foseph, with Perronne, being discoverto have been privy to the conspiracy, were put to death. Till that time Massaniello had preserved a wonderful moderation, though he conducted all the operations of his followers with the greatest despotism. He had attended to the advice of the archbishop for an accommodation with the viceroy, which was actually far advanced when the attempt pon his life was made by the banditti. The furprise of this, his continual hurry, and the intoxicating liquours he swallowed to keep up his spirits, had an effect upon his brain. He departed from his usual moderation, became fift suspicious, then cruel, and ordered several persons to be put to death upon the flightest pretexts. He, however, fill carried on the treaty with the viceroy, and to bring it to a quicker conclusion, he cut off all communication between Castel Nuovo and the city. The viceroy, who was An acafraid of the French interfereing, gave him and his infur-commodagents their own terms. The chief were, that all taxes tion. imposed fince the reign of Charles V. should be abolished, that the voice of the deputies of the people should be equal to that of the nobility; that an amnesty should pass on both fides, but that Massaniello, and his followers, should continue in arms till the accommodation should be ratified by his catholic majesty.

It was with the utmost difficulty that the archbishop, Massaniwho had now the chief influence upon Massaniello, could ello put to
prevail with him to throw off his rags, and appear in a death.
decent habit before the viceroy, who invited him to the
tastle, where he made magnificent presents to him and his
wise; and appointed him governor of the city, with a plenary
power of jurisdiction. This finished Massaniello's frenzy.
He erected gibbets, where he put people to death without
any form of trial, till even his own followers grew tired of
his tyranny; and he was himself associated by the order,
or with the consent, of the viceroy. Though his body was
treated with the utmost indignity by the populace, yet his

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death rendered the public commotions more violent than ever; and in a few days his body received the most magnificent funeral honours. The popular fury was now turned against Genuino, whom they accused of having betrayed their leader; and the viceroy refusing to give him up, they once more ran to arms, and chose the prince of Massa for their head. They had, by this time, formed the blockade of Castel Nuovo, and the prince undertook to carry it on, but privately entered into a correspondence with the viceroy. The commotions in the country were as unfavourable for the Spaniards as those in the capital; and they were expell-

of Guise Naples.

The duke ed from Salerno, Cava, Sanseverino, and other cities. The duke of Guise, a man of a romantic turn of mind, but with invited to courage and activity equal to the most desperate attempt, was then at Rome. His family, as the reader may remember, had, in the right of the Anjouvine line, pretenfions upon the throne of Naples, and he was by the pope encouraged to revive them, which he did in a manner that was perfect. ly conformable to his character. He dispatched two deputies to advise the Neapolitans to erect themselves into a commonwealth, of which he offered himself to be the head, The news of this, and the great preparations making by the French, being published, forced the viceroy to conclude a fresh accommodation, more disgraceful still than the former, with the populace, who thereby remained absolute masters of the kingdom.

arrives there,

Don John The court of Spain, indolent as it was, could not see, of Austria without the most sensible alarms, the French in possession of Naples; and about three weeks after the last treaty was concluded, which restored peace and order to the public, a fleet of forty Spanish ships of war, with five thousand land forces on board, appeared in the bay of Naples, under the command of don John, a youth of eighteen years of age, natural fon to his catholic majesty, who had honoured him with the title of his vicar general in Italy. The viceroy laid hold of his arrival to be revenged of the Neapolitans for all the mortifying concessions they had made him submit to. He persuaded don John to demand that the people who had manned their walls, should instantly lay down their arms; and emissaries privately suggested to the inhabitants, that the Spaniards were arrived to cancel all their lately obtained privileges, and to rule them with a rod of iron. His stratagem had the effect, for on the fifth of October 1647, the Spaniards attacked the city by fea and land with the utmost fury; and wherever they made an impression they gave no quarter to age, fex, or distinction. This cruelty was as impolitic as it was detestable. It rendered the citizens delperate, and they drove back their affailants with lofs; fo that, for three days, during which the attacks were renewed, the Spaniards were always worsted. At last, the Neapolitans made a law among themselves, that no person, upon pain of death, should! hould propose an accommodation. Don John, and the viceroy, would gladly have foftened them, but they rejected all their advances with indignation; and published a manifesto, fetting forth their sufferings, with the treachery and wranny of the Spaniards, and imploring the affistance of all christian princes. The prince of Massa was, all this while, at their head, but his operations gave some suspicion to the chiefs of the revolt, of his fecret attachment to the Spaniards, and without any trial they struck off his head. His chief prosecutor was a gunsmith, one Januarius Annese, and he succeeded him in the command. His abilities were far from being answerable, either to his zeal or his dignity; and the people fent a deputation to the duke of Guife, informing him of their having taken his advice, and offering him the fadtholdership of their new formed republic, with the same power and privilege which the princes of Orange exercised in that of the Dutch. The duke was then without friends as does

or money, and attended by a few desperate followers; but the duke throwing himself into a selucca, with no more than six of Guise. attendants, he almost miraculously escaped the Spanish fleet,

and landed in Naples.

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The Neapolitans, though diffrest for want of bread, made Who is the most extravagant rejoicings upon his arrival, and never made did any general enter upon a more discouraging command. stadt-The people invested him in the great church, and he took holder. an oath of reciprocal fidelity to the republic, receiving, at the same time, a consecrated sword from the archbishop; but every day discovered fresh difficulties in the execution of his command. A people who, like the Neapolitans, aftertel their liberty only because their sufferings were too great for human nature to bear, and without any generous principle of conduct, are not to be depended upon against those who have it in their power to alleviate those sufferings. The richest and the most respectable of the Neapohians were sensible of this; they were tired of Annese, and the popular dominion, which every hour ran into fresh excelles; and though the nobility in the provinces had formed themselves and their followers into a body of fix thousand men, yet they declared neither for the duke of Guise, nor the Spaniards. All the art and address of the His conduke could not make the chief Neapolitans his friends; and duct. Annese thinking that his importance was now diminished, ecretly practifed against him. The duke, however, obliged him to advance a hundred thousand crowns out of the common stock, and mustering his forces, he found, out of all the rabble who had taken arms, he had not above five thousand regular troops he could depend on. He raised and regimented a thousand more, and made several brave, but in effectual, fallies upon the Spaniards. The famine encreasing, he opened his way at the head of four thousand foot, and ax hundred horse, through the enemy's camp, and marched

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to Aversa, which was the rendezvous of the nobles, in hopes that he could persuade them to join him. He found the duke of Andria at their head; but his expectations were frustrated, and he fought his way back to Naples.

a French fleet, which is inactive.

Arrival of By this time, a French fleet was feen in the bay, confifting of about twenty nine ships of war, and five fireships; but all of them poorly provided for any enterprize of importance. Instead of making any vigorous diversions in favour of the duke of Guife, by attacking the Spanish fleet, they made prizes of some merchant ships, and after an inglorious inactivity of about three weeks, during which they landed a very small quantity of artillery and ammunition: they returned to Toulon. It was foon known that cardinal Mazarine, who was then first minister in France, through the weakness of the queen mother, Anne of Austria, was no friend to the duke's undertaking. He had confidered in in the light of knight-errantry and rashness, and by addreffing his letters to Annele, as the head of the revolters, he in a manner disowned the legality of the duke's commission. The chevalier, or baron de Modena, however, one of the duke's officers, got possession of Aversa, which was of vall fervice to the infurgents, by supplying their necessities with bread; and Annefe, in confideration of an annual revenue of fifty thousand crowns, and a promise of a title of nobility, refigned his power, fo that the duke now remained fole commander. As he was then freed from any check, his government began to take a regular form. The troops of the nobility were dispersed; some of them entered into the duke's service, and two of the Spanish gallies declared for the republic. The duke every day obtained some confiderable advantages, either over the besiegers, or in the provinces, and at last he ventured to settle the different departments of business, to open courts for the regular administration of justice, and to live with a magnificence which bespoke him to be the head of the republic.

Proceedduke.

The miserable mismanagement of the Spaniards contriing of the buted more than any other cause to the aggrandizement of the duke. Their army was reduced by defertions, but don John, who acted with a prudence above his age and experience, privately entered into a negotiation with the duke of Guise, and offered him, if he would refign his pretensions upon Naples, to put him in possession of the marquilate of Final, and the principality of Salerno, and likewise to obtain from the emperor the investitures of Modena, Reggin, Correggio, and Carpi. It is possible, that had the duke of Guise accepted of those of terms, the Spanish and imperial courts would have evaded them. Some think that he fecretly aspired to the crown of Naples, without regarding the forms of the new modelled republic. Be that as it will, it is certain, that he rejected the proposals made him by don John, who had now no other recourse but to persuade the unpopular s, in

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unpopular duke of Arcos to divest himself of the viceroyalty. which he accordingly did. Don John, upon this, published a manifesto, offering pardon, and many privileges, to all the Neapolitans, who would lay down their arms; and the nobility, who never had been the friends of the people, promised to lay aside all animosities on their account. Those two manifestos, however, made no impression upon the citizens.

It now appeared that the political qualities of the duke Who apof Guile were unequal to the greatness of his undertaking. pears to The court of Rome would have willingly feen the kingdom be unof Naples dismembered from Spain; and the pope had press- equal to ed him to take the title of king, promising him, at the same his undertime, a confiderable fum of money, and the investiture of taking. the kingdom. The duke could not accept of this offer, however flattering it was, without disobliging his republican friends, and therefore he waved all the pope's offers, but that of the money; which his holiness declined sending him. The Venetians, the Genoese, and other states of Italy seconded the pope, and offered their affistance, in making the kingdom of Naples independent, both of France and Spain. The duke, however, by this time, began to be fensible that his interest was upon the decline with the Neapolitans. Annese still continued his enemy, and the duke is accused of having attempted to take him off by assassination; but without success. This naturally disposed Annese and his friends to form a party against the duke. They represented him as haughty, rash, proud, and tyrannical, and of a fill more unamiable and dangerous character than the worlt of their Spanish viceroys. Some brave, but unsuccessful, attempts, made by the duke about this time, against the Spanish posts, strengthened their party, and at last they entered into a correspondence with don John. This correspondence taking air, the court of Spain became apprehensive least don John should seize that opportunity to declare himself king of Naples; and the count of Oniate was appointed to succeed the duke of Arcos as viceroy.

This count, who was a man of character and abilities, Arrival of being plentifully furnished both with money and provisions, count threw himself into Castel Nuovo, which had been still in Oniate, the possession of the Spaniards. He contineed the correst the new pondence which don John had entered into with Annese; viceroy, and while the duke was absent in an expedition against the who gets small island of Nista, Annese and his friends admitted into possession the city three thousand Spaniards, who became entire of Naples, masters of it, with little or no bloodshed, on the fixth of April 1648. This successful blow was no sooner struck by the Spaniards, than the fickle Neapolitans treated them as their deliverers, and the two nations ran into each others arms, as if they had been but one people. The viceroy, and don John, were attended by Annele, when they return-

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ed thanks to heaven for the fortunate revolution, which at once cut the duke off from all prospect of sovereignty. He shed tears when he heard of the disgreeable event, but and takes he found it irretrievable. After some unsuccessful attempts the duke to recover the city, he endeavoured to retire to Abruzzo, prisoner. where his party was still considerable; but being pursued by the Spanish horse, he was taken prisoner, and sent to Spain, where he remained under consinement for sour years, till he was set at liberty at the intercession of the prince of Canda.

The kingdom reduced.

The Neapolitan nobility now joined don John and the viceroy, and defeated the French in Abruzzo, which put the finishing hand to the reduction of the kingdom under the power of Spain. Mazarine began then to think that he had been too indolent in supporting the duke of Guife, and fought to repair his error, by ordering the French fleet, with prince Thomas of Savoy on board, to appear once more before Naples, in hopes of renewing the infurrection; but this appearance had no other effect than to give the viceroy an opportunity of taxing Annele with having entered into a private correspondence with prince Thomas, for which he was publicly hanged in the market-place; fo regardless was the viceroy now of that popular influence which had given his predecessor so much trouble. Upon the departure of don John from Naples for Messina, the viceroy re-established the form of civil government, and resettled the finances; but he agreed that the tax upon herbs, fruits, and roots, never should be revived. He passed an act of pardon and indemnity with regard to the late commotions, but he found means to elude it, under pretence of guarding against a fecond revolt; for he established, in the form of a council, a kind of political inquisition, by which the chief partizans of the French interest in the kingdom and capital were tried and put to death; and the banditti having been great favourers of the commonwealth, were exterminated or executed, wherever they were found. The public quiet being perfectly re-established, the viceroy made an expedition into Tuscany, where he recovered Piombino, and Porto Longone, which had been taken by the French. Oniate was possessed of all that unrelenting severity which distinguishes the court of Spain, and it is probable, had he remained longer at Naples, another revolt must have happened; but he was succeeded, in 1653, by the count of Castrillo, who was of milder manners.

The duke of Guise deseated in a fresh attempt upon Naples.

By this time, the duke of Guise was released from his imprisonment, and the French nation, by the continuance of the war with Spain, became fully sensible of the expediency of making an attempt upon Naples; to which Mazarine agreed, and the command of the expedition was given to the duke of Guise, who landed, on the twelfth of November 1654, with seven thousand soot, and some horse, at Castella a Mare,

a Mare, of which he made himself master. The viceroy had foreseen this invasion, and had made admirable dispositions for defeating it, not only by putting all the frontier places of the kingdom in a posture of defence, but by keeping on foot a numerous, well disciplined army. The duke, on the other hand, had great dependence upon the affection of the Neapolitans for his person, and upon the credit of the resugees, whom the severity of the late viceroy had driven to France. He found himself deceived in all his expectations, for the viceroy marched down against him with so powerful an army, that he found himself obliged to relinquish his conquest, which he held only a few days, and returned with the solution. But we are now to return

to the pontificate of Urban VIII.

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Richelieu, about the year 1626, had concluded a peace Affairs with Spain, without the intervention of cardinal Barberini, between the pope's nephew, and legate, though he was on the spot the pope at the time. As nothing had been stipulated by the treaty and in favour of the protestants, his holiness overlooked this Charles I. neglect, and made a promotion of twelve cardinals. He of Engwas, at this time, intent upon converting Charles I. of land. England, and his court to popery. Though Charles, in his private fentiments, was averfe to that religion, yet he had given too much encouragement to the pope to make this attempt. His queen, who was a bigotted papist, had always a minister at the papal court; and Urban had great dependance upon the prodigious influence which she had over her husband. Charles, it is true, in his own correspondence with that court, always affected to preserve a difference between matters of business and those of religion; but it was no fecret to Urban that he connived with his queen in her folicitations for favours to Montague, Howard, and other English papists of quality, who depended upon his holiness for their promotion. Charles was of himself disposed to tolerate the papists in the inoffensive exercise of their religion; and his queen, or her favourites, had perhaps, misrepresented him on this head, by giving Urban false hopes of his conversion. His befriending the French protestants, and his ordering the nuncio, with all the queen's popish attendants to leave England, did not damp his hopes of Charles's conversion; and he sent public invilations to those who were best acquainted with the state of England, to inform him how he could best effect that great delign; though, in the mean while, he gave the most extravagant demonstration, of his joy, even to his composing an epigram on the occasion, when the French king and Richelieu retook Rochelle from the protestants.

Francis Maria Rovere, was then duke of Urbino, and at The pope the age of eighty, being without male heirs, he bargained buys the for delivering up his dutchy to his holiness for a hundred dutchy of thousand crowns, which were accordingly paid him, and Urbino.

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cardinal Gipsius took possession of it in Urban's name; but the succession to the dutchy of Mantua now requires our attention.

History of Mantua,

The dukes of Mantua had long diffinguished themselves by their generous patronage to men of learning and genius; and duke Vincent 1. who died in 1612, had left by his wife, Eleanor de Medici, three fons, and two daughters. The eldest son, Francis IV. who succeeded his father, survived him but a few months, and left by his wife, Margaret of Savey, an only daughter, whose succession was disputed by her uncle cardinal Ferdinand. The dutchess had recourse to her father, the duke of Savoy, who, upon some family claim, invaded Montferrat. Ferdinand, however, still kept possession, and after going through a long and tiresome train of negotiations, he quitted the purple, and married Catharine de Medici, but died in 1626, without issue. He was succeeded by his younger brother Vincent II. who had been married to Isabella de Nuovolara. His neice Mary, grand. daughter to the duke of Savoy, being still alive, and un-married, Vincent was afraid, lest, if she took a husband, he should dispute with him his succession to the dutchy; and therefore folicited the pope for a dispensation to marry his neice, especially as his own wife was pretty far advanced in age; but having dropt that defign, he died without iffue; and thus Mary was left heires of the dutchy. Vincent I. had an uncle, who was duke of Nevers in France; and the French king took a particular concern in procuring his family the succession to the dutchy. After Vincent II. had given over all thoughts of marrying his neice, the French ambassador persuaded him to give her in marriage to Charles, the eldest grandson of the duke of Nevers, a match that would take away all dispute with regard to the succession. Vincent consented, and died the next day after the The duke of marriage had been celebrated by proxy. Nevers posted to Italy to take possession of the dutchies of Mantua, and Montferrat, as all rights to their succession were now united in his family. The emperor Ferdinand II. disputed his claim, as he never had received either his confent, or the investiture; and at the same time the duke of Guastalla, and other princes of the Gonzaga family, put in their pretentions, which gave the emperor a handle for infifting upon the sequestration of the two dutchies till he could determine the several claims. The French king treated all the emperor's pretexts with great contempt, and declared that he would support the Nevers family to the utmost of his power.

where a war

Lewis XIII. accordingly, when he had finished his wars with the protestants, marched an army into the Mantuan, breaks out where the imperialists had already begun hostilities, and raifed the fiege of Coffal, which had been formed by the governor of the Milanefe, because it refused to submit to but

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the imperial fequestration. The French having raised the fiege, the Venetians joined them in supporting the Nevers claim. The emperor offered the investiture to the duke, if he would renounce his alliance with the French and Venetians; which he refused to do: upon which the governor of the Milanese was made the executor of the ban of the empire against the duke. The French, and the Venetians, did not chuse, on this occasion, to break with Spain, especially as the duke of Savoy feemed not inclinable to admit French troops into Italy; but at last cardinal Richelieu, in 1630, paffed the Alps, at the head of an army, and endeavoured to trepan the person of the duke of Savoy, by amusing him with proposals of treaties. The duke escaped his snares, and threw himself into Turin, which the cardinal threatened to besiege; but turning short he besieged and took Pignerol. An imperial army was then in the Mantuan, (to which they carried an infectious diforder) and was opposed by that of the Venetians; but the duke of Nevers would willingly have accepted of the emperor's offers, had he not been persuaded by the marquis d'Estrees, the French ambasfador, who was placed as a kind of fpy upon his person, and was at the fame time general of the French troops in the Mantuan. The imperialists were then besieging Mantua, which the Venetians endeavoured to succour, but were prevented by the vigilance of Collatto, the imperial general, who found means to furprize the city. The duke retired to the citadel, which took fire, and he and his fon furrendered themselves prisoners to Collatto, who sent them to the Ferrarese, where being now stript of all their estates they were subsisted by the bounty of the Venetians.

Pope Urban interested himself greatly in the duke's favour, The but would not enter into any confederacy against the pope's Spaniards, though he encouraged one between the French wife conand the Venetians. The duke of Savoy still laid claim to duct. Montferrat; but the French made themselves masters of Susa. The pope fent his nephew, cardinal Barberini, and Magarine, afterwards the famous French minister, to negotiate with Richelieu, at Pignerol; but the conferences proved ineffectual, and the duke was faved only by the death of the duke of Savoy, and the jealousies that prevailed between the Spaniards and the imperialists, which Urban, who kept well with all parties, made fo good use of, that he prevailed with the emperor to give the duke the investiture of Mantua, and part of Montferrat; the other part being affigned to the young duke of Savoy. Urban having carfled this great point by his patience and perseverance, found means to flatter the vanity and ambition of cardinal Richelieu, so successfully, that the latter obliged the learned Richer, the great impugner of the papal power in France, to recant his doctrines; but his holiness took great umbrage at the strict alliance formed about this time, between the Y 3

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He fa-French,

French king, and Gustavus Adolphus, for the support of the protestant interest in Germany. Some have faid, but with vours the no great appearance of truth, that he fent large fums of money for the support of the emperor, but that he did this fo privately as to give no offence to France. It is certain, that the Spaniards taxed him with being too cold in the catholic cause; and that Urban was disgusted at the conduct of the emperor, and Spain, in the affair of the Mantuan. As a proof of this, when the emperor applied to him by a cardinal, and an embaffador extraordinary, for affiftance against the Swedes, he told them, that if the troops employ. ed by the house of Austria in desolating Italy had been to ferved to oppose the heretics, his imperial majesty would not have wanted any affiftance from the papal fee. He even refused to publish a crusade against Gustavus, whose successes, he said, he heard of with pleasure, because they tion, which was made in a full confistory, exasperated the imperialists, and the Spaniards, so greatly, that they endeavoured to form a party among the cardinals to depose him; but they found it impracticable. The court of Spain then deliberated about checking his power, in their country, by erecting a datary at Madrid, where all collations to benefices, and matters relating to ecclefiastical revenues, should be transacted; but Urban behaved with such prudence and firmness, that this project likewise came to nothing.

but grows cardinal Richelieu,

Though greatly addicted to pepotism, Urban refused to jealous of bestow upon his relations any part of the dutchy of Urbino; but annexed it for ever to the church. About the year 1633, Urban was engaged in a difference with the Venetians, about the navigation of the Po, which was obstructed by his legate at Ferrara, and an infult which had been offered to the Venetian ambassador at Rome, by one of his nephews. The French king offered his mediation, as the quarrel had proceeded to blows between the two parties; and the marshal Crequi, in a most magnificent embassy from Lewis XIII. pronounced, in the name of his master and his kingdom, a profound veneration for the holy see. This submission, flattering as it was, did not entice Urban into any violent measures against the house of Austria; and he had rendered himself so useful to cardinal Richelieu, that he invaded the privileges of the Gallican church, and named commissaries for trying fix French bishops for high treason. Perceiving that the cardinals at his court had combined to oblige him to declare himself a party in the wars that were then desolating Europe; he published a bull, strongly enforcing the residence of all his clergy, be their rank ever so high, in their respective sees, unless they had an apostolical licence for non residence. The successes of the Swedes, at last alarmed him so much, that he sent a hundred thousand crowns

crowns to the emperor, and ordered public prayers to be put up for the prosperity of the catholic religion in Germany.

Mazarine was then Urban's nuntio and minister at and breaks the court of France; and at his persuasion, his holiness with him. again offered his mediation for composing the differences hetween the houses of Bourbon and Austria. Finding this offer to be without any effect, he adhered to his neutrality; the rather, as he began now to be jealous of cardinal Richelieu, whose power and influence, joined to his violent foirit, and arbitrary disposition, he thought were too great for a fon and subject of the church. He recalled Mazarine from Paris, because he thought him too much devoted to that minister; and he refused to confirm the dissolution of the marriage of the duke of Orleans, which had passed in a general affembly of the French clergy, convoked by a royal edict. His holiness likewise refused several bulls demanded by the cardinal, whom he suspected of a design to make himself patriarch of France; and he even threatened the duke of Parma with an excommunication, for his too great attachment to the French interest. This brings us to the history of that dukedom, which now makes so con-

siderable a figure in that of Italy.

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Edward I. duke of Parma, in the dispute between the History of French, and Spaniards, concerning the dutchy of Mantua, Parms, declared for the former, and was very useful to them in the Milanese. He quarrelled, however, with the marquis de Crequi, at the fiege of Valence, upon the Po, and went to Paris to impeach the marshal's conduct; while the Spanish governor of the Milanese possessed himself of great part of his dutchy, and ravaged it to the very gates of Parma, and Placenza, which were possessed by French garrisons. variety of wars in which Lewis XIII. was then engaged through his minister's ambition, prevented him from sending to Italy reinforcements sufficient for reinstating the duke, (who remained thut up in Placenza,) in his dominions. Leganes, the governor of the Milanese, could easily have made himself master of the place, had he not been restrained by the unwillingness which the other powers of Italy, the pope especially, expressed, that the Spaniards should extend their dominions in Lombardy. Urban had some reason for being displeased with the duke, who, though his seudatory, had entered into the war without his confent, and therefore did not interest himself so heartily in his behalf, as his interest and inclination led him, especially as the duke persisted in his obstinate attachment to the French interest. The Spaniards accused him of ingratitude, as his family owed all they had to the house of Austria; and he was reduced to fuch mifery in Placenza, that he and his amily subsisted upon the provisions which were sent them by the Spanish commandant, in consideration of the spichels, who was daughter to the great duke of Tuscany,

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and a friend to the interest of Spain. Necessity, at last, obliged the duke to enter into a negotation, from which the duke excluded the pope's minister, and, unknown to the French, concluded a treaty with the Spaniards at Milan; the chief article of which was, that the French garrison should evacuate Placenza. The duke was in no condition to have obliged them, had he not, on some plausible pretext, decoved them into a narrow place, against which he ordered his artillery to be pointed, and at the same time he intimated to the count de St. Paul, the French commandant, the treaty, which, he faid, necessity had obliged him to conclude. The count was obliged to comply, and the evacuations were accordingly executed. The duke being thus again mafter of his dominions, reproached the pope, who, as his superior, ought to have defended him, with having abandoned him to his enemies, and connived at his diffreffes, in hopes of forcing him to fell his dutchy, or part of it, to his nephews, the Barberini, with whom he had formerly quarrelled, because he had declined marrying their neice, the daughter of don Thaddeo, whom Urban had made governor of Rome. It is faid, by the historian Nani, that while the duke was at Rome, he spoke so freely to the pope upon the milmanagement of his nephews, that he drew tears from his eyes. The Barberini, to be revenged, made a demand upon him of a vast sum due to the pope, out of his dutchy of Castro; which they pretended was so large as to exceed the value of the dutchy, and that his holinels for that reason, intended to confiscate it. The duke, upon this, ordered Castro to be fortified, and the pope sent him a monitory, commanding him to discontinue his fortifications, and to demolish those he had already raised, under the pain of excommunication. To give weight to this menace, the Barberini raised six thousand soot, and sive hundred horse, which alarmed the Spaniards so much, that the viceroy of Naples, in his master's name, offered his mediation between his holiness and the duke of Parma. great duke of Tuscany, at the same time, laid before the pope the inevitable confequences of his attacking the duke, which, he faid, must involve all Italy in an immediate war. The pope applied to the Venetians for Support; but they declined

The duke all concern in the affair. Urban, though he now flood of Parma fingle in the quarrel, easily perceived, that neither the great excomduke of Tuscany nor the Spaniards, were willing to affilt the municated duke farther than by their negotiations, and this encouraged

ed him actually to put his threats into execution by excommunicating the duke.

His nephew, Thaddeo Barberini, was charged with the execution of the fentence, which, as his holiness pretended deprived the duke of his dominions; and Thaddeo, at the head of twenty thousand men, demanded from the duke of Mo-

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and a free passage through his estates into the Parmelan. All Italy was equally alarmed and shocked at the insolence of the Barberini, who made use of the pope's name to revenge a private quarrel. The duke of Parma armed him- He is beelf, and received affistance both from the Venetians and the friended great duke of Tuscany, and would have been succoured by by the the Spaniards likewise, had he not been an avowed partizan Venetians of France. The Venetians, and the great duke, however, had and other the precaution to lend their troops to the duke of Modena, powers, who was not excommunicated, but was infulted by the Barberini; fo that his became the common cause of all the princes and states of Italy, independent of the quarrel between the pope and the duke of Parma. Urban grew fensible of this, and, ordering his army to halt in the Bolognese, he proposed a truce of fifteen days, and offered to negotiate an accommodation with the duke of Parma, under the mediation of the French king, who professed himself to be a friend equally to both. An incident, which intervened, put an end to all the towering prospects of his holiness. He had acknowledged the duke of Braganza to be king of Portugal, against the most earnest solicitations of the Spanish court, whose minister's retinue at Rome had an encounter with that of the bishop of Lemaga, the Portugueze ambassador, who was affisted by the French.

This quarrel threatened fo many ferious consequences to and con-Urban, that he offered afresh to submit the dispute between quers the him and the duke of Parma to a mediation. The duke, on pope's the other hand, was at the head of an army, which he could troops. not pay, but by fuffering them to live at free quarters in the papal dominions. He accordingly marched it into the Bolognese with fuch rapidity, that Thaddeo, the pope's general and nephew, was furprized, and fled with precipitation to Verona, while his troops disbanded themselves. The duke improved his unexpected good fortune, by making himself master of Imola, Faenza, Forli, and other places belonging to his holiness, without resistance. He then marched to Castro, and even threatened to drive Urban out of Urban, amazed and confounded at his nephew's cowardife, offered to depositate Castro in the hands of the Venetians, the duke of Modena, the great duke of Tuscany, the French king, and the Swiffes, till an accommodation could be effected. The duke of Parma's allies approved of this expedient; and blamed him for having carried matters to such extremity with his holiness. The duke, able to keep his troops no longer together, was obliged to fall back upon Tulcany, and refigned the command of his army to d'Estrees, the French minister; while the pope being delivered from his impending danger, found means to embarrass the negotiation fo much, that it appeared plainly, he intended it only for an amusement.

A GENERAL HISTORY

330 An accommodation takes place.

In the year 1642, the duke of Parma's patience being worn out, he renewed his hostilities, and fell upon the Fer. rarese, where he took and fortified Bondeno, and la Stellata. Urban gave the command of his army to his other nephew, cardinal Antony Barberini, the richest, and most manificent, prelate of his time; and he marched towards the Parmesan, by Modena. He was equally unfortunate as his brother Thaddee had been, and the war, upon the whole, coft the apostolical chamber, twenty millions of crowns. At last, the pope, severely humbled and mortified, submitted the whole to cardinal Bichi, the French ambassador, and resigned all his pretentions to Castro. Upon the termination of the quarrel, however, he gained one important point by the duke of Parma's suing to him for absolution from ecclesiastical censures; a favour which the senate of Venice magnanimoufly refused to accept of, because they denied the validity of the papal fulminations, when directed against a sovereign Duke Edward, after this, went to Venice, to thank that senate for the assistance they had afforded him in his dispute with the pope. Two years after he died; but his having embraced the interest of France, instead of that of Spain, to which his predecessors had been always devoted, occasioned a considerable alteration in the system of power in Italy.

Rannuccio II. duke

Death of

pope

Urban.

He was succeeded by his son Ranuccio II. who was esteemed one of the most politic princes of his time, and whom of Parma. we shall afterwards have occasion to mention on account of his connections with France. Pope Urban's jealousy of Richelieu was always encreasing. He had refused to grant a cardinal's hat for Mazarine, and several other bulls, which Richelieu demanded, so that the nuncio was denied admitance into France. The friendship of that court, however, became so necessary to him in his dispute with the duke of Parma, that he gave Mazarine the hat, and died on the twenty-ninth of July, in the twenty-first year of his pontificate, and the seventy-seventh of his age, in the year 1644. He is chiefly blamed for his practices in Ireland, especially in the affair of the massacre, which gave rise to all the troubles of Charles I. His nepotifm, and the mismanagements of the Barberini family, involved him in many mortifying difficulties; but upon the whole, the strict eye he had upon the growth of the Austrian, as well as French greatness, gained him the title of the protestant pope; and he has been accused, by violent Roman catholics, of having fecretly favoured the victorious expedition of Gustavus Adolphus into Germany.

Succeeded

At the time of Urban's death, the Barberini family had a by Innocent great sway in the conclave, and by their influence cardinal X. Pamphilio, who took the name of Innocent X. was elected pope. The French had opposed his elevation, and quarrell-

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with Barberini on that account. Cardinal Antony Barbrini was deprived of the protectorship of the French nation; and the pope, who was a weak, vainglorious, inorant man, ungratefully withdrew his protection from hem. As he was noted to be entirely under the influence of his fister-in-law, the famous donna Olimpia, the Barbrini endeavoured to make her their friend, by offering to marry their neice, Thaddeo's daughter, with an immense fortune, to her son Camillo, but their proposal was rejected; Camillo was created a cardinal, and the Barberini were upon his account removed from the great posts they held at Rome. The pope's declared attachment to the house of Austria, rendered cardinal Mazarine, then first minister of France, their friend, when they applied to him for protection; and they obtained leave to replace the arms of France. which had been taken down, in the front of their palace. The infatiable avarice of donna Olimpia and her family. about the same time, prevailed upon his holiness to renew the papal differences with the house of Parma.

He pretended, that it was not in his power, or that of his The bipredecessor, to dispense with the payment of the interest of shop of
the money due to the creditors of the public bank, upon the Castro
dutchy of Castro. Duke Rannuccio II. was both unwilling murdered.

and unable to discharge the vast sums demanded on that account; upon which, the pope seized Castro into his own hands, and nominated a Theatin monk to be its bishop. The duke had reason to be disgusted with this nomination. and he applied to the pope to recall it; which he was fo far from doing, that he reproached the duke for his presumption in interfering with the papal authority. duke, upon this, ordered a private intimation to be made to the monk, who fell upon his knees before his holinefs. to beg that he might be excused from undertaking the journey; but this had no other effect than to render Innocent more obstinately to persist in his first resolution. monk was confecrated, and forced to fet out for his bihopric. On taking leave of his holiness, he told him, that he was going to his death; which proved to be true; for while he was upon his journey to Castro, he was assassinated on the road by persons unknown, and whose persons never could be discovered, notwithstanding the most indefatigable endeavours of the pope to bring them to punishment. As Innocent had no manner of doubt of the duke being privy to the affaffination, he repeated his demands of the arrears due to the public creditors; and Ranuccio not being able to fatisfy them, Innocent annexed Castro for ever to the holy lee, and transferred its bishopric to Aquapendente, after razing the town of Castro to the ground, and erecting a pillar in its flead. In 1664, the French king Lewis XIV. having a difference with pope Alexander VII. made it one of the terms of his reconciliation with the holy see, that the duke

of Parma should re-enter into possession of the dutchy of Castro, provided he could pay off the money for which it was mortgaged to the public creditors; but the duke being unable to do that, its annexation to the popedom continued.

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Perfecution of the Barberini.

The interpolition of cardinal Mazarine in favour of the Barberini, served only to render pope Innocent their more determined enemy. Cardinal Antony had taken refuge in France, and the pope required him, under pain of excommunication, to repair to Rome, where a commission of five cardinals was established, for enquiring into his conduct. and that of his two brothers, whose estates, in the mean The Barberini, from being the while were sequestered. detestation, became now the darlings of the public, who looked upon their extortions as mild and moderate, when compared with those which they suffered under donna Olimpia and her family. The cardinal commissioners proceeded in their enquiries with the utmost rigour, and demanded a specific account of all the public money that had been expended during the last five years of their uncle's pontificate. In the course of this enquiry, cardinal Camillo falling in love with the princess Rossana, who was eminent for her riches, beauty, and personal accomplishments, privately married her; for which both of them were banished from Rome, by the overbearing power of donna Olimpia, who was jealous of the credit which her daughter-in-law might acquire with the pope. The enquiry was carried on in an unjust, tyrannical and arbitrary, manner. The defences of the Barberini, however reasonable or legal, were repelled; and after losing their estates, finding their lives were likewise aimed at, they fled to France; where they were protected by cardinal Mazarine.

The ble the pope.

That prelate, though raised by his obsequiousness to the French in papal power, had become the enemy of Innocent, for reasons vade Italy foreign to this hiftory; and perceiving that he could not and hum prevail with his holiness to pardon and reinstate the Barberini in their possessions, he raised an army and fitted out a fleet, which he fent against the papal and Spanish territories The Venetians fought to avert the storm, but in in Italy. vain, for the French took Piombino, Porto Longone, S. Stefano, and other places in Tuscany. Innocent was then obliged to fuspend the execution of his bulls against the Barberini, to reinstate them both in their employments and effects, and to declare that he would be entirely reconciled to them, if they would repair to Avignon, and fue from thence for their pardon in form. Innocent, by the persuasion of the duke of Guife, bestowed a cardinal's hat upon the archbishop of Aix, brother to Mazarine, who, possessed, as he was, of all the power of France, scarcely deigned to thank his holinels for the favour; nor would he evacuate Piombino. The parliament of Paris went so far, as to prohibit the printing chy of

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and publication of all briefs from Rome; and the clergy of the Gallican church protested against all encroachments upon their liberties. The states of Europe expected every moment to see a formal declaration of the crown of France being separated from the papal obedience, which, perhaps, was prevented only by the power which the Jesuits had over the minds of the king and his sayourites.

the minds of the king and his favourites. Innocent, at the same time, embroiled himself with the History of frown of Portugal, which nominated fucceffors to its vacant the Jefuits fees. The pope offered to confirm the nominations officially, but not in consequence of the king's appointments. This offer was rejected; and his Portugueze majesty threatened to dissolve all his relation with the see of Rome, but was withheld by the same motives which restrained the French king. It soon appeared, that the support of popery was owing, all over Europe, at that enlightened time, to the Teluits, who had an ascendency over the mind of Mazarine himself. It must be confessed, that the fabric of their conflitution was as firm as it was artful. They were the prin- and the cipal advisers of the popes in the late regulations they made congrefor substituting congregations, to supply the losses which gations at the papal fee had incurred by the enlargement of the Rome. human mind. The chief of those was the congregation for propagating the faith, which was now of fingular use to the popedom. It had been founded in 1622, under the pontificate of Gregory XV. by the advice of Narni, a Jesuit, his confessor; it was amplified and enriched by Urban VIII. and role to an amazing height under the pope we now treat of. It would exceed the bounds of our work should we pretend to enumerate the prodigious undertakings in which the members of this institution were engaged; the valt revenues they pollefled, the variety of missions they have fettled, and the incredible influence they had obtained in the most remote corners of the globe; but all tending to the fame point, that of enlarging the papal power. By way of supplement to this congregation, the pontiff founded a seminary for propagating the faith. One John Baptist Viles, a Spaniard, endowed this institution with all his ample fortune; and if we could overlook the superfittion and errors of popery, it is one of the noblest that ever was

of Afia, Africa, and America.

The French nation adopted the public spirit of the Jesuits, The pracby sounding the like seminaries; but they employed other tices of
agents, who soon discovered the infamous practices made the Jesuit
use of by that order in promoting their religion, or rather missionatheir interest, among the Chinese and other Asiatics. In a few ries,
years, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Capuchins,
became missionaries as well as the Jesuits; and though all
of them had separate doctrines and interests, yet they

formed. Within the walls of this seminary, missionaries are

educated, instructed, and dispatched from thence to all parts

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GENERAL HISTORY

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agreed in their devotion to the holy fee, which was, in fat. their only principle of union. At last, it was discovered that those fathers had actually formed a religion of their own, which had little in common with that of our Saviour but was introduced by them into China, and those parts of Alia, where the native religion was too stubborn to be root ed out. Add to this, in all the places where the Jesuits got footing, especially in Siam, Japan, and China, they carried on a most beneficial trade; but with so much avarice an extertion, that in the end it occasioned their expulsion, In great fuc- China they even outwitted the natives, penetrating and acute as they are. They were loaded by the emperor with the most honourable marks of distinction, and taken into his cabinet council. His name was Xun-Chi, and he was the first Chinese emperor of the Tartar race. He left a son in his cradle, and the Jefuits being no longer protected by the imperial authority, the mandarines, who never would fubmit to christianity, and who looked with contempt upon all doctrines and inventions that are not Chinele, banished the Fesuit missionaries, while Schaal, their chief, was thrown into prison, and even condemned to death. young emperor Kang-hi, grew up, he declared himself the patron and friend of the Jesuits; and being one of the ablest princes of his age, he attempted, by their means, to introduce among his subjects a true taste for the arts and sciences. which they despited. Being of Tartar original, he condemned the narrowness of the Chinese notions. He built astronomical observatories, and employed the fathers, who were generally excellent mechanics, in constructing all the mathematical instruments made use of among the most enlightened nations. Finding that many of them were aged and infirm, he applied to his holiness for young recruits, who were accordingly sent him; and all preferments at court went through the channel of their favour. They were raised to the principal posts of the empire, and their fraternity in Europe repaired to China as to their terrestrial paradife.

Their impollures and degeneracy.

The arts with which they supported their credit were impious and infamous. The religion of the Chinese was no other than a refined system of atheism, which the Jesuits interpreted into a conformity with the Christian doctrines. Their profound diffimulation in disguising the truth of the gospel, and in forging certain facts, tending to prove the religion of the celebrated Confucius, the philosopher and legislator of China, and that of Jesus Christ, to be the same, at last prevailed upon the emperor to publish an edict, by which he declared, that the christian religion was, in no wife, detrimental to the fafety or interests of the monarchy, as its enemies pretended; and by which also he granted to all his subjects an entire freedom of conscience, and a sull permission to embrace the gospel. Two years after the

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publication of this decree, the emperor ordered a magnificent church to be built for those holy fathers within the verge of the imperial palace. In process of time, they lost fight of the functions of their mission, and of christianity itels. They lived with all the grandeur and luxury of eastern sovereigns; and even affisted the emperor in his warlike operations, as well as in filling the principal posts of his palace.

Ricci, their chief and leader, made a plaufible and vigo- They are rous defence for himself and his order. He pretended that condemnthe ceremonial rites practifed by the Chinese were merely ed by rivil, and might be fafely retained by the converts to christi- pope Inanity, and by the Jesuits themselves. The Dominican and nocent X. Franciscan missionaries refuted Ricci's reasonings, and endeavoured to prove, that the rites for which he pleaded were of a religious a nature; and the matter was at last carried from China to Rome, where the ablest pens of the Roman catholic church were employed in impeaching or vindicating. In 1645, his holiness Innocent X. pronounced Entence against the Jesuits, by condemning the indulgence they had shewn to the Chinese superstitions. Those consist- State of ed chiefly of two points. The one related to the notions the conwhich the Chinese entertained of a supreme Being; and the trovercy other to the honours which that people offered to the dead, between As to the first, the Jesuits contended, that the god which them and the Chinese worshipped under the character of Tien and their an-Shangti, was the same with the Christian deity. The Do- tagonists. minicans, on the other hand, with great strength of reasoning, maintained, that the terms Tien and Shangti, were applicable to materialism alone, which is the only power worshipped by the Chinese; and that the doctrines of Confucius were no other than those of fatalism, and inevitable necessity, which excludes a particular providence from the government of the world. This dispute occasioned many learned disquisitions upon the doctrines of the antient Chinese; who according to the best evidences that have come to our hands, did certainly exclude the belief of a particular providence out of their religion.

With regard to the second point, the honours which the Chinese paid to the dead, it seems at first sight to have been savourable to the Jesuits, since it implies the existence of a suture state, which is incompatible with the doctrines of of stalism. But here the Jesuits made a great discovery, by pretending that the religion of the higher and more enlightened Chinese is different from that of the vulgar; and that the annual honours they paid to the dead, particularly to the memory of Confucius and that of their own ancestors, are institutions merely civil and political. In this the Jesuits seem to be well sounded in their arguments; but the Donie incans insist, that the rites paid to the memory of Confucius, and the ancestors of the Chinese, are entirely religious and

idolatrous.

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idolatrous. Upon the whole, candour itself must confes, that the Jesuits, in establishing their interest in China, were driven to make concessions which required the greatest art and fophistry to palliate; and the dispute seems never to have received any legal decision, though it may be brought within the compass of a very simple question, whether the Chinese are, or are not, idolaters.

Disputes between and the

See Vol. IX. p. 182. et Jeq.

The disputes between the Jansenists and the Jesuits, about the doctrines of grace, form another important epochain the Jesuits Innocent's pontificate. He took part with the Jesuits, and a persecution was raised against the Jansenists, who refused Jansenists. to accept of the decrees of the council of Trent, or to retract the opinions of Jansenius, which they maintained were the same with those of St. Augustin. As to the matter of the dispute, it was trifling, and even contemptible; but it was attended with great political confequences, which may be found in the histories of the countries to which they refer. It must be acknowledged, that Innocent and his predecessor's warmth upon those ridiculous occasions were of infinite prejudice to popery. The princes and states of the Roman catholic communion found their claims fo wild and absurd, that they laid them entirely out of the scheme of politics, as appeared from the conclusion of the treaty of Munster; where the contracting parties, notwithstanding all the opposition made by Chigi, the pope's nuntio, settled the terms of the treaty without any regard to the pretenfions of the holy fee. The fulminating bulls issued by his holiness, on that occasion, served only to make a farther display of his impotence, when not affished by credulity and superstition, and drew upon him severe answers from the best pens of Europe, exposing the absurdity and injustice of his interpoling in matters of fuch a high temporal The secularizing the bishoprics was the only measure in which he could interpose with any shadow of authority; but, in that, his representations were difregaided, even by the bigotted house of Austria.

Fluctuating state of the pope's court,

In the year 1650, cardinal Panzirollo was the prime counfellor of Innocent, who was now become equally contemptible and detestable in the eyes of the public, on account of donna Olympia. By Panzirollo's advice, he created Affalli, an Italian nobleman, whose brother had married his niece, a cardinal, and first minister, under the name of cardinal patron. His creation was attended with unufual rejoicings, and even the guns of the castle of St. Angelo were discharged on the occasion. A magnificent palace was affigued him, together with noble revenues; but no sooner did donna Olympia, and her daughters, obtain an audience of his holiness, than he was stript of all, and reduced to walk on foot without a fervant to attend him, and without any means of subfistance, but what he drew from Panzirolli's generolity. Olympia's influence over the pope was so extenlive nfels,

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tensive as to beget in weak minds a suspicion of her having fascinated him by supernatural means; but it was plainly owing to the weakness of his holiness, and the criminal indulgences of his pleasures. She sate publicly along with him in council with bags of papers in her hand. She pronounced, without confulting him, determinations of all affairs of government, and returned answers to foreign ministers and prelates, which he neither dictated nor approved of, but durst not contradict. She had a private office, where she employed accomptants for fixing the value of different posts, places, and benefices, which she openly put up to fale. She annulled, by her fole authority, the laws and decrees of former popes, when they flood in the way of her ambition and avarice, but never gave any credit to the purchasers of the livings she fold, without having a moiety paid down in hand. Her power, at last, became so odious and ridiculous, that the amours of his holiness and donna Olympia were brought upon the stage even in Roman catholic courts; and innumerable were the pasquinades published at Rome upon the same subject.

Innocent seemed not insensible of the disrepute and con- from tempt into which Olympia had brought him and his govern- whence he ment; and Panzirollo omitted no opportunity to improve sends

ment; and Panzirollo omitted no opportunity to improve fends his waverings to her downfal, by representing how mean donna and despicable the authority of the Roman see was in every Olympia. court of Europe. He pressed this point so irresistibly, that his holiness at last consented to remove donna Olympia from the open direction of public affairs; to recall the princess Rosana and her husband, and to reinstate Astalli in the direction of the ministry. Notwithstanding those appearances, the insuence of Olympia continued, and, after Panzirollo's death, was encreased to a higher degree than ever. The Barberini had thrown themselves into the hands of the French ministry,

had thrown themselves into the hands of the French ministry, only because Mazarine and Innocent hated each other; and Olympia perceived that they might now be useful in ballancing Mazarine's growing interest in the conclave. She, therefore, advised the pope to drop all resentment against the Barberini samily, and to prevail upon the court of Spain to restore them to all the revenues they had possessed in that country, and to provide an advantageous match for their neice, the princes Palestrina. Mazarine endeavoured to outbid the Spaniards in their offers, and actually made cardinal Antonio bishop of Poiters, and cardinal Francis grand almoner of France. Donna Olympia was resolved to gain them over at any rate; and in 1652, don Thaddeo's

grand almoner of France. Donna Olympia was resolved to gain them over at any rate; and in 1652, don Thaddeo's second son was married to her grand-daughter, his eldest son created a cardinal, the princes Palestrina, was married to the duke of Modena, and cardinal Francis Barberini was joined with donna Olympia, the cardinal patron and Azzelini.

in the direction of the fee of Rome. The pope, after this, ventured to fend a nuntio to France to interpole for cardinal Vol. X.

de Retz,

de Retz, who had been imprisoned by Mazarine; but he was stopt at Lyons; which exasperated his holiness so much, that he declared himself ready to send a legate to head the malecontents if they should take arms; but the Jesuits had still so much credit with him, that they obtained a fresh bull, condemning the opinions of fansenius, though his holiness declared that he neither had read nor understood the dispute between them.

Her return and rapacity.

After the restoration of the Barberini, and donna Olympia, to the management of affairs at the pope's court; they governed it with inexpressible despotism, and soon procured the difgrace of the cardinal patron, who was again flript of all his money and revenues, excepting fix thousand crowns Azzolini, who had been fecretary of the briefs, was made a cardinal, and the Barberini had repaired their losses so well, that, during the distractions of Noples, which we have already related, they offered to raife ten thousand men to conquer that kingdom for the holy fee, provided the principality of Salerno was annexed to their family. Innocent, some time before his death, grew excessively fond of cardinal de Retz, who had escaped from his confinement, and had come to Rome, where the pope presented him with four thousand crowns to relieve his distresses, and it was thought he intended to have adopted him for his nephew. Death and Innocent's age and infirmities at last confined him to his

character apartment, where he expired in the arms of donna Olympia, of Innocent who suffered none but herself to approach him, on the the seventh of January 1655, in the eighty-first year of his age. The state of the pontificate at the time of Innocent's death, notwithstanding the infamy of his character, and that of Olympia, fufficiently shews how deeply the foundations of the pontifical power are laid. An open contempt for learning, virtue, and religion, was the professed principle of Innocent and his female favourite, with whom he lived in incest before he was pope. There was not, perhaps, in Europe, a court but that of Rome, that would have maintained itself against so general and public a detestation of its head; but Innocent lived and died in peace, at the time when Charles I. of England, was brought to the block; the authority of the house of Bourbon shaken, and the power of that of Austria almost ruined. It cannot, however, be denied, that during Innocent's pontificate, the papal power received many fevere blows, especially in France, where the force of its fulminations was in a manner annihilated, and the pope declared to be inferior and subject to a general council.

Who is by Alex-

Great were the heats and cabals of the cardinals when fucceeded they were thut up in the conclave for the election of a new pope. Cardinal Sachetti, had for some time the greatest ander VII. appearance of fuccess; but by the management of cardinal de Retz, and the Barberini, after the conclave had been

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hut up for eighty-one days, the election fell upon cardina. Chigi, who took the name of Alexander VII. He owed his pontificate to the principles of moderation which he had always professed, and to his unaspiring behaviour, especially during the time of the conclave. He had recommended himself to Urban VIII. by his taste for the fine arts. and he had gone through many departments of public bufiness with great difinterestedness and a winning affability; but was, in one period of his life, suspected of favouring protestantism. The Roman citizens had so high an opinion of his virtue, that they were extravagant in their rejoicings for his elevation, which was likewise agreeable to all the Roman catholic courts, and even protestants repaired to Rome to congratulate him.

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The commencement of his pontificate out-did all the ex- His pronectations that had been conceived of his piety and virtue, found by He drove Olympia from his court, and confined her to pocrify. Orvieto, till the process could be made out for her trial. He lived, in his own person, with all the austerity and abstinence of the most mortified hermit, and declared his aversion to nepotism in every shape. Those appearances, however, contained nothing that was real. Alexander had fonarrow and mean a genius, that to relief himself from in oath he had made, never to receive his relations in Rome, he went out of the gate of that city on their approach to it, and met his brother don Mario, and three of his nephews, whom he conducted to his palace, and in a few days raised them to all the power, wealth, and honours he could bestow. Perceiving, that by the great friendship he had shewn for cardinal de Retz, whom he confirmed in the archbishopric of Paris, he had drawn upon himself the relentment of cardinal Mazarine, he gave up all intimacy with that prelate; who, upon his return from an excursion into the country, found his holiness immersed in luxury, and living with a splendor and magnificence equal, if not Superior, to that of the vainest of his predecessors.

He made his brother don Mario, governor of Rome, and His wickhis son, cardinal patron. In a few weeks he became the edness. reverse of what he formerly appeared to be; vain, insincere, vanity, wicked, he gave a loose to the most blameable affections, and avaand was intent on the most ridiculous trifles, though at the rice. lame time infatiably coverous. While preparations were making for donna Olympia's trial, the died of a pestilence, which was then desolating Rome and the eccletiastical state to such a degree, as to create a total cessation of all business and commerce. Her death faved her estate to her family, atter her heir, prince Pamfili, had gratified his holiness with million of crowns; which he distributed among his reations. When the accounts of the wrong-headed abdication, and conversion, of Christiana, queen of Sweden, to the Remish church, and that the was upon her journey to Rome,

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reached his holiness, he sent a nuntio to her with compliments of congratulation; and upon her arrival, after giving her a most magnificent reception, he settled upon her an

annual pension of twelve thousand crowns.

His accommodation with the republic

Alexander VII. had no quality in common with the great popes, his predecessors, but their dissimulation, and their The depredations committed hatred of the protestants. upon his revenues during the late pontificate, ferved him as a pretext for refusing to contribute any thing towards the of Venice. war which the Venetians were carring on against the Turks. He was however, foftened by a large fum of money prefented on the part of the Jesuits, by the hands of cardinal Palavicini; and he gave the republic leave to raise about a million of ducats from the fale of church lands, upon the fenate repealing the laws against the Jesuits, and readmitting them into their republic; a condition which was fub. mitted to with great unwillingness, but was absolutely neceffary in their diffrest circumstances. Upon the re-establishment of the Jesuits at Venice, they became the pope's favourites, and they had such influence at the French court, that Lewis XIV. patronized them in all the abfurd bulls. which the pope issued in condemnation of Jansenism, and which had almost occasioned a civil war in France. Alexander appointed a commission to try four French bishops. who had refused to submit to his bulls; but that insolent measure was so warmly opposed, both by the court and clergy of France, that the commission was withdrawn; and Lewis abated somewhat in his attachment to the pope. This was evident in the year 1659, when the peace of the Pyrenees was concluded, between France and Spain, without the knowledge of his holiness, who valued himself upon being an able negotiator, and a complete statesman. He had earnestly interposed with both courts to come to an accommodation; and this made him accuse Mazarine bitterly of his feizing every opportunity to bring him into contempt.

His difference with the French court.

The war between the Turks and Germans, was at this time raging in Upper Hungary; and his holiness laid a tithe on the ecclefiaftical revenues of Italy, for supplying the imperial finances. Mazarine shewed himself ready to have entered into a general league against the infidels; of which the pope was to be the head, but the proposition coming from him, Alexander discouraged it, and it fell to the ground. The duke of Crequi, was then the French ambaffador at Rome; and he had private orders from his court to do all he could to mortify the pope for his opposition to the cardinal, which he thought he could do no way more effectually than by shewing greater marks of respect to the other cardinals than he did to those of the pope's family; or even to don The duke had fo little regard for that nobleman, that he winked at many extravagancies committed by his fervants, which were shocking to the Italian delicacy; and they proceeded so far as even to disarm a part of the confi ompli

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or nightly watch in Rome. Don Mario spirited up the corsi, and the other officers of the police to resent this insult; and some of them were degraded and punished for not repelling sorce with sorce, when they were disarmed by the French.

The guards, upon this, without any ceremony, to the The duke number of four hundred, befet the ambassador's house, on of Crequi's pretence of searching for criminals, and fired upon his house person, when he shewed himself at a window, to appease beset at them. The ambassadores was then returning in her coach Rome. to her palace. The corfi fired upon it, and killed one of her domestics. The ambassador resented this violence, and demanded satisfaction, which the pope could not resuse to grant; but the duke and his court thought it too slight, and insisted upon having it more full and signal. The pope's samily visited the ambassador, and endeavoured to apologise for what had happened; and not only his holines, but the queen of Sweden sought to pacify Lewis by their letters; but all was to no purpose, and the duke retired from Rome to Tuscany.

The pope would willingly have taken that opportunity Lewis to break with Lewis, but neither the emperor nor the XIV. king of Spain were in any condition to take his part; upon orders his which he implored their mediation, and again plied Lewis troops to with letters full of submission. All the answer he received besiege was a demand from the French king, that don Mario should that city.

be banished Rome for five years; that cardinal Imperiali, who had favoured the corsi (so called because they were natives of Corsica) should lose his hat; that the Corsican guards should be broken, and expelled Rome for ever; and that a pillar should be erected with an inscription, apologising for the insult, upon the place where the outrage was committed. The pope endeavoured to elude the performance of those humilitating conditions; and temporised for sour months, during which time, the duke of Crequi lest Italy; and Lewis ordered an army under marshal Prassin to march into Italy, and besiege Rome. At the same time, Lewis demanded that the duke of Parma should be put in possession of Castro, and the duke of Modena of the vale of

Commachio, which had been feized by the holy see.

His holiness was astonished and confounded at the severity The pope of those demands, and the haughtiness with which they were obliged to made. He found that none of the Roman catholic princes submit.

were inclined to take his part, and that they were even preparing to join the French. Notwithstanding all those impending dangers, he still retained an air of resolution, and threatened to suffer every extremity rather than sacrifice the dignity of the Roman see. In the mean while, the parliament of Provence met, and summoned the pope to appear before it; and upon his not complying they ordered his city and territory of Avignon to be united to the crown of France. Alexander was for some time confirmed in his ob-

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stinacy

flinacy by the house of Austria; but finding himself decived, he was obliged to employ the Venetians to mediate an accommodation between him and Lewis. Conferences were accordingly opened at Lyons, but without effect. They were transferred to other places, and again broken off, because Alexander refused to yield to the restitution of Castro and Commachio.

Terms of the accommodation,

The appearance of a French fleet off the ecclefiaftical ftate, which however, retired to Sardinia, without committing any hostilities, renewed the negotiation; which was managed, on the part of the pope, by his nuntio Rasponi, and on that of the French king by Bourlemont. Every meeting produced fresh demands on the part of Lewis, who affected to be the protector of the Italian princes against the incroachments of the see of Rome; and the treaty was at last finished, gloriously for Lewis. Castro was to be restored to the duke of Parma, upon condition of his discharging, in eight years, the money for which it had been mortgaged, amounting to above fixteen hundred thousand crowns; which never were paid. His holiness was obliged to remit a large debt to the duke of Modena; and to pay him forty thousand crowns, or provide him with a palace in Rome; to put him in possession of an estate to the value of thirty thousand crowns, and to yield many other valuable priviliges, in compensation for the valley of Commachio, The cardinal patron was to repair to France, where, in the name of his holiness, he was to repeat before the French king the form of a fubmission, which was specified in the treaty, declaring that his holiness was forry for the infult offered to the French ambassador; and that neither he nor his family were accessary to the same, or authorised its being committed. Cardinal Imperiali was to go France, and there make his submission before the king; and a number of other private ceremonies of humilation and exaltation, were inferted in the treaty; but all of them tending to the aggrandifement of the French monarch. The Corfican guard was disqualified from ever serving in Rome, or the pope's territories; and the captain of the guard was broke, while the infcription on the pillar or pyramid, that was to be erected on the spot where their guard-house stood, was to declare the nature of their crime, and the reason of their banishment. All the pope gained for so many disgraceful concessions, which were to be accompanied with the banishment of don Mario, till he made his submission in writing, was his being reinstated in the possession of Avignon, and its dependencies.

which Those articles were punctually sulfilled, and then his were to his holiness turned his attention to the idle disputes between discredit. the Dominicans and the Jesuits, about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary; which terminated in favour of the Jesuits. The king of Spain was distaissified at his being

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diffegarded in the management of this accommodation, and that the pope had favoured the king of Portugal. Upon the whole, this determination was a fevere blow upon the authority of the holy fee; and the parliament of Paris, notwithstanding all the remonstrances made by the pope to the contrary, confirmed the regale, or the independency of the Gallican church upon the papal authority. This flattered the pride of Lewis, which was always at variance with his bigotry. He even passed some censures upon his subjects for carrying their opposition to Alexander farther than he intended, after he thought he had been sufficiently humbled. Alexander died on the twenty-second of May His death. 1667, in the fixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his pontificate. His character has been already mentioned; but he is by some writers commended for his love to learning, and, by all, for the magnificent works he erected at Rome, at the expence of the apostolical chamber; but fometimes by methods that were oppressive of private property.

He was succeeded by cardinal Rospigliosi, who took the Succeed. name of Clement IX. His advancement was unexpected by ed by himself, and he shewed himself worthy of it, by beginning Clement his government with the abolition of feveral oppressive taxes, IX. and by providing for the more plentiful supply of his capital with provisions. The profusion of the two former pontificates having exhausted his treasury, he gave a proof of his economy by suppressing some useless degenerated regulars. who were of no fervice to the clergy or their order. war which continued to rage between the Venetians and the Turks required this measure; as he could no otherwise supply the former with money, but by giving them leave to secularise the possessions of those regulars. Some of their estates lay in the Milanese, and the kingdom of Naples, which belonging to Spain, that ministry made an opposition to the fecularisations, which they alledged could not be effected without their master's consent. The affair was doubtless of a serious nature, and the Spaniards seem to have had the better of the argument. At Naples, the officers who were to carry the pope's bull into execution were insulted and beaten, and though the pope excommunicated the authors of the riot, yet he found himfelf wrong in his proceedings, and even repented of them; nor could they ever carry his bulls into execution within the Spanish dominions. All the His zeal apology he made was necessity, on account of the progress against the of the Turks; and he applied himself to oppose them more Turks. effectually by uniting the christian princes in a confederacy against them. For this purpose he sent his nephew, cardinal Rospiglioss, to the court of France; and a body of French troops was actually fent to defend Candia against the infidels. But Lewis XIV. had at that time no idea of making peace with Spain; being intent upon the reduction of

A GENERAL HISTORY.

Franche Comte, which he actually conquered a few months This did not discourage his holiness in his pursuit after. of peace.

His prudent administration with regard to France.

Lewis, by Clement's influence, sent fix thousand men into Hungary to the affiftance of the emperor; though the reduction of the power of the house of Austria was his favourite measure. He at last agreed to treat, and the pope had the address to procure himself the honour of being nominated mediator at the conferences of Aix la Chapelle: where the peace of Europe was actually once more fettled This mark of diffinction among the great powers in 1668. of Europe, at a time when the papal power was become almost a phantom, was owing to the prudence and moderation of Clement, who was in his private life a man of virtue and piety. He neither enriched himself nor his relations, and he was even sparing as to their preferments; nor indeed was their ambition very extensive. Perceiving the growing power of France, (the only nation in Europe that had an able ministry,) he soothed her young king, who was full of fire and ambition, and at the fame time he moderated the proceedings against the Jansenists there; which had been fo violent during the two last pontificates as to threaten a civil war. He suffered Lewis XIV. (because he knew it was in vain to contend with him) to enjoy his regale in its full extent; and he empowered him to fill all the bishoprics, abbies, and benefices in his kingdom as they became vacant. In short, he showed him every indulgence in his power, which perhaps, was the only method by which he could retain any part of that ancient revenue which had been paid to the bishops of He removed the monument which had been erected in that city to commemorate the conversion of Henry IV. to the Roman catholic religion, and which gave offence to Lewis, who in return suffered him to erase the pyramid that had been raised when the Corsicans were banished. Clement, however, notwithstanding the instances of Lewis, could not be prevailed upon to part with the dutchy of Castro, by giving the investiture of it to the duke of Parma.

By the credit in which Clement stood at the court of France, he was enabled to do great things against the intion to the fidels. He fitted out a fleet of gallies, the command of which he gave to his nephew Vincenzo Rospigliosi, with orders for it to join the French and the Maltese fleets; and he prevailed with the Roman catholic powers in Germany to fend confiderable reinforcements to serve against the infidels, both in Crete, or Candia, and in Hungary. About this time, his attention was attracted by a most unprecedented event, which happened in the kingdom of Portugal. The daughter of the duke of Nemours, had been married to his Portugueze majesty, don Alphonso, with whom she lived very unhappily, not enjoying (as the pretended) even the rights of the mar-

queen of Portugal to marry her brother inlaw.

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The people pitied her diffress, on account of riage-bed. the brutish disposition of her husband; and finding them npe for a revolution of government, the fixed her affections on don Pedro, her husband's brother; and having dethroned don Alphonso, don Pedro mounted the throne; and the queen's former marriage being dissolved, a second was celebrated between her and don Pedro. This dissolution was somewhat irregular; for the cardinal of Vendosme, the queen's uncle, being the pope's legate in France, approved of it without receiving any instructions from his holiness for that purpose. Clement was nettled at this proceeding, but the cardinal justified himself under the plenitude of his legantine powers; and the king of France was a warm advocate for the divorce, and the confirmation of the marriage. Both Lewis and the queen applied to his holiness by letters; and attestations under the hands of no fewer than thirty physicians were sent him to prove Alphonso's infufficiency for the marriage-bed; though it appeared at the fame time, that he had natural iffue by another woman. The pope, without either refusing or granting the divorce, remitted the examination of the marriage to the dean of the inquisitors in Portugal, who found the first marriage to be invalid; upon which his holiness granted a bull of dispenfation for the second, and acknowledged don Pedro to be a lawful independent monarch.

During the remaining short time of his pontificate, he Hisdeath, endeavoured, by appointing commissions, which were in and chaestedual for the purpose, to regulate his finances, and to racter.

introduce a reformation among the prelates, whose ignorance and indolence were now scandalous. While he was intent on those affairs, he heard of the loss of Candia, which was taken by the Turks; and it affected him so much, that it threw him into an apoplexy, and afterwards into a fettled melancholly, which put an end to his life, on the ninth of The character of this pope is one of the December 1669. most amiable to be met with in the pontifical history. He is blamed for having too much indulged the pleasures of a table; but the flexibility of temper with which he is charged, was, perhaps, necessary in his situation. He had seen the papal authority despised and trampled on by the obstinacy of his predecessors; and he partly recovered it, by the mildnels of his conduct, and the prudence of his concessions. His administration was generous and popular; nor, at the time of his death, was his family either rich or powerful.

The cardinal electors continued shut up in the conlave Clement for four months, before they could agree upon the choice X. pope. of a new pope, through the obstinacy of the cardinals Rospigliosi, Barberini, and Chigi. Necessity and confinement at last determined them in the choice of cardinal Altieri; who was descended of a patrician noble Roman samily, and was then eighty years of age. He took the name of

Clement

His first minister oppresses the people.

Clement X. He had refided as nuncio at Naples during Massaniello's insurrection; and had been a great favourite with the late pope, who, when he was on his death-bed, created him a cardinal. Having few, or no blood relations, he adopted cardinal Paolucci, whose nephew had married Clement's neice, into all the honours and estates of the Paolucci family; and made him his cardinal patron, or first minister. The house of Paolucci was poor, and the cardinal's relations needy and numerous; his brother was placed at the head of the pope's marine. The days of nepotism were soon restored, the minister disposed of all benefices and promotions by his own authority; and expressly forbade that any one should have access upon bush. ness, or that any petition should be presented to his holiness, without his consent. The consideration of the pope's advanced age, fomewhat foftened the indignation which the public felt at this despotism, and the same consideration prompted the cardinal to make the quicker dispatch in enriching and establishing his family. Under this pope the canonization of Pius V. was performed, and he gave the famous Nitard, who had been confessor to the queen of Spain, and was for some time first minister of that kingdom, a cardinal's hat. Clement X. was too much influenced by his minister, who

Clement acts in

now took the name of Altieri, to expend great sums against contradic the Turks, who had over-run Poland. This, however, tion to served as a pretext for raising three hundred thousand the French crowns upon Italian benefices; but no more than fifty king's re- thousand were sent to Poland. Upon the death of that gale. king, the samous John Sobieski succeeded him; though Altieri did all he could to raise prince Charles of Lorrain to that throne; nor was there afterwards a good understanding between Sobieski and his holiness, who refused, when requested by Sobieski, to give a cardinal's hat to the bishop of Marfeilles. His holiness was far from imitating the conduct of his predecessor, with regard to France. When Lewis XIV. in right of his regale, appointed a general of the order of St. Lazarus, which he intended to reform, Altieri persuaded the pope to appoint another person, a Gascon by birth, under the name of the abbot of the order. The French court treated this proceeding with the utmost contempt and indignation. Its ambassador, by his own authority, punished the attorney who had drawn up the Gascon's memorial to his holiness; and when the Gascon returned to France with his pretended powers, he was arrested and imprisoned, and Lewis stuck to his own nomination. The pope foon perceived that his bulls and mandates availed him but little, when opposed to the regal power. Altieri proceeded with more fuccess in another dispute he had with the foreign ministers residing in Rome. The imbecility of the late pope, had encouraged them not only to erect their

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ralaces into fanctuaries for criminals, but to plead an exemption from all taxes imposed upon provisions that were defined for their use. As great part of the papal revenue arose from the taxes upon those provisions, which were let out to farmers, the latter complained, with great justice, that, under cover of such exemptions, the pope's subjects. as well as other Italians, and foreigners, defrauded them in their income, fo that they could not make up the fums which they had engaged to pay to the government. represented the matter to the several courts of those ambaffadors, and intreated their masters to order them to desist from abusing their privileges, which, he said, his holiness was willing to confirm and preserve inviolate, so far as they regarded their own persons and families. All his re- Firmness presentations being disregarded, Altieri published an edich, of carsubjecting all foreign ministers to the payments of dinal Al-The ambassa-tieri. taxes in the fame manner as other people. dors took fire at this prefumption (as they called it) of the cardinal patron. They refused to address him any longer as first minister, and they prepared to go in a body and complain to his holiness in person. Altieri, not daunted by their menaces, barricadoed all the avenues to the papal palace; and made dispositions for repelling them by force, if they should proceed. The ambassadors applied to their masters, who condemned their conduct, and who justified the cardinal's moderation, in not rigorously exacting a compliance with his edict, but leaving their persons and families untaxed for their provisions, and themselves in possession of all their immunities as foreign ministers.

Altieri having, by his feafonable firmness, broken the con- A magnifederacy, the ambaffadors were obliged to submit; but ficent jud'Estrees, the French minister, could not be brought to com- bilee at ply with Altieri, on pretence that he held a private corref- Rome. pondence with the Spaniards. Altieri restrained the abuses of the ambassadors in other respects, particulary with regard to the fanctuary rights, which they claimed for criminals in their houses; and thereby he subdued the banditti to effectually, that Rome enjoyed a perfect state of tranquility, when, in 1675, the jubilee was celebrated, which, on that account was remarkably tplendid and numerous; to the great emolument of the Romans, and the farmers of the revenue. That fame year, Clement gave a cardinal's hat to Howard, who was of the illustrious house of Norfolk, and who, though a first Roman catholic, was a man of very moderate principles. He was the fon of the earl of Arundel, who, during the diffress of his royal master, had withdrawn into a voluntary exile; but while he travelled through Italy, this fon Philip had been converted by a Dominican friar, and became himself one of that order.

The celebration of the jubilee was scarcely over, when his holines, whose name was of far greater importance at

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a distance, than it was with his neighbouring powers, receive ed two applications; one from the king of Persia, the other from the czar of Muscovy, to whom his holiness denied the title of emperor. Both of them fought his alliance against the Turks; but both negotiations fell to the ground, as they expected from Clement far greater things than he could per-

Death of Clement.

In 1676, the banditti having been troublesome in Naples, that viceroy pursued them into the ecclesiastical state, where he took and put some of them to death. Though the pope at this time was in his dotage, and on his death-bed, he demanded satisfaction for this trespass; but died before he could obtain it. While he was upon his death-bed, Altieri's importunities for him to give away cardinals hats to four of his creatures, were incessant; but his holiness refused them, and begged that Altieri would fuffer him to be pope for fix hours, as he had enjoyed that dignity fix years. He died on the twenty-second of July 1676.

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The French interest was at that time so powerful in the fucceeded conclave, that upon the recommendation of Lewis XIV. cardinal Odescalchi, a noble Italian, possessed of a consideramocent XI. ble private fortune, was chosen pope, and took the name of Innocent XI. His education and disposition were of a more liberal cast than those of his two immediate predecessors, Though Altieri was extremely obnoxious to the people, on account of the oppressions of his government, by which he had amassed immense riches, yet he protected him, because of the reformations he had introduced into the police; and upon his election he shewed a becoming indignation at the degeneracy of the Roman clergy, whom he proposed to reform. In his younger years he had ferved two compaigns in the imperial army, and was not unacquainted with amorous intrigues. The prospect of advancement had prevailed upon him to take holy orders; and he owed it chiefly to a magnificent present of plate he made to donna Olympia, and his losing considerable sums to her at play. Even after his election he retained the character of virtue and moderation, which he acquired while he was cardinal; for before he accepted of the dignity, he infifted upon fettling fome preliminary articles for the church's reformation, which he began to put into execution from the hour that he was inaugurated. As he was serious in this point, he pressed it with great vigour; but the popes were not now arbitrary, even within their own courts. The French, the Spanish, and Austrian cardinals, confidered themselves as being responsible for the interests of their respective masters; and Innocent knew his own inability to use any compultive measures. His (or as they may be properly called the Italian) cardinals, formed the only party whom he could depend upon in the conclave; but they were averse to all proposals proposals for a reformation in matters that might affect their

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All that Innocent, in this fituation, could do, was to endea- His reforyour to retrieve his finances, which were in terrible diforder, mation of to introduce some harmless alterations in the modes of the church worship, to improve the police of Rome, and the ecclesiafical state, and to regulate some points of behaviour among the ecclefiastics of an inferior order. He proposed a bull for abolishing the office of cardinal patron, which had of late years been so much abused; but he met with so violent an opposition from the Italian cardinals, that he was obliged to defift, and be fatisfied with discontinuing it under his own pontificate. He refused to give any distinguished post in church or state to his own nephew, don Livio; and he prohibited him from assuming any mark of state or distinction, on account of their confanguinity. He confented, however, to his being ennobled by the Venetians, who created him duke of Ceri. Innocent was indefatigable in his exhortations to peace among the christian powers; and filled their courts with nuntios and legates for that purpose. His first minister was cardinal Cibo, and he diminished the military, to encrease the civil, power, by augmenting the number of his officers of police at Rome. He inveighed in public against the luxury of prelates, and did all he could to oblige them to refidence. His cares to prevent any unworthy persons from being admitted into holy orders, were exemplary and well intended; but he was unable to put them in execution, because he was obliged to entrust it to others. His attention to the reformation of the church, He quarand the re-establishment of his finances, gave opportunities rels with for the foreign ministers at Rome to renew their encroach- the foreign ments. They had extended their pretended privileges fo ambassaas to comprehend the streets in the neighbourhood of their dors, palaces; which they opened as afylums to malefactors and criminals of every kind.

Innocent endeavoured to strike at the root of those abuses, and by publishing an edict for abolishing the privileges of cuts off quarters; and he next prevailed with Christiana, who then their priviled at Rome, to set the first example of obedience, by vileges. Submitting to his orders. The other ambassadors, however, protested against the edict, and the Spanish proceeded so far as to open his quarters for the receptacle of a number of pressed recruits, who were to be sent to his master's armies in Naples; a circumstance which brings us back to

the history of that kingdom.

In the year 1656, Naples was afflicted by a pestilence, A plague imported from Sardinia, which swept off four hundred thou- at Naples. sand of the natives in six months. From the capital it was diffused all over the kingdom, while its progress was so uncommon, that the Neapolitans conceived the ridiculous notion that it was propagated by the Spaniards, who strewed

poisoned

poisoned dust in their streets; and it prevailed so strongly, that the viceroy was actually obliged to order a man to be broken upon the wheel for the crime. A more favourable feafon abated the calamity; but during its continuance the banditti had encreased so much, that the count de Castrillo was employed in the most effectual means for suppressing them, when he was superfeded in his viceroyalty by the count of Peniaranda, under whom they were suppressed; and many of them fent to recruit the Spanish armies in Por-The count was succeeded by the cardinal Paschal. of Arragon; under whom the diforders of the banditti were History of renewed. He was, in 1666, succeeded by his brother don

dom.

that king-Pedro of Arragon; but the king of Spain being then under age, pope Alexander VII. claimed the administration of the government during his minority, though without effect. The kingdom was then threatened with an invasion by the French king, which put the viceroy to extraordinary trouble and expences; while his difficulties were encreased by the ill success of the Spanish arms in every quarter, and the inceffant demands made upon him by that ministry for men and money. The power of the viceroyalty at last was fo much reduced, that the banditti made themselves masters of many confiderable posts and places in the kingdom; and their infolence went fo far as to collect the public revenues, and to prohibit the inhabitants from paying their taxes to the king's officers. Their enormities were encouraged by the fordid disposition of the viceroy, who, for money, suffered the most flagrant crimes to pass unpunished, by which he carried off with him to Spain an immense fortune; when he was fucceeded in his viceroyalty by the marquis of Astorga.

That nobleman found the kingdom afflicted with rapine, famine, disorder, and every evil that can affect society or The descents of the Turks encreased the human nature. public calamities, and co-operated with the ravages of the banditti; the coin was debased, a stop was put to commerce, and the most infamous crimes found asylums in the numerous churches, convents, and other religious houses, that were always open for their reception. It is furprizing, that the kingdom of Naples, under all those calamities, was enabled, as it did, to fend very confiderable reinforcements, both by sea and land, to affish the Spaniards in their unfortunate wars. The city of Messina revolted from their government, and the marquis of Astorga sent a reinforcement to the Spanish fleet, which was beaten by the French, who then The mar took possession of that city. The assistance which the quis de los marquis gave to the Spaniards, could not be procured without laying excessive imposts upon the people, part of which the court of Spain suspecting to be imbezzled by the vice-

roy, he was recalled, and succeeded by the marquis de los

Velez appointed viceroy.

Velez. He began his government by punishing the banditti

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who had joined the French, in endeavouring to excite the Neapolitans to imitate the Meffinians in the throwing off the Spanish yoke. He procured a donative of two hundred thousand ducats from the people, which did so much service to the Spanish affairs, that their fleet, being joined by the famous Dutch admiral Ruyter, the French ungenerously withdrew their protection from the Messinians, who were obliged again to submit to the government of Spain, which bridled them with a strong citadel, and abolished their privileges. In the mean while, the failors who returned from the Sicilian expedition, filled Naples with the most dreadful disorders, which were punished by the viceroy, without diffinction of persons, by public and private executions, and commitments to the gallies; while the adulteration of the coin was so general, that it occasioned next to a general bankruptcy. The great abilities of the viceroy, in part, remedied this disorder, but could not remove it, and the practices of false coinage were chiefly carried on by monks in convents, and by flaves in gallies, to which they had

been committed for that very crime.

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Upon the infraction of the treaty of Nimeguen by the Great dif-French, the viceroy fent two ships with ammunition, and putes betwo thousand men to Barcelona; and soon after the marquis tween Indel Carpio succeeded los Velez in the viceroyalty of Naples. nocent and The alarming progress of the French arms astonished all the Lewis powers of Europe; but fixed Innocent in a determined reso-XIV. lution to oppose them, both in his spiritual and temporal capacity. Spain was despirited and weak; Germany divided and The king of diffrest equally by the Turks as the French. England had been gained over by Lewis, to second all his ambitious projects. The northren powers rather inclined to favour that of France; and the public spirit of the Dutch gave way to prudential confiderations, which fuggested to them, that, fingly, they were no match for France. In this general consternation Innocent XI. alone remained firm. He used the policy, as we may fay, of carrying the war into the country of the enemy, (who called himself the eldest son the of church) by issuing bulls and mandates against the French king's regale. Lewis, as haughty as the pope was resolute, inforced severe penal laws against all who published such mandates in his kingdom; and by his own authority he appointed bishops, ordered them to be consecrated, and put them in possession of their sees. The undaunted pontiff redoubled his fulminations, and the spirit of both grew in proportion to the difficulties which each had to encounter. The bishop of Pamieres had refused to submit to the regale, and the pope supporting him with his spiritual arms, declared that he was, in imitation of his predecessors, ready to suffer the sharpest afflictions in defence of his spiritual authority. This

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The regale afferted in

This declaration made an impression upon Lewis, whose conscience was in the hands of Jesuits. Instead of emancipating himself entirely from the church of Rome, he France in ordered an affembly of his bishops to be called at Paris, in four pro- 1682. There the power of the pope was declared to be positions. merely spiritual; and the following propositions were affented to by the whole affembly, and the universities of France, as containing a facred and inviolable rule of faith 1. That neither St. Peter nor his successors, have received from God any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and fovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclefiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from the facred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the church, or the bulls of the Roman pontiff. 2. That the decrees of the council of Constance, which maintain the authority of a general council, as superior to that of the popes, in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican church. 3. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances, which have been received in the Gallican church, are to be preserved inviolable. 4. That the decisions of the pope, in points of faith, are not infalliable, unless they be attended with the consent of the church.

Literary controthat fubject.

All Europe was foon filled with writings published by order of Innocent, whose principal champion was cardinal versies on Sfondrati. The French king ordered the famous Bossuete bishop of Meaux, who was esteemed the most learned and elegant writer in France, to answer the pope's advocates, which he did in a mafterly performance. Had not Lewis been in his heart a flave to superstition and bigotry, he would have laid hold of that inviting opportunity entirely to have broken the papal chains; but his conscience continued to be enthralled by the Jesuits, and he was daunted by the intrepidity and perseverance of Innocent. He did not even dare to suffer Boffuet's book to be published, nor did it make its appearance till so late as the year 1730.

The doctrine contained in the four propositions, was not

and policy the only blow the papal authority received at this time in of Innocent France; for the affembly declared that the regale ought to extend to all churches in France, without exception. The French prelates joined in a letter to the pope, which they configned to the hands of cardinal d'Estrees, then residing at Rome. His holiness answered them by condemning the four propositions, and ordering them to be publicly burnt. He then wrote the prelates a letter, reproaching them as being traitors to the cause of God. The vigour of the pope in the noble affiftance he afforded to the house of Austria against the infidels, did Innocent great service at this time, by adding to the dignity of his character. He gave away fixteen, of twenty fix, cardinals hats, which were vacant;

and cardinal d'Estrees, who still resided at Rome, advised Lewis not to push his differences with Innocent farther, unless he intended totally to renounce his spiritual authority; and his advice was taken:

Innocent had now daily opportunies of manifesting his His zeal zeal against the Turks, who were at the gates of Vienna and frugaitself; and it was chiefly owing to him, that the famous lity. John Sobieski, magnanimously overlooked all differences with the emperor, and faved his house from ruin by raising the fiege of Vienna. Innocent even went fo far as to follicit a general league against the infidels, and to advance money to the house of Austria. The frugality and simplicity of his way of life deprived the protestant powers of any opportunity for attacking his morals and principles, while he conciliated the veneration of the Roman catholics; but Innount's concern in politics, fo far as they regarded the fystem of power in Europe, reached no farther than depressing the house of Bourbon, and afferting the internal rights he claimed within the kingdom of France. In those two lights, we are to consider the conduct of this extraordinary pontiff. He fluck at nothing, even to the leaguing with the friends and allies of protestants for reducing the ambition of France; but when the concerns of the Roman catholics took place, he joined with Lewis against his protestant subjects, because they were always ready to fide with their king against the lee of Rome. He approved, therefore, of the infamous revocation of the edict of Nants; but he is faid, either to have condemned the bloody proceedings attending that revocation, or to have been wholly ignorant of them.

As a temporal prince, he was extremely careful to im- His poprove the morals of his subjects, and he enacted sumptuary litics as a laws, with excommunication attending their being contra- temporal Those laws extended so far as to take from music- prince. malters, though they were ecclefiaftics, the liberty of teaching any woman; and the finging nuns were to be instructed by persons of their own sex and profession. When the treaty of Augsbourg was concluded between the emperor, the states of the empire, and the king of Spain, Innocent objected to it, on account of the clause by which the con-

having no weight, he withdrew his subsidy from the emperor for some time.

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About the year 1687, a Spanish priest, one Molinos, re- History of siding at Rome, had obtained a most extraordinary character quietism. for his piety, and had gained a vast number of followers of both sexes. He published a book, entituled, "The Spiritual Guide," in which he maintained, that the foul, in the pursuit of the supreme good, must retire from the reports and gratifications of sense, and, in general, from all corporeal objects, and imposing silence upon all the motions VOL. X.

tracting parties bind themselves to oppose the French king in

spiritual, as well as temporal, concerns; and his objections

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of the understanding and will, must be absorbed in the Deity. The Jesuits took fire at his reviving all the principles of the antient mystics, and his setting at nought all their labours for the benefit of christianity. Cardinal d'Estrees, the French ambassador, put himself at the head of the profecution intended against him; and Innocent, who endea. voured to gratify Lewis in every thing that did not affect the balance of power in Europe; confented to Molinos being thrown into the prison of the inquisition. This was the more extraordinary, as Innocent himself had given the strongest approbation of Molinos' virtue, fanctity, and doctrine; and in this he was followed by some of the most considerable personages about his court. While Molinos was in the inquisition, so powerful was the influence of his enemies the Jesuits, that he was put to the torture, and though he defended his opinions with arguments that were unanswera. ble by his opponents, yet he was obliged to submit to a public recantation; which was fo for from procuring his liberty that he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died in the year 1696.

Which gains ground.

His punishment and death encreased the number of his Indolent monks, priefts, friars, and bishops, who lived in a fequestered manner, without labour, toil, or trouble, embraced his tenets, as leading to the furest way towards heaven. Persons of an enthusiastic turn, but posfessed of affluent fortunes, were enraptured with quietism. and it spread even among protestants, who were of the like turn and circumstances. Italy, Spain, France, and the Netherlands, were filled with votaries of the new doctrine, the progress of which must have been fatal to Jesuitism, if its professors had not split among themselves. Though all of them agreed in the main point, yet fuch is the nature of enthufiasm, that the smallest deviation from the most trisling opinion, becomes capital in the eyes of the person who holds it.

The triumphal entry of the marquis of Lavardin

The facrifice of Molinos was not sufficient to fatisfy the ambition, or rather vanity, of Lewis. Upon the death of the duke d'Estrees, who had been for some time the only band of amity between him and Innocent, the latter intimated that he was resolved to abolish the franchises, or quarters round ambassadors houses in Rome, claimed by them as privileged into Rome. places. To pave the way for the confent of Lewis, the pope prevailed with the other crowned heads of Europa and among the rest with, the, then, catholic king of England, James II. to confent to those disenfranchisements; but Lewis, who hated the pope, was fo far from imitating them, that he told Ranucci, Innocent's nuncio, that their conduct was no rule to him, but that his example ought to direct them. Being refolved to make his triumph over the pope as public as possible, he ordered the marquis of Lavardin to repair to Rome as his ambassador, while Innocent

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was thundering out his excommunications against all who should maintain the right to franchises of quarters, whether ecclefiastical or secular. The grounds of this proceeding of Lewis was deeper laid than most historians have apprehended. He, at this time, was planning the scheme, if not of a universal, yet of a very extensive, monarchy, and had. upon more occasions than one, pretended that he was to be regarded as the male descendant of Charles the Great, and, consequently, entitled to the whole of his monarchy, in which he reckoned Rome itself. In consequence of this scheme, the marquis of Lavardin entered Rome, rather as a victorious general, than an ambassador. While he was at Bologna, the pope fent to acquaint him that he must not proceed farther, unless he renounced his right to the franchifes. The marquis paid no attention either to the excommunication, or the mafter of the ceremonies, but proreeded to Rome, at the head of four hundred volunteer officers, the same number of marine guards, and two hundred lackies, all of them ready for action, if they had met with opposition. The pope's guards, who were armed, not for service, but shew, gave them none, and the marquis took possession of his quarter, which he formed into a gartison, where guards, patrols, and centinels regularly did duty. The pope repeated his excommunications, which were treated as before, with great contempt. He laid the church and clergy of the church of St. Lewis under an interdict, because, lying within the French quarter, the marquis had there received the facrament. The marquis, on the other hand, braved his holiness, by affecting to appear in public upon all occasions, after he had been refused audience.

Innocent, undiffraged by this behaviour, refused bulls to Firmness thirty eight bishops, who had been nominated by Lewis; of the and when the latter wanted to make the cardinal of Furf-pope, temberg elector of Cologne, Innocent bestowed it upon his competitor prince Clement of Bavaria. Furstemberg was a creature of France, and Innocent thought he could not give a more effectual check to Lewis, than by this measure, in which he was supported by the emperor, and the house of Austria. The most extraordinary part of Innocent's history, was his behaviour towards the abdicated king of England, James II. who had lost his crown for his attachment to the popish religion. Innocent was not so intent upon making converts as he was upon humbling the French power. He looked upon James as being entirely devoted to Lewis; and that milguided prince even courted him to receive him and his kingdom into the bosom of the holy see. He had sent several ministers, both in public and private, to Rome, where they were treated with great coldness, if not rudeness, by his holiness, who expressed none of those raptures that were natural on his receiving so important an acquisition. James,

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to conquer this coldness, affected to treat Lewis upon an equality, and even threatened to break with him if he did not do justice to the holy see; but in the mean while, he gave preference to the Jesuits over all the other Romish clergy in his dominions. He made father Petre, a privy counfellor, and when the pope fent Dadda, as his nuntio, into Who dif- England, he made a public entry at Windfor. These, and other infractions of the English laws and constitutions were

approves far from being agreeable to Innocent. He often expressed his of the

conduct of fears, that the fefuits would impel fames, who was of him
James II. felf but too forward, to his ruin; as actually happened,

of England When the prince of Orange invaded England, the French

king offered king James an army of forty thousand men, which was rejected; and Innocent heard of the success of the prince of Orange with coolness, if not with satisfaction, as he actually dreaded king James more than he did king William, who was by nature and principle the firm, deter-

mined, enemy of France.

The wisdom and policy of Innocent was very conspicuous at this juncture. By the stand he made against Furstem. herg, he gave to the French interest the severest blow it ever had received in Germany; and, at the same time, he thereby relieved the Dutch from their apprehensions, so far as to render them safe, while they lent king William an army for his expedition, which they durft not have done, had it not been for the spirit of the pope. He went farther, for he was principally concerned in the plan which laid the foundation for the general confederacy that afterwards humbled

Lewis, and disappointed all his ambition.

After the revolution of England was completed, king James, depending on his great merits with the fee of Rome, fent one Porter, to follicit his interest at the court of his holiness, who received him civilly, and fent him back with a few confecrated trinkets. This irritated the Jesuits lo much, that they actually prayed for Innocent's conversion; and even fet on foot cabals for dethroning him. The money Innocent granted towards opposing the Turks, was applied to prevent the restoration of James, not without the connivance of his holinefs. It is certain, that he was fo far from encouraging the earl of Castlemain, ambassador from James, while he was resident at Rome; that Innocent dropt words intimating, that the fooner he went from thence the better. Before his death, Lewis XIV. feized the city and territory of Avignon into his own hands. This somewhat staggered the resolution of his holiness, and he lent an ear to the cardinals d'Este, and d'Etrees, who were in the French interest, so far as to send d'Este, who was an able negociator, to make up matters with the court of France, if possible, without violating the honour and dignity of the pope; and, in the mean while, he exhorted the cardinals to do their utmost in assisting king James during the carnival. Innocent politically ordered public prayers to be put up for the fafety of christendom, thereby intimating, that it was in danger from the French on one fide, and the

Turks on the other.

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The negotiation with which cardinal d'Este was charged Fruitless proved ineffectual; and his holiness perceiving that the in- ambassy solence of the French encreased every hour, ordered the of James castle of St. Angelo to be fortified, and all strangers to leave to the it, for fear of keeping up a communication with the French. pope. To encrease the aversion of the public to that people, he privately instructed his ministers to confine themselves to their houses, and to keep their interviews with foreign am-bassadors as secret as possible. The lord *Howard* (as he was called in Italy) was the last minister whom king James sent to the pope's court; where he made a demand of a cardinal's hat for the father Petre, which the pope flatly refused, as he had before to consent to his being archbishop This enraged lord Howard fo much, that of Canterbury. he charged the pope, to his face, with being the main spring of the revolution which had dethroned his mafter king The pope complained to James of this difrespectful behaviour; but, at the same time, expressed all possible regard for his person, and distrest circumstances, and offered to do all in his power for his fervice, provided France was to reap no benefit from his restoration. Lord Howard having discharged his commission, went to Florence, and to the courts of feveral Italian princes, to follicit supplies of money, in which he was pretty fuccessful, as they in general favoured the French interest.

Innocent finding all hopes of an accommodation with His dif-France vanished, directed his resentment against the Jesuits, serences who were all powerful at the court of Lewis; and he had with the address to bring the republic of Venice into the plan of France a confederacy he had formed against the French. When continue. Tachard, a French Jesuit, (who has left to the world the Hiltory of Siam) appeared at Innocent's court, as ambassador from that prince, his holiness gave him an audience in a

Incering ironical manner, and told him, that he was too old to see the total conversion of the Siamese; and that he was atraid the conversion of his majesty and his court was after the fesuits fashion, meaning that it was only pretended. By this time, the French king had put the pope's nuntio under arrelt, as a guarantee for the fafety of the marquis of Lavardin, who, under pretence that the pope was contriving to clap him up in the Roman inquilition, had now reinforc-

ed his train to the number of fix thousand persons in arms. I hough Innocent was not displeased at James being de- His coldthroned, yet he was alarmed when he heard that the prince neis toof Orange was chosen to the throne of England; but he wards hinted to cardinal d'Este, who was brother-in-law to James, James.

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that the latter need not give himself the trouble of making any more applications for money at his court, as the most ridiculous part a man could act was to be a beggar at Rome. He even, underhand, did all he could to favour the English and Dutch fleets in the Mediterranean. In the year 1689, queen Christina of Sweden, died at Rome, and left his holi-The Swedish crown demanded the ness her executor. jewels that the had carried out of her kingdom on promife of being returned after her decease; but his holiness refused to return them till he was reimburfed in the fum of feventy two thousand crowns, which he lent her some time before She had defired to be buried privately, but her death. Innocent ordered her a most magnificent funeral, and that a fumptuous monument should be erected to her memory, opposite to that of the famous countes Matilda.

The marquis of Lawardin's departure from Rome

The perseverance and resolution of Innocent, at last, prevailed over the pride and haughtiness of Lewis XIV. La. vardin was recalled, on which occasion, cardinal d'Estrees. declared to cardinal Cibo, to whom the pope had referred him, that, for the space of eighteen months that the most christian king had waited, his holiness, instead of giving him any fatisfaction, had excommunicated his ambassador, and testified, by several other signs, how little deserence he had for the eldest son of the church; and therefore, that he had recalled his ambaffador, and revoked the commission he had given the cardinal to treat of the differences that were between them; and that, therefore, from thence forward, all negotiations were to cease between the two courts. Cardinal Cibo having made his report of this conference to his holiness, he made answer, with an overjoyed countenance, that, fince the king of France had recalled his ambassador, and thereby removed one of the greatest obstacles of their reconciliation till that very time, he hoped his majetty would become, for the future, more just and equitable; and that new overtures would present themselves for renewing the treaties.

Lavardin leaves Rome.

After this, the marquis took down from the portal of his palace, the pope's and the king's arms, and by a public act, furrendered the house to the duke of Parma's envoy; declaring, that after his departure, the same should cease to be under the jurisdiction of the king his master. Lavardin left Rome in the same military manner he had entered it; and he was no fooner gone, than Innocent ordered the fortifications of Civita Vecchia, and his other garrifons, to be vifited and repaired; as he every day expected a descent of the French upon the ecclesiastical state. Upon Lavardin's departure, the gloom which had hung, during his residence at Rome, upon his holiness, was entirely dispelled; and he defired the Spanish ambassador, who, for fear of Lavardin, had for some time before lived incognito at Rome, to make his public entry. The Venetians demanded affistance from him againt king

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against the Turks; but he refused it, alledging, that it was at a time of too much danger for him to fend away his gallies from the coasts of Italy. The cardinal d'Estrees having left Rome at the same time with Lavardin, a letter was sent to all the French Jesuits in that city, to repair directly to France, and to pay no obedience to their general, because he was a Spaniard. This order, however, was countermanded for some weeks, during which time cardinal d'Estrees returned to Rome, where he met with a most contemptuous reception from his holiness; while all the rest of Europe was trembling under the apprehensions of the French power. The marquis of Nigrelli was then the pope's general, and made such dispositions for resisting the French, as to convince all Europe that his holiness would rather chuse to bury himself in the ruins of Rome than submit to Lewis.

In the beginning of August 1689, his holiness, who was Death and then in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and oppressed character with infirmities of every kind, fell into his last sickness, of pope during which, his nephew don Livio Odefcalchi, and cardi- Innocent nal Cibo, having the greatest share of his confidence, never XI. left his chamber, under pretence of their vast attention to his health and anxiety for his recovery; but their true reason was, that he might be prevailed with to fill up the vacancies of the confiftory with their own creatures, which Innocent declined to do, alledging, that he was unfit to mind any business. When he found his end drawing near, he advised his nephew to retire to his paternal estate, and not to concern himself in the election of the next pope; and he died on the twelfth of August, leaving twelve vacancies in the facred college, besides as many vacant benefices and nuntiatures as were faid to be worth five hundred thousand pounds sterling. Innocent XI. was one of the most complete politicians that had ever filled the see of Rome; and, what is rarely to be found, he was a man of principle. He had one passion in common with the greatest protestant prince of his age, king William, that of humbling the power of France, and both of them pursued it steadily This great principle rendered Innocent lefs and intrepidly. attentive than he ought to have been to the diffresses of his subjects. He relieved none of them from their burthensome taxes, particularly that upon bread, with which they were loaded, and which were thought to have driven one fourth of the inhabitants from Rome during his pontificate. His his memory is accused of his having monopolized bread corn; but on his death-bed he declared, that if he lived longer, he would relieve his people from that tax. His difinterestedness appeared from the great care he took to enrich his fuccessor; and from the frugality of his own court, that he might be enabled to expend the greater sums in opposing the Turks and the French, whom he looked upon in the lame light. The

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A GENERAL HISTORY.

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Intrigues of the conclave.

The Roman faction was the strongest in the conclave that was to elect a successor for Innocent; but cardinal d'Etrees, who continued to manage the interests of France at Rome, fent for all the French cardinals, and acquainted Lewis, that he had apartments ready in his own palace for them all; to the end, that being in a body lodged under the same roof, they might the more easily take their measures together before they entered the conclave. The fesuits lest no arts or intrigues untried to give the holy see a head, of a character the reverse of that of Innocent XI. whom they accused of having been the chief of the heretics in christendom. Cardinal Cibo had the greatest interest of any member of the conclave; but he was old and disagreeable to France. Don Livio Odescalchi, had, during his uncle's pontificate, behaved with so becoming a modesty, that he was appointed general of the church during the interregnum, and created a prince of the empire by the emperor Leopold. The government of the city of Rome was committed to cardinal Spinola, and that of the conclave to cardinal Cafani. The arts of cardinal d'Estrees protracted the election till the arrival of the French cardinals, by amusing them with hopes that Lewis would restore the city and territory of Avignon, to the holy fee, and conform to the bull of the late pope against the franchises of quarters, The conclave, in general, declined to acknowledge the duke of Chaulnes, who was fent from Lewis in quality of French ambassador, until he had previously relinquished his claim to the franchises; but upon his arrival at Rome, attended by five hundred foldiers, and the French cardinals de Bouillon, Bonfi, and Furstemberg, their opposition ceased, and they feemed to be all compliance. Being introduced into a room which communicated with the conclave, he made a speech, in which he expatiated upon the vast care his master had taken to extirpate herefy out of the church, and his great zeal to fuccour the king of England against the prince of Orange, whom he branded with the title of enemy of the church. He exhorted them, in his master's name, to make choice of a person worthy to supply St. Peter's chair; who being a man without any partiality, might have no other aim but to reunite all the powers of Europe, and to root out herefy, which began to gather new strength. Cardinal Ottoboni answered him in Latin, thanked him, in the name of the facred college, for his mafter's good intentions, and affured him they would endeavour to answer his Alexander expectations. After an infinite number of intrigues, that same cardinal Ottoboni, who was a noble Venetian, and eighty years of age, was chosen pope, chiefly by the interest of cardinal Chigi, who was in hopes to succeed him. Ottoboni, after his election, took the name of Alexander VIII. and he was no fooner proclaimed, than the French ambaffador

VIII. chosen pope.

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ballador prostrated himself at his feet, and, in his master's name, restored to him Avignon with its dependencies.

The affifting king James was among the first of Alex- His corander's deliberations, and every cardinal contributed his rupt admoney for that effect according to his ability. His holiness ministrathen wrote a letter acknowledging the infinite obligations tion, he was under to the republic of Venice for his exaltation. The Venetians, on the other hand, were not backward in loading his nephew and family with honours, and they carried about his picture in their processions with as much reverence as they could have done that of a deity. His holiness, though old, was very vigorous, and during the first fix weeks of his reign, fuffered nothing to escape his attention. The maxims of his pontificate, however, were entirely different from those of his predecessor, for he endeavoured to divert the force of the general confederacy that had been formed against France, by persuading the Venetians and the imperialists to continue the war with the Turks, which prevented the emperor Leopold from directing the whole of his force against Lewis. Nepotism was encouraged under Alexander to as great a degree as it had prevailed under any of his predecessors. He revived the place of grand chancellor of the Roman church, which had been abolished during the late pontificate, and gave it to his grand nephew, whom he likewise made cardinal patron, and legate of Avignon. He gave to his nephew don Antonio, the command of his army, and to his other nephew, that of his gallies, befides the dukedom of Fiano, which he purchased for him, and raising him to a rank which enabled him to match into the Colonna family.

Alexander, besides his nepotism, is accused of indolence, death and and of destroying all the excellent plan of reformation laid character.

down by his predecessor. This, however, did not divert him from pursuing the favourite purpose of the popedom, that of abolishing the regale in France. Being sensible of the great services he had done to Lewis, he refused to grant any bulls to the prelates who had affifted in the affembly at Paris, where the four famous propolitions we have already mentioned were drawn up, unless they recanted them. Lewis was of opinion that he was king of only one half of his subjects, if the papal claims over his clergy were established, and he commanded his clergy to reject the condition, which they accordingly did; but at the fame time they ordered a deputation to repair to Rome, to lay before his holiness their reasons for non-compliance. Alexander was deaf to all their remonstrances, and prepared a bull condemning the propositions, but he was obliged to conceal it, as he found Lewis determined to support his regale. But, in the mean while, he died, in the eighty first year of his age, hated by the princes even of his own communion, and lamented only by his family. During the time of his pontincate,

tificate, which lasted only sisteen months and twenty two days, he squandered upon his relations about sixteen hundred thousand crowns. His grand nephew, when his holiness died, was possessed of about twenty sive thousand pounds sterling in ecclesiastical livings; and the earl of Melford, who was sent to Rome to sollicit the cause of James, stung Alexander, by desiring that he would be but one third part as liberal to that abdicated monarch as he was to his nephews. In short, he was a professed simonist, and fold every ecclesiastical living within his gift. In his private life he was a bustoon, often drunk, and his principles tended towards atheism.

Succeeded by Innocent XII.

On the twelfth of July, 1691, Anthony Pignatelli, a noble Neapolitan, was chosen pope, and took the name of Innocent twelve. He had gone through all the subordinate offices of the papacy, and was remakable for the purity and fimplicity of his manners. Being persuaded that nothing but a thorough reformation could retrieve the credit of the popedom; he applied himself with great vigour to abolish the abuses which had crept in during the government of his predecessors, and laid down a plan of administration, which might have been approved of even by protestants, could they have overlooked the fundamental errors of popery. He discharged his relations from coming to Rome, and refused to grant them any ecclesiastical preferments. He feverely punished all corruption in public offices, and was indefatigable in finding out men of merit for filling the highest dignities under him. The citizens of Rome rejoiced at his exaltation, and, by the useless places which he supprefled, he faved a revenue of eighty thousand crowns a year to the apostolical chamber, which, at his accession, was five millions in debt, through the lavishness of his predecessor upon his relations. His private expences were to small that he confined himself to eighteen pence a day for his dinner; and he allowed nothing for supper. Assassinations had, during the late pontificates been so common at Rome, that a hundred and eighty two murders had been committed while the holy fee was vacant; but by the proper diffribution of the sbirri he restored that city to peace and regularity. He published severe edicts against gaming, and affected to disclaim all nepotism, by adopting the poor for his nephews. He lodged within his palace no fewer than five thousand indigent persons, and erected a fund of three hundred thousand crowns for their maintenance; but he was remarkably severe upon those who encreased their number by indolence and lazinefs.

The pope humbles the French king.

Innocent XII. had the good fortune to be seconded in his falutary schemes by a public spirited minister, cardinal Albani, whom he consulted when he emitted a bull, which he obliged all his cardinals to subscribe, confining the benevolence of every future pope towards their nephews to

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welve thousand crowns a year. He suppressed operas, and other theatrical representations at Rome; but he met with fo firenuous an opposition when he attempted to reform the regular monks, whose families were there very powerful, that he was obliged to abandon the defign. In he year 1692, he entered into a negotiation with Lewis XIV. and notwithstanding that prince's haughty manner of conducting himself towards the holy see, he forced him and his bishops into a submission, and to recant the four propolitions, which he and his predecessors deemed to be derogatory to his holiness; by which the long laboured scheme of establishing the regale in France was entirely blasted. His triumph was complete in this respect, for the French prelates wrote him a letter, expressing the deepest conmition for all that had passed in their assemblies to the prejudice of the apostolical chamber. in 1694, Innocent, by observing the proper balance between the French and imperialists, forced the emperor Leopold to give up all his authority over the fiefs in the ecclefiaftical state, and to con-

fent to their being united to the fee of Rome.

In the year 1695, Innocent declared himself a partizan of History of France, and endeavoured to detach the crown of Spain from French the grand alliance, but without success; though he prevail- quietism, ed with the duke of Savoy to agree to a neutrality for Italy. He was an implacable enemy to the fect of the quietifts, which obliges us to give some farther account of that celebrated controverly which employed the ablest pens of the Romish church. We have already mentioned the doctrine of Molinos, who had been a fevere fufferer in the Roman inquifition. Maria Bouvieres de la Mothe Guyon, was among the most celebrated of his followers. She was a woman of virtue, and had a good heart; but, in her religious notions, her fancy was warm and unbridled. Fenelon, the famous archbishop of Cambray, the greatest genius that France, perhaps, ever produced, became her profelyte, which occasioned a dispute between him and Bossuet bishop of Meaux, who is thought to have been the founder divine. Boffuet had composed a book refuting madam Guyon's doctrines, and he applied to Fenelon to give it his fanction of approbation, which he was fo far from doing, that he wrote a treatife in her vindication, tending to prove, that the love of the pupreme Being must be pure and difinterested; that is, exempt from all the views of interest, and all hope of re-Boffuet, who was as ambitious and vindictive as fenelon was calm and refigned, made use of the French king's interest with the pope to obtain a condemnation of Fenelon's The examination of it was referred to a congregation, who, in general, declared it to be unfound and fixed upon twenty-three propositions, which they declared to be erroneous; without specifying the author. Fenelon behaved, upon this occasion, with a relignation and meekness that proved how entirely he was convinced of the doctrines he profesied.

and religious differences.

professed. He not only acquiesced in the sentence that had been pronounced against him; but read it from his pulpit, and exhorted his hearers to revere the papal decree without Notwithstanding this, the public in general believed that Fenelon died in the sentiments he had professed.

Other fecturies sprung up about the same time. Isaac la Peyrere maintained, that the Mosaical history of the creation related only to the original of the Jews, but not to that of the human race; and that the globe was inhabited by many nations before Adam, whom he considered as the father of the Israelites. Though Peyrere was a protestant, yet living under a popish government, he was persecuted by the Jesuits, imprisoned at Brussels, and obliged to renounce his doctrines. One White, an Englishman, who is celebrated in the writings of all the theological authors, but those of his own country; was the founder of another fect, which adopted the doctrines of the perepatetic philosophy into christianity, for which his writings were condemned by the congregation at Rome. Joseph Francis Borri, a Milanese knight, was a heretic of a different stamp, and pretended to be founder of a new celestial kingdom, under the patronage of the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Ghost. Though he was esteemed to be rather a madman than a heretic, yet he had proselytes, and the misfortune of being persecuted by the inquisition, in whose prison he died. Cardinal Calestine Sfondrati, was another illustrious heretic, but of a more diffinguished rank than those we have mentioned, on account of his dignity, not only in the church, but in the republic of letters. Five French bishops accused him of herefy in the doctrine of predeffination, in which he differed from St. Augustine; but his holiness could not be prevailed upon, notwithstanding their great credit even with the Jesuits, to pronounce a final decision against him.

The year 1700 opened with a jubilee at Rome, which was highly advantageous to the finances of the apostolical the jubilee chamber. The pope was at that time ill of a fever; but tho' he was then eighty five years of age, he did not fail in giving his usual audiences to foreign ministers; and, perhaps, the readers of an Italian history can have few occurrences more curious or instructive than an abstract of the

bull which he published on this occasion.

" Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God; in perpetual memory of the thing. Whereas, we have fome time fince proclaimed to all christian people, by the content of our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the holy Roman church, the celebration of the holy jubilee, which is to begin from the next vigils of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and which is to last to the end of the following year; and whereas we have granted to all the faithful of both fexes, truly penitent, and who shall, after they have confessed, visit the churches of the blessed apostles St. Peter

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and St. Paul, St. John di Laterano, and Sancta Maria Maire, at Rome; full indulgence, pardon and remission of their sins, &c. Now therefore, desirous that all christian nations, from all parts of the earth, being affembled in our good city, in the unity of the faith and religion, may, during the jubilee, vifit and frequent the churches abovenamed, with the same spirit of piety and devotion, and with as numerous a concourse as possible, excited by the example of several Roman pontiffs our predecessors, of our own authority, and full apostolic power, and with the advice and consent of our faid brethren, we declare suspended, all and all manner of indulgences, as well perpetual, as others, pardons of fins, indultos, and permissions to absolve, &c. granted to all churches, monasteries, orders, &c. chaplets, rosaries, images, &c. as well in general as particular, by all or any of the Roman pontiffs our predecessors, or by ourselves, at the request of emperors, kings, dukes, &c. and all other persons whatever, either ecclesiastic or fecular, for any causes, or upon any occasion whatever. We also cancel and annul whatever may be attempted to the contrary, by any one whatever, knowingly or igno-rantly. For which reason, by virtue of our apostolic authority, we command, enjoin and fordid, under penalty of excommunication, ipso facto, the publishing or using any other indulgences, in public or private, under any pretence, or in any place or country whatever, but those of the prefent jubilee; all constitutions, orders, apostolic ordinances, exemptions, privileges, or customs, granted to churches, monasteries, brotherhoods, &c. notwithstanding. And if any one shall presume to disobey these our commands, let him know, that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and the bleffed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Given at Rome, June 4, 1699."

The ceremony of the pope's opening the jubilee is likewife curious, and we here give it from a most valuable

tract published on the occasion.

"The popes were wont to fettle the grand jubilee by a bull, which was published upon Ascension-Day, in the porch of St. Peter's church, during the celebration of high mass, This was the method and before the credo or offertory. that Urban VIII. observed in the year 1624. Two chairs were fet up, and handsomely adorned, in the porch aforefaid, and the pope, repairing thither betimes in the morning, commanded Austin Durando to read the bull for the jubilee, in the presence of some clerks of the apostolic chamber, officers of the penitentiary, and other persons; but neither the cardinals nor the canons of St. Peter were The Sunday following, the same bull was read in the three other churches, and afterwards, fet up in the four principal parts of Rome; and the bull was in Italian, that every body might read it," " or This

This done, letters or briefs were fent to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, &c. to the end they might publish the same in all places under their jurisdiction. The solemnity of the holy year begins upon the eve of the nativity of Christ, with the opening of the holy gates, of which the chiefest is that of St. Peter, which is always closed and walled up, but only during the year of the grand jubilee. And this is the gate which is honoured with the pope's performance; and therefore, by way of excellency, is called the holy gate."

"" Upon the day before-mentioned, which is always the twenty-fourth of December, all the doors of the four greater churches are shut up by the pope's order, that no body may enter; and they remain thus thut till the afternoon, within an hour of vespers, at which time there is a solemn procession, composed of the ambassadors, magistrates of the city, minor plenipotentiaries, prelates in town, chapters, fraternities, Roman clergy, the facred college, and the pope himself, having his cope, or pluvial, on. The cardinals also, and prelates, are all clad in their facred ornaments, and all following the cross, which is carried; before they proceed to the chapel of the apostolic palace, where the venerable The pope falls upon his knees and prays. while certain officers kindle the flambeaux, which the cardinals are to carry at that time, in fign of joy, and as an emblem of the martyrs, who by the horrible perfecutions which they fuffered, became as wax melted in the fire."

"The pope having prayed, put incense into the censor, and persumes the sacrament; after which, he begins the hymn Veni Creator Spiritus, which is then sung by the whole choir, with an intention to represent the sathers in Limbo, from whence they cried, Rorate Cæli desuper, et nubes pluant justam, Shed down your dew, oh heavens, and

rain ye clouds upon the just, Exod. 45."

"This procession, thus ordered, proceeds to the holy gate, and the sovereign pontiff follows it, carried in a chair to the holy gate, which he finds closed and walled up. Then he alights, and taking a lighted taper in his hand, he rests himself a while in another chair, which is ready prepared for him, and which is raised three steps. Which done, he comes down from that chair, and taking a golden hammer in his hand, made only for this ceremony, he advances towards the holy gate, and gives three knocks with the hammer, singing the following verses three times, to which the choir sing the responsories."

"Verf. Open to me the gates of justice.
Resp. Enter in, I will praise the Lord.
Verf. I will enter into thy house, O Lord.
Resp. I will evership at thy holy temple, in thy fear.
Verf. Open the gates, for the Lord is with us.
Resp. Who has showed strength in Israel."

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"The pope returning to his chair, fays aloud, "Vers. Lord hear our prayer.

Resp. And let our cry come unto thee."

"And the very instant that the pope goes back to his thair, the masons break down the wall that closed up the door, and carry away the materials; during which, the pope goes on:"

" Verf. The Lord be with you.

Resp. And with thy spirit"
"Let us pray."

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"Actiones nostras quæ sumus Domine, &c. At the end of which, the choir fing the anthem, Jubilate Deo omnis terra; servite Domino in lætitia, &c. In the mean time, the people carry away the smallest bits of the materials beaten down, and clear the place, and the penitentiaries, in their sacerdotal ornaments, wash the lintels, posts and threshold of the sacred door with holy water, which being done before the pontiff enters, he goes on thus"

" Verf. This is the day which the Lord has made.

Resp. Let us rejoice and be glad in it. Vers. Blessed are thy people, O Lord. Resp. Who hath made them to rejoice. Vers. This is the gate of the Lord. Resp. The just shall enter through it. Vers. Lord hear our prayer. Resp. And let our cry come unto thee.

Resp. And let our cry come unto thee. Vers. The Lord be with you.

Resp. And with thy spirit. After a prayer fuited to the occasion, in which the celebration of the jubilee is justified by the example of the children of Ifrael, the pope took a cross in his hands attoned the Te Deum, and entered the holy door upon his knees. When entered, he was placed in a chair, and carried to the altar of St. Peter's church, where he alighted, and prayed before the facrament, which was exposed. He then ascended a throne, and began the Christmas vespers, while the other holy doors were opened by three cardinal legates. The jubilee beginning on Christmas eve, ended on that day twelvemonth, when the gates are flut, after a procession, like that which has been described, by three cardinals. In the mean time, the pope, and all the cardinals legates that are with him, take lighted tapers, to fignify, that although the holy year be at an end, yet the faith ought not to fuffer any diminution; and then the pope having feated himself under a canopy, in his chair, he is carried before the chapel, where the venerable is laid up. he returns his thanks, and worships the facred face imprinted in the napkin called Veronica, and the iron of the lance that pierced our Saviour's fide. After these adorations, the fovereign pontiff tones an old anthem, beginning Cum jucunditate, which the choir continues, and adds the plalm Unless the Lord doth build the house; during which,

the whole procession draws near the holy door, when prayers being ended, the pope, who flands upon his fee under the canopy, turns towards the door, his mitre being off, and holding a burning taper in his hand, bleffes the materials which are prepared to stop up the door. This is done by way of verficles and responses, which are finished

by a prayer.

This faid, the pope, the clergy, and all the people present at this ceremony, depart through the holy gate, and after the church is cleared, the pope casts holy water upon the materials, perfumes them, and having put on his mitre again, girds himself with a linnen apron. grand penitentiary presents him with a trowel of gold, or filver gilt, with which he takes the mortar out of a hode which is carried by the master of the ceremonies. This mortar he spreads upon the lower part of the door, so that the place is covered all over, upon which he puts feveral medals of gold and filver, variously stamped, and having feveral mottos, over which he lays three stones, well fquared; and all this while that he is at work, he utters the following words, with a low, but intelligible voice; "In the faith, and by the strength of Jesus Christ, the living God, who said to the prince of apostles, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, we lay this first and principal stone, towards the closing up of that gate which is not to be opened any more till the next year In the name of the father, &cc. The pope having ranged and cemented those three stones, the master mason draws a line, and after he has prepared every thing ready for his purpose, the grand penitentiary, taking a filver trowel, lays one stone upon those which the holy father had laid before; wherein he is affifted by the other penitentiaries, to shew that they are all the pope's coadjutors in the administration of the facrament of repentance. Thus they raise the wall to a considerable height, while the choir fings, Cælestis, Urbi ferusalem, &c. which anthem being ended, the fovereign pontiff having washed his hands, goes on with other verficles and responses, and finishes with a prayer.

This prayer being ended, the pontiff returns to his throne; and while twelve masons, fix on the one side, and fix on the other, are stopping up the door, the choir sings the anthems Lauda Jerusalem Dominum, &c. Latatus sum in his, &c. At last, the work being ended, the sovereign pontiff gives his benediction, with full indulgence to all that are present; who return him acclamations of joy for his bleffing, with all forts of vows and wishes for the prof-

perity of his holinefs.

Such are the ridiculous ceremonies observed by the head Reflecof the Romifo church on occasion of the celebrated jubilee; tions on the jubilee and we have been the more careful to collect the particulars, as they give us a lively idea of that pageantry and ignorance on which the foundations of the Romish religion

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test. Some innovations were introduced in the year we treat of, 1700; but they were, if possible, more ridiculous than those we have already described. During the celebration of the ceremonies, his holiness fell ill, but was so hefet by his favourites that his defeafe was carefully concealed from the public. The French cardinal of Bouillon. appeared in the place of his holiness, and his death apparently approaching, his court was filled with intrigues for the choice of his fuccessor, which were so openly carried on that they came to the knowledge of the pope, who expressed great indignation at them, especially when he heard that the French cardinals were arrived at Rome. His affec- Death of tation of appearing in better health than he really possessed, the pope. proved fatal to his life; for having taken a furfeit of fruit, he died on the seventh of September, in the eighty-fixth year

of his age.

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No fewer than fifty-nine cardinals were that up in the Who is conclave for the choice of his successor, which, contrary to succeeded all expectation, terminated in the cardinal John Francis by Clement Albani, who took the name of Clement XI. He was of a XI. modern Roman family, and eminent for his knowledge of the civil and canon law. His Latin stile was esteemed, and his life exemplary for virtue and piety. During the time of the confistory many tumults happened at Rome, and feveral persons were killed in a conflict between the sbirri or city guards, and the attendants of the prince of Monaco, the French ambassador. The new pope was no more than fifty-one years of age at the time of his election, and for a long time declined the honour that had been done him, till cardinal Ottoboni humourously threatened to order prayers to be put up in churches in the following terms, "A certain gentleman, difturbed in mind about his being elected to the popedom, defires the prayers of this congregation, that the Lord would direct him what to do." Upon his acceptance of the popedom, he bewailed the case of his relations, whom he was difabled from providing for by the firitness of the bull against nepotism. Neither the imperial nor the Spanish ambassadors were present at the ceremony of his adoration, on account of fome disputes about precedency, and he affected great gaiety when he complimented the prince of Monaco upon the accession of the duke of Anjou to the court of Spain. As the friendship of his boliness was of infinite consequence to the French interest, at that time, as well as to the imperialists, he began his pontificate with vast advantages; and he had the tourage to declare that he would give audience to no ambalfador who should refuse to renounce the franchises of his quarter.

Clement carried this reformation to its utmost height, and He proordered his sbirri to make no distinction between the houses fesses a of foreign ministers and private persons; but to search for neutrality. VOL. X. Bb malefactors

But fa-French.

The number of his poor relamalefactors in all alike. tions was fo excessive, that when they were introduced into his presence he lamented with tears his inability to do them fervice; but he foon abated of that delicacy, by ordering one of his nephews, fon to his brother Horatio Albani, to be made secretary of the briefs. He was a professed friend to the abdicated king of England, and sent him his picture with a letter written by himself. The dispute about the vours the Spanish succession in Italy gave him infinite disquiet, and he offered his mediation between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, professing at the same time an entire neutrality, though it was easy to perceive that he favoured the former, on account of the connections the imperialists had with the protestant powers. Finding that his mediation was neglected, and that the French king had invaded the Milanese, he raised ten thousand men to maintain the neutrality of Italy, and exhorted the emperor once more to submit to an accommodation, but to no purpose, for his troops entered Naples. Clement still affected the greatest appearances of neutrality, and actually refused to receive the hackney, for the kingdom of Naples, or to give the investiture of it to the duke of Anjou. He fent legates a latere to the courts of all the Roman catholic princes, who were at war, exhorting them to peace, and upon the arrival of the duke of Anjou in Italy, after his accession to the crown of Spain, he prefented him by the hands of cardinal Barberini, with a golden cross, to the value of ten thousand crowns, and declared publicly that his delay in granting him the investiture of Naples should be of no prejudice to his right.

Who were Italy.

The prince of Vandemont, the Spanish governor of the beaten in Milanese, and the Spanish governors in general submitted to the last will of Charles II. of Spain, in favour of the duke of Anjou; but prince Eugene, the imperial general, having entered Italy by the Venetian territories, obliged Catinat, the French general in the Milanese, to retire behind the Oglio, defeated Monf. St. Fremont, at the strong pass of Carpi, and took possession of all the country between the Adige and the Adda. Catinat defired to be recalled, and he was superfeded by Villeroy; but the French writers have accused the latter of having privately supplanted Catinat, who was obliged to ferve under him, though a far abler general, and of his having difgusted the duke of Savoy, over whom he affected an equality, if not a superiority. Villeroy was no sooner arrived at the camp, than he produced orders from his court for attacking prince Eugene in the almost inaccessible post of Chiari, near the Oglio. The best officers of the French army thought that such an attack was little better than an act of frenzy, because the post was of no consequence to the French, while the loss of a battle must prove their utter ruin in Italy. Other writers complain that the duke of Savry was in a fecret correspondence with the impe-

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Halists, and tho' he behaved with great personal bravery in the attack, the French were deseated chiefly by his means. It is certain, that Catinat suspected him, and that the de-See seat of the French cost them five thousand men, while not Vol. IX. above fifty of the imperialists were killed.

p. 206.

In January 1702, prince Eugene was master of all the Cremona Mantuan, and put German garrisons into all the towns of surprized the Modenese. In the winter, the same prince, by means of by prince a Cremonese priest, called Bozzoli, introduced into Cremona Eugene, four hundred German troops, through a common fewer, leading to that city, where Villeroy was quartered. marshal was affeep when the enemy entered the town, killed the centinels, that the Spanish governor dead, and threw open the gates to prince Eugene, who took possession of the place with four thousand men. The marshal was immediately made prisoner, and hurried away without even knowing by what means he had become a captive. French garrison was still superior in strength to the imperialists, and the chevalier d'Entragues happening then to be exercising his foldiers, seconded the efforts of two Irish battalions, who bravely made head against the Germans, so opportunely, that the French had time to break down a bridge, over which the rest of prince Eugene's troops were to enter, by which he lost the fruits of his well concerted furprize; for though he maintained the battle during a whole day, and either killed or took most of the French general

officers, he was obliged at last to retire.

The behaviour of Villeroy, on this occasion, was thought Haughtito be indefensible, and marshal Vendosme was sent to com- ness of mand the French army in Italy. The imperial court, how- the pope.

ever, was so backward in supporting prince Eugene, that he could only act upon the defensive after he had abandoned Cremona; and the pope discovered a disposition for making his authority felt and revered by temporal princes. Hearing that cardinal Cantelmi, archbishop of Naples, had stood by while his mafter the king of Spain was at dinner, he checked him for his meannefs, and he imprisoned a female fanatic, one Clementia Marchioni, for ten years, because she had made use of the great opinion the people had of her fanctity in spiriting up the Neapolitans to revolt from Philip to Charles, archduke of Austria. This lady was likewise forced to make a public abjuration of her pretended revelations, and to confess that she had imposed upon the world. Notwithstanding Clement's partiality in favour of the house of Bourbon, he still continued to exhort the Roman catholic princes to peace, and he converted the usual divertions of the carnival into acts of devotion, for restoring public tranquility. He likewise emitted many sumptuary laws with regard to apparel; he suppressed theatrical entertainments, and denounced divine judgments against all who should transgress his edicts. The credulous Romans thought him B b 2 inspired, tion at Rome.

An earth-inspired, when in the beginning of the year 1703, they were quake and visited by several alarming shocks of an earthquake, and a most terrible inundation of the Tiber. In an instant the inhabitants of Rome quitted their habitations, and their panic was encreased by a report, which prevailed, of the pope having predicted more and severer, calamities that were to fall upon the city by a certain hour. Clement underflanding how his name had been abused, ordered proclamation to be made that he knew nothing of the matter, while his guards patroled the streets, and ordered the people to repair to their respective habitations. The public peace being thus restored, a new jubilee was celebrated, and the Romans were for fome weeks entirely employed in acts of devotion. Alms were liberally bestowed and encouraged by the pope's example. Indecent prints were feized and fuppressed; men were prohibited from teaching women to fing or to play on musical instruments; and mendicants of all kinds were forbidden to wear garments of filk. The houses that had been demolished by the inundation and earthquake were declared to be exempted from taxes for a certain number of years, that their owners might be enabled to rebuild them; and fevere edicts were published for the reformation of the clergy, who were restrained from all kinds of gaming. The archduke, Charles of Austria, having been proclaim-

Progress in Italy.

of the war ed king of Spain, at Vienna, and, as such, acknowledged by the court of England, and other European powers; the Germans at Rome were preparing to make great rejoicings on that event; but were expresty prohibited from all those exhibitions by his holiness, who threatened to lay the German churches in Rome under an interdict, on which the preparations were discontinued. Notwithstanding this, the French as well as the imperial armies committed great diforders in the Ferrarese. In the mean while, the war raged in other parts of Italy; and nothing but the superior genius of prince Eugene could have prevented the imperialifis from being ruined there; fo ill was he supported by the court of Vienna. Vendosme fustained the glory of the French arms much better than Villeroy had done; but he was commonly beaten when he commanded against prince Eugene. The latter miscarried in a design through the imprudence of the Germans; and the battle of Luzzara, which was fought between the French and the imperialists, in which Philip was present, gave occasion for both parties to sing Te Deum. Its consequences were however, favourable to the French, who took Luzzara, and Guostalla, and at late possessed themselves of Modena.

The dake of Savoy declares

During those operations, the duke of Savoy manifelted his difgust with Lewis XIV. whose generals had most impoliticly exasperated him. His grandmother was a fifter of

Lewis XIV. and he was father-in-law to Philip V. of Spain, for the and the duke of Burgundy. He complained of the am-imperiabition of Lewis, and that all he intended was to amuse him lists. till he should become master of his territories. The situation of his dominions rendered his friendship of the utmost importance to the emperor, who, besides a large subsidy that was to be paid him by England, offered to yield to him Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valentia, and the country between the Po and the Tanaro. The duke of Vendosme The duke discovered the engagements he had entered into with the of Savoy emperor, and without loling time difarmed all his troops, leaves the who were no more than five thousand men. The duke French proved inflexible against all the menaces of the French king, king. and declared his intentions, to join the grand alliance. At the same time, he put the French ambassador, and some other French officers at Turin under arrest; and acknowledged the archduke as king of Spain, under the name of Charles III. Count Staremberg, the imperial general fent fifteen hundred men under Visconti to support the duke; but they were defeated on their march, and Staremberg himself was ordered by his court to risque every thing for the relief of the duke of Savoy. He accordingly performed a most amazing march, at the head of fifteen thousand men from the Modenese to the enemy's country, and joined the duke at Canelli in Piedmont, upon which the French king declared war against the duke. Prince Eugene was then in Germany, and his absence rendered Vendosme victorious in Italy. He took Vercelli, Jurea, Verac, and other places, and obliged the duke to fly to Chivas; fo that before the end of the champaign he was stript of almost all his territories, excepting Coni and Turin. His army was reduced to twelve thousand men, and his dutchess with his clergy were perpetually importuning him to defert his new allies; but the duke remained unshaken by all their solicitations.

After the battle of Ramilles, Vendosme, was recalled from Italy, being thought the only general in France, who could be opposed to prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough. The duke of Orleans, and count Marsin succeeded to Ven-

dosme's command.

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The siege of Turin was undertaken by the duke de The siege Feuillade, and pressed with so much sury that the duke of of Turin Savoy sent his samily out of the city. The preparations raised. which had been made for this siege were incredible, and Vendosme, before he left Italy had made such dispositions as rendered all approaches to it almost impracticable. Prince Eugene slew to its relief, and surmounted the greatest dissiputives. He passed the Tanaro in sight of the French army, took Carpi, Correggio, and Reggio, and joined the duke at Assi. The duke of Orleans sell back too upon the besieging ibid. army under Feuillade; and a council of war being held, the p. 115. members were of opinion, that they should leave the lines B b 3

and fight the duke, and prince Eugene. This opinion was opposed by count Marsin, who produced the French king's order, that gave him a negative in fact even upon the duke of Orleans. We have already mentioned the victory which prince Eugene obtained on that occasion, and the destructive consequences attending it with regard to France.

Disputes Chine le ceremonies.

About this time, the disputes concerning the Chinese cereabout the monies were renewed with more violence than ever. Alexander VII. had favoured the Jesuits; but Clement XI. alarmed at the universal outcry that prevailed against that order. affembled the congregation to examine the facts and doctrines with which they were charged; and the allegations being found true, he condemned the ceremonies and worship of the Chinese converts. Not satisfied with this. he fent the cardinal Tournon to make farther enquiries in China itself, where he was exposed to many dangers by the arts of the Jesuits. The pope fought to heal the wounds which this condemnation gave to their order, by taking their part against the the Jansenists. Lewis XIV. endeavoured by an edict to put a stop to the controversy; but Clement acquainted him that he had condemned the opinion of the doctors of the Sorbone in favour of Jansenism; and the papal influence was fo ftrong at the court of France, that some of the doctors were banished.

The pope breaks with the emperor.

A dispute of a far more dangerous nature now engrossed the pope's attention. One Cavalleti, who pretended that he was a domestic of the imperial ambassador, had been imprisoned by order of his holiness for resisting the sbirri; and the ambassador demanded that he should be set at li-The pope, at first, was inflexible to his remonstrances, but afterwards freed Cavaletti from prison. was then emperor of Germany, and it was thought that he intended to revive the imperial claims in Italy. He ordered his ambassador to leave Rome, and the ecclesiastical state, and the papal nuntio at Vienna immediately to retire from his court. Clement would willingly have appealed Joseph; but the latter demanded to be put into the immediate possession of the Ferrarese, and that he should inflict cenfures upon fuch of his ministers as had given him offence in the affair of Cavaletti. His holiness had not at that time the French to protect him, and being in a manner at Joseph's mercy, after the battle of Turin, he was reduced to great humiliation. A vast number of the imperial army were protestants, and openly exercised their religion in the ecclefiastical state: But those are incidents that bring us to the history of other parts of Italy, which are at this period of far greater importance than even that of the holy fee.

Excellent government of

In the year 1683, the marquis del Carpio being viceroy of Naples, introduced into that kingdom a new and more effectual system of government than it had ever known be-

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fore. Among other regulations, he prohibited the use of the marfire-arms, and took from the inferior officers of the police quis of the power of granting any indulgences to any person, be Capio. his rank of quality ever so high. He next applied himself to the improvement of industry, not only by forcing every one to work who was capable, but by punishing the frauds of manufacturers, encreasing the number of working hands by diminishing that of servants; and lastly, he published feveral fumptuary laws to prevent the bullion of the kingdom from being applied to the purposes of luxury. The execution of those, and many other, excellent regulations, enabled him to restore the coinage to a tolerable degree of credit. He found the extirpation of the banditti to be a more difficult task. Naples had been so long acquainted with them, that the profession was scarcely looked upon as being criminal. The houses and castles which in former times had been built as defences against parties, were now by their owners let out to those robbers, and served as so many receptacles. As they never robbed in the neighbourhood of their own haunts, and were commonly lavish of their ill acquired gains, the country people confidered their residence among them rather as an advantage than a The viceroy receiving full information of all those abuses, began his reformation of them by making it penal for any of the subjects to hold any correspondence, intercourse, or trasic whatever with the banditti; and he made it death to every man who should furnish them with arms, or ammunition, or provisions of any kind, or who should share in the product of their robberies, or give them shelter or assistance. The viceroy finding means to carry those edicts, severe and difficult as they were, into execution, especially against the great barons, and the more powerful subjects, the banditti were soon suppressed after an act of grace had been published, pardoning all who surrendered themselves, and promised to live as dutiful subjects.

The viceroy was equally the patron, friend, and pro-He is suctector of the good, as he was the scourge and terror of the ceeded by profligate; and, during his administration, the city of St. Este-Naples enjoyed an unusual degree of plenty and magnistration. Cence. Upon his death, in November 1687, Colonna, the high constable of that kingdom, held for some months the reins of government, till he was relieved by the count of Santistevan, who was appointed viceroy. He endeavoured to complete and improve the plan of his predecessor with regard to the coinage, and the circulation of paper credit; but he failed by raising the nominal, too high above the intrinsic, value of the money. This pernicious practice so common in arbitrary governments, never fails to be the ruin of trade, as proved in the case of that of Naples, which suffered severely under this viceroy's administration. His cutting off all communication between the ecclesiastical

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and other states on account of a supposed contagious infection breaking out in the latter, was likewise of great detriment to the kingdom; but he was endeavouring to retrieve his character by feveral excellent regulations, when, in 1695, he was superfeded by the duke of Medina Cali, who had been his catholic majesty's ambassador at Rome.

The administration of this new viceroy was full of trouble and difficulty. Having himself a vast private estate, he was magnificent in his manner of living. He proposed the marquis of Carpio as the model of his government; but exceeded him in the pomp and splendor of his public exhibitions, in his patronage and encouragement of learned men, and his tafte for the fine arts. He is blamed for proceeding upon too flight proofs against those who carried on a contraband trade of any kind; but upon the representation of the feggi or magistrates on that head, he agreed to leave them to the ordinary course of justice. We have already mentioned the peace of Ryswick, and the partition treaty, which happened while this duke was viceroy of Naples, and filled that kingdom with difmay and confusion.

See Vol. IX. p. 204.

King rives at Naples.

As the kingdom of Naples and Sicily were to devolve Philip ar- to the French, whom the natives hated, the viceroy had some difficulty to prevent the Neapolitans from breaking out into an open infurrection. Charles II. of Spain dying foon after; his will, by which he left all his dominions to the duke of Anjou, was published at Naples, and the codicil annexed to it, giving the Neapolitans some hopes that the queen dowager of Spain was to govern and refide among them, they were quieted, and in general they submitted to receive Philip as their fovereign; and the French troops were admitted to take possession of Naples and the Milanese. We have already mentioned the attempts made by prince Eugene to dislodge them, and king Philip arrived in a French ficet at Naples, in April 1702. His reception there was rather splendid than cordial, though the pope, to the great difguit of the emperor, had sent a cardinal legate to attend him. As the war in Italy between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, was chiefly confined to the Milanese, the French weakened themselves in Naples, that they might reinforce their armies in Lombardy. This suggested to the court of Vienna the idea of sending, in the year 1707, an army under count Thaun, through the ecclesiastical state, to take possession of Naples. Though the imperialists were, at this time, far from being favoured by his holiness, yet they had a strong party at his court, where they kept up an intimate correspondence with the disaffected Neapolitans, who were difgusted with the conduct and manners of the duke of Escalona, Philip's viceroy. Cardinal Grimani, the duke de Monteleone, and the archbishop of Naples, prepared the discontented Neapolitans to give the imperialists a favourable receptions

ibid. p. 219. st seg.

neception, and they succeeded so well that the viceroy, Which is after removing all his most valuable effects to Gaeta, retired conquered thicker, likewise, with his army; while the magistrates of by the impages met the imperialists at Aversa, and presented them perialists.

with the keys of their fortifications.

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Though this expedition was fuccessful on the part of the imperialists, yet the plan proposed by the English ministry for attacking Toulon, and very strongly enforced by them, would have been of much more importance to the common cause; but it was now evident that Joseph had a separate interest from that of the allies, occasioned by the ardent defire he had to become master of Italy. With this view he had suffered twelve thousand French to withdraw out of lombardy into Dauphiny by capitulation, though it is certain, that they must foon have furrendered themselves prisoners of war; and, being the bravest of the French troops their armies acquired thereby a confiderable strength, while the mercenary oppressive genius of the imperial court was diplayed on this occasion. Joseph not only refused to allot any part of the revenues of the Milanefe, or Naples, for affifting his brother king Charles, but to fulfill the conditions his father had agreed upon with the duke of Savoy. or even to give his brother the investiture of the Milanese. No fooner did Thaun take possession of Naples, than the Germans became, through his oppressions, more hated by the inhabitants than either the French or the Spaniards had been. He renewed the odious tax upon fruits and herbs; but the tumult which it occasioned was so great, that it was revoked. As Gaeta was the receptacle of the French and Spanish wealth, the imperialists besieged it, and pressed it to vigorously that they took it by storm, and not only became masters of its rich contents, but obliged the duke of Escalma with his officers and garrison, who had retired into

the citadel, to furrender themselves prisoners of war.

The greater the success of the imperial arms in Italy was, Differthe higher Joseph rose in his demands upon the pope. His ences betwoops, in their march through the ecclesiastical state laid tween the several siefs, belonging to prelates, under contribution; and emperor by their manifestos, which they published in answer to the and the pope's complaints, they justified the proceeding, by alledging popes that those siefs belonged to the empire, and therefore were obliged to surnish subsistence to the imperial armies. Clement excommunicated the officers who commanded the offending troops, and drawing five hundred thousand crowns

from the treasury of St. Angelo, he raised an army, and gave the command of it to count Marsigli. His troops were no better than militia, and could do nothing against the veteran Germans, who were now in possession of almost

all the kingdom of Naples, as well as Ferrara, the Mantuan, and Montferrat. The allies had before this obliged Fosephibid. to give to his brother Charles the investiture of the Milanese, p. 220,

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and he pretended to give him that of the Two Sicilies, because they had been field of the empire. In short, Joseph went farther than any of his predecessors had ever done went farther than any of his predecessors had ever done, in weakening the pope's temporal power in Italy. He had appointed cardinal Grimani to be viceroy of Naples, and he no sooner took possession of his new dignity, than he suppressed the nuntiature of that city, and prohibited all ecclefiastics from remitting their annates to Rome. A favourable turn of the French affairs encouraged the pope and his cardinals to continue their levies, and at last to act hostilely in the Ferrarese, from whence the count of Mar. figli drove the Germans; but it was foon besieged by count Thaun, who at the same time seized the Bolognese.

Who is fubmit.

The pope had not firmness longer to face the storms, obliged to which were every where rifing against the holy see. Besides the German armies, which were in the heart of his estates, his fea-ports were threatened with a bombardment from the English and Dutch fleets; and the emperor having shewn some dispositions for an accommodation, it was accordingly fettled and concluded on the fifteenth of January 1709, The marquis de Prie, the imperial general in Naples, managed the conferences, during which, the emperor and the duke of Savoy, prevailed with her Britannic majesty to give orders for her admiral, Sir John Leake, to suspend the bombardment of Civita Vecchia. The demands of the marquis de Prie, whom the pope refused at first, to admit to an audience were. 1. That his holiness should disband his new levies. 2. Give winter quarters to the imperial troops in his territories. 3. And the investiture of Naples to Charles III. and acknowledge him as king of Spain; and 4. That he should allow the imperialists passage through his dominions, as often as there should be occasion. Clement shewed prodigious reluctance to agree to those terms. He endeavoured to gain time, in hopes that the French ambassador, marshal Tesse, might be able to succeed in the mighty promises he had had made of forming an Italian league, in which the duke of Tuscany, the Venetians, and Genoese, as well as the French king, were to enter for his support. Finding all his hopes vain, he was forced to submit to more than was at first required of him. An army of five thousand Germans took winter quarters in his territories. He was obliged to reduce his army to five thousand men; to pay a contribution of a hundred thousand crowns; to fuffer the imperialists to remain masters of Commacchio, as well as Parma, Placentia, and Modena, till commissioners should examine the emperor's pretensions upon them. Clement stuck long at the recognition of king Charles's right, and fought to evade it by directing a letter to him, with the superscription, "To our dearest son, the catholic king in Spain;" but that form was rejected, and he submitted to Write

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mite, "To our dearest son Charles king of Spain." He s, bers likewise obliged to send this letter by a nuncio to Bar-

ne, in This mortifying treaty, to which the pope submitted, was His ine had partly owing to his own imprudence, in rendering the court cautious England his enemy, by ordering public prayers to be put conduct. up for the fuccess of the pretender's invasion of Great-Bri-lim, in the year 1708; and by his shewing so manifest a artiality to the French, while he pretended the title to the gown of Naples was still doubtful. The rest of Clement's nontificate was employed in idle religious disputes, which, enerally, had their rife in France; but the peace of Utrecht was far from restoring the tranquillity of Italy, as the reader may perceive in the preceding history of Germany. His homels made little or no figure during that famous negotiation; nor could the emperor, for a long time, be reconciled to im. At last, the neutrality of Italy was confirmed by the reaty of Baden; but the claims of the feveral princes there rmained still unadjusted. The duke of Savoy being acmowledged king of Sicily, declared himself equally jealous of the imperial, and papal, courts. After being crowned in Siall, he renewed all the legantine powers; which, as we have already observed, have been formerly claimed by the kings of that island; and which, when exercised with vigour and resolution, made them, in fact, popes within their own dominions. Clement made the strongest and most pathetic representations on that head, to prevail with him to give up those powers: but all was to no purpose; for his majesty declared that he was resolved to maintain them in their extent, as they had been exercised by his predecessors. his declaration divided the island into two parties. lower clergy and people fided with his holiness; and the prelates, with the nobility in general, with the king.

The fystem of the Italian powers, however, as settled by Account the treaty of Utrecht, received no material alteration till the of the year 1715; when, upon the death of Maria Louisa of Savoy, princess queen of Spain, king Philip made his addresses to the princess of Parma, Elizabeth of Parma. She was daughter of Edward, prince and her of Parma; and had a near prospect, not only of succeeding marriage to that principality, but to the great dutchy of Tuscany; by with the which she became the greatest heires in Italy. The imperial king of court appeared aftonished when they heard of the match, Spain. and that the pope had actually granted a brief, impowering that duke to leave his states to his female line in case of failure in the male. This brief was attended with more remarkable dircumstances than any that was granted during the present tentury. The father of the princess had never been duke In Parma, he dying in the life-time of his father Ranuce II. who died in 1694, and was succeeded by his second son, Francis I. Thus, before the granting of this bull, the princess Elizabeth was, in fact, left out of the succession of Par-

The ministers of France and Savoy complained loudly of the bull as well as of the marriage. Clement pretended a non total ignorance of the matter till it was too far advanced to be stopped; but there was little or no doubt of his being the Till the properties a disconficient of the chief instrument in it. chief instrument in it, by his granting a dispensation to the lenter reigning duke, Francis, for marrying his brother Edwards 1841 widow, Dorothea Sophia of Neuburgh. The emperor, being plot unable to prevent the match from taking place, fequestered pope the fiefs which the duke held of the empire and the kingdom of Naples; but the match was celebrated at Parma, on the fixteenth of September, with vast splendor, by the pope's legate a latere cardinal Gozzadini.

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The pope, about this time, was extremely intent upon affishing the Venetians in the unfortunate war they were carrying on against the infidels, by not only equipping a considerable naval armament, but by fending the former ten thousand crowns of his own money, and contributions which he levied from the richest cardinals of his confistory. It is also said, that his holiness likewise prevailed with the king of Spain secretly to abet the rebellion in Scotland, to which he himself also liberally contributed. To give the greater vigour to his preparations against the Turks, he published a decree, importing, that one tenth part of all the ecclesiastical livings and benefices whatfoever in Italy, should be furnished towards the expences of the war. Hearing that the pretender, after being driven out of Scotland, had taken refuge in Avignon, he ordered his vice-legate there to treat him with all the honours due to a crowned head.

who deagainft the emperor.

The consequences of the match between the princess of clares war Parma and the king of Spain, began to unfold themselves foon after the birth of the infant Carlos, who now fits on that throne. Philip alledged, that the emperor, by not having complied with the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, had forfeited all his right to Naples and Sardinia; and, on pretence of feconding his holiness in his war against the Turks, he obtained from him bulls, which raised him subsidies upon his ecclefiastical livings in Europe and America, to the amount of three millions of ducats. In a short time, by the assistance of his minister, Alberoni, he fitted out an immense marine, and had on foot large armies; and it was foon known that the storm was to fall upon Sardinia; though, when his holiness granted the indultos, he had obtained a promise from him that his forces should be employed against the infidels only, and that he should attack no part of the imperial dominions. He reproached his catholic majesty for this infamous proceeding; and the Spanish ministry poorly laid the blame upon the allies not having evacuated Catalonia and Majorca; which last island was reduced previously to the descent upon Sardinia. The expedition was commanded by the marquis de Lede, who foon conquered Cagliari, the capital of the illand, and the open part of it submitted of courle; MDON

d loudly ended a pon which, the marquis de Lede, after leaving four thousand

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nced to ten to secure his new conquest, returned to Spain.

This scandalous proceeding of the Spanish court was re- The king to the sented by that of Great-Britain: king George I. having been of Britain dwards iguarantee of the neutrality of Italy; and he was the only bestiends being glource the emperor could apply to for protection. The the impenestered pope, notwithstanding all his pretences to the contrary, was rialists. on the pured the expedition of the Spaniards against Sardinia. His pe's les imperial majesty complained, that his holiness had shewn no elentment of the infamous breach of faith that Spain had hen guilty of; and, that he had fuffered that king to collect the money upon the indultos, when he had refused the court of Vienna the same favour. To say the truth, it is highly improbable that Aldrovandi, the nuncio at Madrid, could be ignorant of the true destination of the Spanish squadron. The

imperor, therefore, required, that both he and the cardinal Alberoni should be cited to appear at Rome, to account for heir conduct. His holiness, instead of satisfying those just complaints, endeavoured to evade them, on pretence that lome of them were unjust, and that others could not be complied with. Many confiftories were held on the subject; the ecclefiaftical fortreffes were put into a state of defence; and agents were fent to Swifferland to engage a body of men into the service of his holiness. The imperialists, on the other hand, expelled his nuncio out of Naples; all the ecdefiaftical revenues there were sequestered; the tribunal of the nunciature was abolished; and the nuncio at Vienna was

forbid to come any longer to the imperial court. The court of Great-Britain laboured fincerely for prevent-Substance ing a war from again breaking out in Italy; and proposed a of the quadruple alliance; in which George I. the emperor, France, quadruple

and the states-general, should be the contracting parties for alliance. maintaining the neutrality of Italy. The terms of this alliance were negotiated at London, and its contents were various. The plan of a peace between the kings of Spain, Sitily, and the emperor, was laid down; and the substance of the whole was, that the emperor should make a formal renunciation of all his pretentions to the crown of Spain; that the duke of Savoy should give up Sicily to the emperor, and retelve for it, in exchange, Sardinia; and, that the succession to Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, in default of male heirs, should be lettled upon the eldest son of the queen of Spain. As the consent of the empire was thought necessary for establishing this mode of succession, the emperor was to use his utmost endeavours to obtain it. Leghorn was to remain a free port; and the king of Spain was to yield to his son the town of Porte Longone, with what he possessed in the island of Elba, as soon as the prince of Spain should be in possession of Tuscany. None of these dutchies were to be possessed by a prince who hould, at the same time, be king of Spain; nor was the

GENERAL HISTORY

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king of Spain ever to take upon himself the guardianship of that prince. It was farther provided, that it never should be allowed, during the lives of the possessors of Tuscany and Parma, that the troops of any country whatfoever, whether their own or hired, should, either by the emperor, the kings of France or Spain, or even by the prince appointed to the fuccession, be introduced into any garrison, city, port, or town, of these dutchies: but, for security of the succession, fix thousand Swiss were to be put into Leghern, Porto Ferraro, Parma and Placentia.

Sir George for the Mediterrancan.

Such, with some other additions, not material to this part Byng fails of our history, was the substance of the quadruple alliance; to which the states-general made some difficulty of affenting and the court of Spain rejected it with an air of haughtines; upon which, his Britannic majesty, in consequence of what had been declared at London to the Spanish ambassador, ordered a fleet to be equipped, and to fail, under the command of Sir George Byng, who received instructions for his con-The preamble of those instructions, the whole of which was very artful, mentions the advances which the Spanish court had made for ending its differences with the emperor; and speaks of the armament as a fleet of mediation for terminating the disputes between those two powers.

> Sir George, upon his arrival in the Mediterranean, was to give notice, by the British minister at Madrid, of his being instructed to promote all measures that might best contribute to the composing the differences between the court of Spain and the emperor. He was then to repair to Port Mahon, and to give the like information to the viceroy of Naples and the governor of Milan; but to intimate, that he was come to make good his mafter's treaties with the emperor, and to prevent the farther violation of the fame by the arms of the catholic king: and, if the Spaniards should attack the kingdom of Naples, which could be only done with a view of invading Naples, or that of Sicily, he should hinder and obstruct them with all his power; only he was not to use force until he found that all his friendly endeavours for a reconciliation were ineffectual.

Defeat of the Spanish fleet by the English.

Upon the admiral's arriving off Cape St. Vincent, he informed colonel Stanhope, the English ambassador at the court of Spain, of his instructions; which being communicated to cardinal Alberoni, he treated them with great indignation, and, in a manner, put his Britannic majesty to defiance. It was even with difficulty that he could be prevailed upon to lay the letter before his catholic majesty; whose only answer was, "That admiral Byng might execute the commands of his mafter." The admiral again put to fea, and, on the first of August, arrived in the bay of Naples, where it was expected the Spaniards would make their descent. Instead of that, they landed in Sicily, and, after reducing great part of the illand, hip of

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fland, they were, at that time, besieging Messian. Byng carried two thousand imperialists from Naples to garrison that citadel, and found that the Spanish general obstinately pessisted in his resolution to conquer the island. In the mean while, he fell in with their main fleet, consisting of twenty-wen sail of men of war, besides fire-ships, bomb-vessels, essies, and store-ships; the whole being commanded by admiral Castanata, who had four rear-admirals under him. An agagement ensued, in which the Spanish fleet was utterly delivoyed. The consequences of this victory was, that all the Spanish designs in Sicily were dashed in pieces. The many treaties of peace, congresses, and conventions, that followed, are foreign to this part of our history.

In the year 1728, the duke of Parma invited the pretender Treaty of the crown of Great-Britain to refide in his dominions; Seville upon which his agent in England was ordered to leave the concluded lingdom. That same year the treaty of Seville was conduded. By its ninth article, fix thousand of his catholic majesty's troops are, without loss of time, to garrison Legbern, Porto Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia; which troops shall serve for the better securing and preserving of the immediate succession of the said states, in savour of the most serve infant don Carlos; and to be ready to withstand any enterprize and opposition which might be formed to the presidice of what has been regulated touching the succession.

By the tenth article, the contracting powers are to use the softest and most effectual means of persuading the dukes of suscany and Parma, that the garrisons might be quietly received; and stipulating the taking of an oath to be faithful with the regnant powers, in every thing that shall not be contary to the right of the succession, reserved to the most semeinfant don Carlos. It is likewise stipulated, that the said sarrison shall not meddle, directly nor indirectly, in the government of the places where they are garrisoned; and render to the dukes of Suscany and Parma all the honours that are due to sovereigns in their own dominions.

By the eleventh article, his catholic majesty engages to withdraw his troops from the said garrisons as soon as the said successions are quietly settled in the person of don Carlos his son.

By the twelfth article, the contracting powers became marantees for don Carlos quietly possessing and enjoying the said states of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, after he has succeeded thereunto.

By the thirteenth article, the kings of England and France promise to ratify and guarantee all the particular regulations that shall be concerted between his catholic majesty and the two dukes of Tuscany and Parma, relating to the said garri-

The fourteenth article stipulates, that the states-general of the United Provinces shall be invited to accede to the treaty;

treaty; the ratifications of which were to be dispatched within the space of fix weeks at furthest.

opposed in Eng. land.

This was the treaty that produced fo many extraordinary events in Europe. The lords in the opposition in England moved in their house, "That the agreement in the treaty of Seville to effectuate the introduction of Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, is a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tends to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the ballance of power in Europe." A negative, indeed, was put upon this motion, but the consequences shewed, that, though Great-Britain was not thereby immediately drawn into a war, yet the treaty brought the government of England into a vall The emperor objected to the introduction of don expence. Carlos into Italy without receiving from him the investiture of the dutchies he was to posses; and made no secret that the court of Spain's ultimate view was upon the crown of Naples for that prince.

The death of the duke of Parma happened at this critical period; and his dutchess, who was in the imperial interest. was persuaded to say that she was with child; in which case all the views of don Carlos might have been defeated, had the iffue been male. The court of Great-Britain prevailed with the emperor, whose troops immediately took possession of Parma, to emit public declarations, that they did it only to preferve the fuccession to the dominions, for the son whom, it was possible, the dutchess might be pregnant of. Don Carlos, however, was introduced into Italy; the dutchess acknowledged the imposture; and Stampa, the imperial general, withdrew his forces to the Milanese; leaving the administration of the Parmesan in the hands of the great duke of Tus-

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cany and the dutchess-dowager Dorothy.

Death and XI.

On the eighth of March, 1721, died Clement XI. after a character pontificate of an unusual length; having reigned twenty of Clement years, three months, and twenty-fix days. He greatly diffinguished himself by his eloquence and literature; and, at the time of his accession to the popedom, he was thought to have been possessed of more knowledge, as an ecclesiastic or civi-Jian, than all the facred college besides. But what chiefly contributed to his advancement, was a profound skill in politics with regard to the Roman catholic interest; and it was thought to be owing to his management chiefly, in concert with cardinal Porto Carrero, that Charles II. of Spain made his will in favour of the duke of Anjou. Though the natural violence of his temper sometimes embroiled him unleasonably with the court of Vienna, yet, by his admirable address, joined to his natural intrepidity, he maintained his authority; and, during the latter part of his pontificate, he was revered and courted by the Roman catholic powers. His greatest art, however, seems to have confisted in balancing those parties which his own intrigues had raised among them.

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As an abatement to his great qualities, he was penurious to men of merit, even though he admired them and loved their conversation. He was at great pains to find out means to evade the bull against nepotism, that he might enrich his relations, which he did very considerably. He was vindictive and ungrateful, far more than seems to have been consistent with the political part of his character.

The death of Clement XI. being properly notified, his body He is sucwas openly exposed, and the suneral obsequies were per-ceeded by formed by his nephew cardinal Annibal Albani. Next day, Innocent a pompous temporary mausoleum was exhibited in the mid-XIII. dle of St. Peter's church; on which were represented, in an ingenious and elegant manner, the chief events of his pontificate, but with exaggerated Latin inscriptions. Clement XI. lest behind him fifty-four cardinals of his own creation. He had a particular, and a personal, regard for the pretender to the British crown; and, while on his death-bed, he most pathetically recommended his interest to the sacred college.

When the conclave was inclosed, cardinal Paolucci was thought to have the best chance of being chosen, but a negative was put upon him by the imperial faction, and the election fell upon cardinal Conti, who took upon him the name of Innocent XIII. He was the fon of Charles Conti, duke of Poli, one of the four most illustrious families in Rome. He had, at the time of his election, two brothers and a fifter, all of them nobly allied; and his coronation was prodigiously magnificent. His pontificate was chiefly diffinguished by the opposition which he made against the empetor's granting the investiture of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia to don Carlos, pretending that they were immediate fiefs of the church, and not of the empire. The parties concerned, however, paid little or no regard to his remon-The case of cardinal Alberoni, who had been banithed from Spain, made likewise a great noise in this pon-His process had been formed in the late pope's life-time, and he was accused of having persuaded the king of Spain to employ, against Sardinia and Sicily, the fleet which he ought to have fent against the infidels; and of having endeavoured to withdraw Spain from its obedience to the holy see. He was even accused of holding a secret correspondence with the Turks. The cardinal drew up a strong and artful apology, vindicating his own conduct; which was replied to with great acrimony; but the late pope was so much convinced of his innocence, that, when he was on his death-bed, he expresly ordered that he should be admitted to give his vote in the conclave.

We shall, in the history of France, have occasion to touch upon this pope's conduct in the case of the bull Unigenitus, which had been issued by his predecessor.

Upon the death of Innocent, in 1724, the choice of his Benedica successfor unanimously fell upon cardinal Vincent Maria Ur-XIII.

Vol. X.

C c

fini, pope.

fini, who took the name of Benedict XIII. He was fon of Ferdinand des Urfini, duke of Gravina, and of Jane de la Tolfa, daughter of the duke of Grumo. He was born at Na. ples, on the second of February, 1649; and christened by the name of Peter Francis: but afterwards, when he entered into the order of the Dominicans, he changed his name of baptism, and took that of Vincent Maria. Pope Clement X. made him a cardinal on the second of February, 1672. He was, at the time of his election, sub-dean of the facred college, bishop of Porto, archbishop of Benevento, and protector of the order of the canons regular of St. Saviour. He was descended from a very ancient family, which had given to the church five popes and thirty-four cardinals, and to the This pope was the state a great number of illustrious men. first that had been chosen, for near two hundred years, out of a monastical order. At the time of his election, he was the senior cardinal of the sacred college, and in the seventyfifth year of his age. His integrity and humility were, as it were, fatires upon the characters of his predecessors. He ordered all the rich hangings and furniture of the vatican to be changed for what was plain; and prohibited his domestics from appearing before him in laced cloaths of any kind, but in coarse purple cloth. He forbad all ecclesiastics from wearing rings; and, in the hottest weather, he wore woollen cloths next to his own ikin. But, with all those mortifying circumstances, he had nothing four or morose in his person or behaviour. On the contrary, he was friendly, affable, polite and generous, especially to the poor, notwithstanding his frugality as to every thing relating to himself. When he was archbishop of Benevento, he bestowed, not only his revenue, but his patrimony, both which were very great, upon the public.

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Remark, able history of the new pope.

This appeared by his generofity to the inhabitants, when, in 1688, their city was buried in its own ruins by an earthquake; for the archbishop prevented it from being totally abandoned, by furnishing them with money to repair their private dwellings, as well as the cathedral, churches, hospitals, and other public works; all which was done fo completely, that the city appeared more elegant and beautiful after the calamity bappened, than it had been before. As to the archbishop, he entered into a public register, figned by his own hand, and published by his order, the miraculous manner in which he escaped the danger. He there relates, that he fell with a friend, who was crushed in pieces, from the top to the bottom of his palace; and, that the rafters formed a roof over him, which gave him breathing space: that there fell with him a box of pictures, containing the history of his patron, St. Philip of Neri; which while he was in this dangerous position (though it was locked) built open, and the pictures placed themselves round him; one of them, particularly, fell upon his head, which was the picture of

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of the saint praying and looking towards the blessed virgin; who, with her sacred hand, supported the main beam of the church of Vallacella, which was slipped out of its place. He lay under these ruins an hour and an half, but did not think it had been above a quarter of an hour, when he was dug out by his monks.

The rest of this relation, containing his wonderful cure His abileby the faint, is equally abfurd; and the reader needs to re-mious quire no farther proofs of this good pontiff's enthusiastic course of This narrative, however, impressed the lower life. clergy, and the common people, with fuch ideas of the fanctity of his holiness, that he was enabled to introduce into the church very confiderable reformations. His virtuous and abstemious course of life struck the protestants themselves with admiration; and some of them were weak enough, because he disliked the splendor of the papal court; to affirm that he was of their religion in his heart. Had it not been for the remonstrances of his relations and private friends, he would again have betaken himself to a monastic life, and have left to his cardinals the administration of public affairs. Itappeared, however, in the course of his pontificate, that he was as jealous as any of his predecellors with regard to the rights of the holy-see; of which his difference with the court of Portugal is an example.

Bichi, who had been nuntio at Lifton, had a strong party He quarof Austrians, in the conclave and about the pope's person, rels with against him, on account of a disgust the emperor, when king the king of Spain, had conceived to his prejudice, as he had neglect- of Portned the proper ceremonial when he passed by Barcelona, where gal. that prince resided. The king of Portugal avowed himself to be the friend and protector of Bichi, and demanded that he should be promoted to the purple. This was violently opposed in the confistory; and tho' pope Innocent XIII. offered to give a cardinal's hat to any other candidate recommended by his Portuguese majesty, yet he gave an exclusion to Bichi. Upon the accession of Benedict XIII. that pontiff would have gratified his Portuguese majesty, but he was almost unanimoully opposed by the cardinals, for two reasons. The first was, that they did not chuse a king should dictate to a pope; and the second, that the pope might see he was not to overrule his confistory. Benedict was obliged to comply; and, though the chief Roman catholic powers offered themselves as mediators in the quarrel, he ordered Bichi to leave Lisbon and repair to Rome. Upon this, his Portuguese majesty not only commanded all his subjects to leave Rome, but cut off all communication between that see and Portugal. In short, he acted, in every respect, as if he had been pope within his own dominions. All Europe expected, that, supported as he was by England, he would have entirely thrown off the teligion, with the yoke, of the pope; but his early attachment

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to superstition prevented him; nor did he ever receive the fatisfaction he had so earnestly contended for.

His death.

Profecution of cardinal his creatures.

Benedict, notwithstanding all his virtue and mortifications of his body, proved to be a pernicious pope, on account of his having put himself entirely under the direction of cardinal Coscia. Benedict died on the twenty-first of February, 1730; and his body was scarcely cold when cardinal Albani, as chamberlain of the holy-fee, ordered the abbot Rumoni, the farmer of the fifth duties, and Loyali, steward to Coscia, to be conveyed, under a strong guard, to the castle of St. Coscia and Angelo. As they were known to be the most oppressive infruments of Coscia, it was with great difficulty the guards could prevent their being torn in pieces by the populace. The infurgents ran to a palace, where they were informed Coscia was; but missing him, they threatened destruction to all the Beneventines in Rome; nor could they be appealed till public notice was given, that the apostolic chamber had come to a resolution of confiscating the estates of Coscia and those of all the Beneventines, his creatures. Coscia finding it imposfible to escape the rage of the people, if he remained at Rome, left it under a guard, which was assigned him by the cardinal-chamberlain, and took refuge with the prince of Caferna at Cisterna; who, however, acquainted the cardinals with what he had done. The immense wealth of Coscia and his creatures was lodged in the castle of St. Angelo.

> The fituation of affairs amongst the great Roman catholic princes in Europe, was, at this time, so critical, that debates ran very high in the conclave, which was affembled for the election of a new pope. The cardinals, after being many days thut up, could agree to the election of none of the capital candidates, each of whom had too powerful an interest to encounter. Tired with confinement, they agreed to leave the election to the inspiration of God; meaning, they would chuse for pope a cardinal of whom none had thought, and

confequently none could be jealous.

Clement

After some deliberation, cardinal Corsini, by a pretended XII.pope. fudden impulse, was named, and agreed to, with applause; but he refused to give his consent till next day. Some difficulties intervening, he was not declared till feveral days after; but then, to the incredible joy of the people, his election was anounced; and he took the name of Clement XII. Cardinal Coscia was one of the cardinals who affished at the election; but, under pretence of the gout, he avoided appearing in public. Every day, however, producing fresh proofs of his infatiable avarice, and the oppressions of his creatures, his holiness established two commissions; one for enquiring into the abuses committed during the late popedom, and another to examine into the state of the finances and the expenditures of public money. The commissioners were very severe upon Coscia's agents, committed their persons to prisons, and confiscated their effects; but he him-

felf made fuch a party at the imperial court, that they durst not seize his person. Being affured of that, and having licence to put up the imperial arms in the front of his house, he ventured abroad; and his holiness, from threatening, began to court him; but infifted on his refigning the great penfions he possessed from the church, that they might be applied to the support of nuncios abroad; in which case, he might expect his holiness would be his friend. Coscia, depending upon the imperial protection, at first refused to comply; but the vast number of his creatures that were every day arrested, and convicted of the most infamous peculations, with the extortions and mal-practices proved against himself; and, above all, his being informed, that, if he stood longer out, he would be forced to comply; prevailed upon him to offer to refign the archbishopric of Benevento, provided a large pension was secured to himself out of the revenues. This condition was rejected, and he was declared incapable of holding the archbishopric longer, on account of his notorious in-The cardinal found all opposition unavailing, and famv. fimply refigned the archbishopric into the hands of his holiness. In the mean while, the Beneventines, who hated the cardinal as much as the Romans did, would have pulled his palace to the ground, had they not been prevented by a firong detachment of foldiers fent against them by the apostolic commissary. His other ecclesiastical possessions shared the fate of his archbishopric, for the pope seized them all.

Notwithstanding all his losses, by his deprivations and the Coscia flies confiscations of his effects, Coscia was still possessed of im- to Naples. Though he had paid a mulct of two hundred mense sums. thousand crowns, his judges were about to have fined him one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, on account of fresh charges against him; upon which he withdrew secretly from Rome, and fled to Naples; having secured to himself a remainder of two hundred and twenty thousand crowns in bills of exchange. Mean while, he drew up a state of his case in the form of a manifesto, complaining most bitterly

of the injustice done him.

About this time, a dispute happened between the court of Dispute Rome and that of Turin, concerning the fiefs of Costanza, between Costanzone, Metafia and Cifterna, in the territories of Pied- the pope mont, which were claimed by the pope. He was opposed by and the the king of Sardinia, who had exacted an oath of allegiance court of from the subjects of the disputed fiefs. The latter despised Turin. the pope's injunctions, and he affembled a confiftory to confult upon his proceeding against them with ecclefiastical authority. The cardinals agreed to the affirmative, and the pope thundered out against them an excommunication. The king of Sardinia had, by this time, recalled his minister from Rome; and all manner of correspondence between the two courts was broken up: but, by the mediation of his most christian majesty, the difference was accommodated, to C c 3

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the fatisfaction of the court of Turin. Upon cardinal Cofcia's retreat to Naples, his holiness ordered him to be summoned to appear at Rome; and, upon his refusal, executorial letters were posted up; by which the cardinal was declared to be degraded, and deprived of all his benefices, and all the privileges and prerogatives annexed to his cardinalship. The collateral council of Naples refused to suffer those letters to be executed within that kingdom; upon which the pope ordered complaints to be made to the court of Vienna; while cardinal Coscia wrote the most submissive letters to his holiness, excusing himself, on account of his bad state of health. for not immediately throwing himself at his feet.

Conclu-Italy.

The affairs of the pontificate, fince that time, have been fion of the either fo infignificant as to be improper for a general history; history of or so complicated with those of the other powers of Europe, which the reader will find in the course of this work, that we shall omit them here. The present pope succeeded Benedict XIV. formerly Lambertini; and was elected in 1740. His name is Rezzonico; and, after his accession, he look that of Clement XIII. He has the character of being a moderate prince; and his pontificate will ever be diffinguished by the politeness, and profusion of honours, with which he received his royal highness the duke of York, when he vi-Tited Rome in 1764.

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GENERAL HISTORY

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WORLD.

THE HISTORY OF

FRANCE.

BOOK I.

FAVING in a former part of this work deduced See the history of the Gauls to their conquest by Julius Vol. V. L Cæsar, and from thence to the year 420, when it p. 496. is supposed (for their history is very dark at that period) the Franks chose for their leader, or king, Pharamond, who is looked upon to be the founder of the French monarchy; and having pursued that detail to the year 786, we shall take up the modern history of France from that The truth is, though the French made unusual Plan of exertions of learning in establishing the ancient part of their the history history, yet it remains still very dark, full of siction, and of France. unimportant, to almost every reader who is not a Frenchman. In the following history of France, we shall observe the plan we have already pursued of avoiding repetitions, by frequent references to the same facts that have been delivered in the former part of this history, which is the more necessary in that of France, as its sovereigns, and those of Germany, were, for some ages, the same.

Charles the Great had formed the noble design of joining Partition the Rhine to the Danube, which had he been able to com- of Charles plete, Germany and France might, to this day, have had the the Great's fame head. While he was employed in that and other empire, designs, which, however, partook more of zeal than of humanity or justice, he was attacked by Godfrey, king of the Danes, and other nations, who, in general, were distinguished by the name of Northmans, or Normans, and having subdued them, he sent great numbers of them to Phardy, which might be one reason, though the ignorance

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See p. 369.

of the time and country have concealed it from us, why the Normans afterwards so easily conquered Neustria, the modern Normandy. We have already mentioned the impo-Vol. VIII. litic division which Charles made of his empire among his children. His fon Lewis, had, during his lifetime, affumed the title of king of Aquitain; but by the deed of partition made by his father, which is strongly guarded and authentic, the father kept in his own hands a paramount power fo long as he lived, over all his fons and their subjects. The nature of the division made by Charles, by which great part of the present French monarchy was given to Lewis, and part to his eldest son Charles, makes it somewhat difficult to ascertain who was the monarch of France after this allotment; but we shall follow the common course of histories, by confidering Lewis, the king of Aquitain, as fuch. That prince made a vigorous war upon the Moors in Spain, but apparently without great fuccess, which may be one reason why the Gascons murmured at his government; but Lewis entering their country put them to flight, declaring that he would hang up every man of them who should rebel for the future. Understanding that the rebels intended again to attack him in his return from Spain, he obliged them to give him hostages for the safety of his army, which had the defired effect.

His regulations

Upon the death of Charles, the eldest son of Charles the Great, that emperor visited the sea coasts of Boulogne, and death. ordered his fea-ports to be regularly fortified so as to shelter his own thips and repel those of the Normans, and other pirates, and marched an army into Bretagne to overawe the feditious in other provinces. Charles, being now old and infirm, by a most solemn and ceremonious act, after confulting his prelates and nobility, affociated his fon Lewis with himself in the empire. After this, Lewis returned to Aquitain, while Charles employed the remaining hours of his life in cares worthy of a monarch, those of providing for the quiet of his fuccessors, and the welfare of their subjects. It appears, that, at this time, the modes of succession to the lands in France, was pretty much the same as that which prevailed under the Saxon heptarchy. The dukes and counts were no other than civil and military officers, who, if they deserved it, inherited their father's places; and the revenue of the crown confifted in fæderum, paratum, and mansionaticum, forage, provisions and furniture.

Lewis the Debonnaire, or, Gentle.

History of THOUGH we have already written the history of this prince as emperor of Germany, yet it is necessary Lewis as we should record him here as king of France. Upon the king of death of his father, he was in the height of reputation France.

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for his civil and military accomplishments. All the glorious abours of his father had not been sufficient to clear France from barbarity; and when Lewis came to the crown he found fo much trouble in reducing his subjects to a tolerable conformity with government, that he had thoughts, had he not been diffuaded from his resolution by his father, of retiring to a monastic life. Though historians are divided with regard to the character of Lewis, we cannot rank him among the weak princes, when we confider the turbulence, ignorance, and superstition of the age he lived in. At the time of his father's death he was thirty fix years of ibid. age, and had three fons, who were afterwards the fources p. 380. of all the misfortunes he met with. The bad opinion he had conceived against Walla, grandson to the famous Charles Martel, was inspired by the bishop of Orleans, and on his account he treated his own fifters, who were thought to be much in Walla's interest, with unbecoming severity; though Walla appears to have been one of his greatest One of the reasons that embroiled him with ibid. Bernard, king of Italy, was, that prince having been per- p. 166, fuaded by the bishops of Milan, and Cremona, that he was the head of the Carlovingian house, as descended from the eldest fon of Charles the Great. His legitimacy, however, was disputed, and the Italian princes, who supported him merely because they affected an independency upon Lewis, abandoned him. Being forced to throw himself at the feet of Lewis, he and Bernard bishop of Orleans, who had been one of his counsellors, with many others of his party, were tried before the parliament at Aix. Bernard was condemned to lofe his eyes, and though he begged on his knees for mercy, yet the operation was performed fo unfkilfully, that he lost his life in three days after. Lewis was too much afraid of the church to punish the bishops with the like leverity; though they had been the real occasion of the war. All that they suffered was deprivation, or imprisonment. Bernard having been weak enough, in hopes of pardon, to discover all his friends, they were secured, but the laics only suffered death or excæcation.

Lewis, by this time, in imitation of his father, had de- He diclared his eldest son, Lothair, his associate in the empire. vides his He created his second son, Pepin, king of Aquitain, and empire Lewis, his third son, whom he had hitherto kept about his among his own person, king of Bavaria. This division was opposed sons. by Morman, count of Bretagne, who declared himself king. Lewis calling a affembly general at Vannes, raifed an army against the usurper, who was murdered by his own subjects; and Nomenon, a Breton nobleman, who had never entered into the rebellion, was declared count of Bretagne. Lupus, count of Gascony, followed the example of Morman, but was foon subdued by Pepin king of Aquitain, and fent prifuner to Aix la Chapelle, where his sentence of death, was

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commuted by the emperor, into that of banishment. Lewis foon found that he had either done too much or too little against churchmen. They refented the punishments that, by his own authority, he had inflicted upon their order, and the dispositions he had manifested for reforming the discipline of the church. Lewis was devoted to ecclefiaftics and the episcopal order to a degree of weakness; and nothing but the scandalous profligacy of their lives could have prevailed on him to call out for this reformation. The clergy, knew their power, and when the emperor endeavoured to force his prelates to reside on their respective sees, they found means to introduce into his court Adelard, the abbot of Corbie, and elder brother to Walla, who foon won his confidence, and though he was the chief spring of Bernard's rebellion, perfuaded the emperor not only to pardon all his remaining affociates, but to restore them to their estates and dignities. Not contented with this, Lewis, at his defire, took Walla for his prime minister, and submitted to do public penance for the death of Bernard.

There is not in human nature perhaps, a more unac-

countable character than that of a prince who is fond of

power, but a flave to superstition; such was Lewis the De-

Inconfiitencies of his charader.

bonaire, who, with his fon, the emperor Lothair, was entirely governed by Adelard, and his brother Walla. Lewis hearing that pope Paschal I. prefuming upon his goodness, had neglected to wait for his confirmation before he assumed the pontifical chair, took fire, and ordered his fon Lathair to march with an army into Italy, where he re-established the imperial authority over the pope; but he had no sooner left Rome than two noble Romans were beheaded in the Lateran palace, for having favoured the young emperor. Lewis, through the excessive weakness he had for the papal character, pardoned even this audacious cruelty, and the fucceeding pope Eugene II. promifed to behave better. In the mean while, the emperor fent the archbishop of Rheims to convert the Danes, while he, with his two fons, the kings of Aquitain and Bavaria, entered Bretagne with an army, to crush a rebellion that was breaking out there. Their force being far superior to that of the rebels, the chief of whom was one Viomarque, they fubmitted, and an affembly of the states being held the succeeding spring at Aix la Chapelle, Viomarque, and the chief Breton lords, renewed their submissions. Soon after, understanding that the imperialists had been defeated on the fide of Spain, the Bretons refumed their arms, but were de-

P. 374. Rebellions in France.

ibid.

Beginning of the troubles.

Lambert, a French general. The empress Judith, the beloved wife of Lewis, is admitted on all hands to have been a woman of intrigue in emperor's every fenfe of the word, and possessed of immoderate ambition. When about the year 823, she was brought to bed of a fon, named Charles, the represented to her husband,

feated and cut in pieces, with their leader Viomarque, by

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that by the imprudent partition he had made of his dominions her infant was in danger of being unprovided for. Lothair was then returned from Rome, where he had been crowned emperor, and his father feems to have been diffausfied with his conduct, both on account of his ambition. and the management of his war with the Moors and Saraans, who were victorious in Spain and Italy, and had made themselves masters of Sicily. Count Boniface, a French nobleman, equipped a fleet, with which he made a descent upon Africa; but matters remained still in great disorder through the rest of the empire. The emperor thought that the making a provision for his young fon Charles, afforded a proper opportunity for checking the power of Lothair. He obliged that prince to confent to his yielding up to his young brother the greatest part of Germany, and to swear that he should become the infant's guardian and protector upon the death of the father. The Moorish arms were at this time infulting Aquitain itself; but received a seasonable repulse from Bernard, count of Barcelona, whose troops were too weak for him to pursue his blow. Though Lothair was at first obliged to dissemble his discontent at the parution of his empire, yet it foon broke out with alarming circumstances; and a universal spirit of diffatisfaction prevailed all over the empire, at the dangerous ascendency which the empress had acquired over the mind of her husband. This was cherished by Lothair, and, in a short The emtime, the empire was divided into two parties, that of the pire diempress, and that of Lothair. The French clergy, in a vided into council affembled at Paris, told the two emperors, that the two parbilhops of France had a right to judge them; but that the ties. imperial, had no authority over the episcopal, order. lituation of Lewis between his wife, and eldest son, was so perplexing to him, that he issued a commission, the members of which were called missi dominici, for enquiring into the state of the empire. At the head of this commission was Walla, who, by the death of his elder brother, was now abbot of Corbie; and the commissioners were to make their report to a parliament that was to be held at Aix la Chapelle, in the year 829. Walla, either foured by the aufterity of his life, or prompted by a virtuous indignation, charged the emperor and his courtiers with being the fources of all the public distractions, by the unjust partition he had made of his empire in favour of young Charles, whose mother he even accused of adultery. The empress seeing that Walla was under the influence of Lothair, prevailed with her hufband to remand him to his cell, and to make Bernard count of Barcelona, (whom the public looked upon as her lover) his first minister.

The handsome person of the count, the gallantry of his The emmanners, his courage and spirit, savoured this opinion, to peror dethe infinite prejudice of Lewis; but in other respects, Ber-serted by nards his army.

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nard's conduct justified the choice he had made. He laid out a new territory for Charles, comprehending all that part of Germany that lies within the Danube, the Maine, the Neckar, and the Rhine, with the country of the Grisons, and the district which now comprehends Geneva, and the Swifs cantons. Under pretence of a war with the Bretons, who still refused to submit to the imperial authority, Ber. nard raifed an army, to be commanded in chief by the emperor, who required his fons to join him. At first they durit not refuie; but as Lewis king of Bavaria was upon his march to the frontiers of Bretagne, part of his army returned home, and Lewis joined his father with but a handful. The Aquitain army offering to serve Pepin against his father; he declared himself its head, while Lewis escaped from his father's court and joined him. This rebellion proved fo formidable, that the emperor Lewis durst not face it. His wife retired to a monaftery, as Bernard did to his government of Catalonia. Pepin, who was at once unnatural, and infolent, dragged the empress by force out of the convent, and obliged her by threats to prevail on the emperor to take a monk's cowl, and fuster her to assume a nun's veil. She made no hefitation in promiting all this, and was impoliticly suffered to have an interview with her husband. whom the artful princess instructed how to behave, and Lewis demanded to have a meeting with his nobles at Compeigne. His behaviour there feemed to be full of the deepest contrition at his past conduct; he promised to suffer his empress to take the veil, but did not mention his own refignation of the empire.

ibid. P· 375.

his con-

ceffions.

The rebellion against Lewis was composed of two many complicated interests, and opposite dispositions, to be successful. The abbot of St. Dennis, who at the same time held the abbies of St. Medard de Soiffons, and St. Germain, and was one of the most powerful princes in France, raised troops against the emperor, and he was joined by the bishops of Vienne, Amiens, and Lyons, and they declared all who refused to follow them to be the enemies of God and the church. Lothair was at this time in Italy; but hearing how matters were fituated in France, he returned thither with his army. It is more than probable, that had the emperor been prevailed upon to pronounce his abdication before the return of Lothair; Pepin would have usurped the empire, and that Lothair was diffatisfied with his conduct, and of that of his brother Lewis. The majority of the rebels under the two latter, who were attached to Lothair, feem likewise to have been disgusted with Pepin; for upon the arrival of Lothair, each retired to his own dominions, and left their elder brother in full possession of his father's person. Finding that the latter, by his mild deportment had touched many of the rebels with compassion, he was

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contented with placing about his person certain monks, whom he gained over, and employed them (one Gombaud especially) as his agents with the German princes, whom they found ready to take arms in his behalf. The report of this encouraged Lewis, who by Gombaud's address had fecretly brought over Pepin to his party. The Germans He redemanding an affembly at Nimeguen, Lothair durst not re- covers his fuse his father the liberty of presiding in it, and the senti- empire. ments of the members were so much in favour of the old emperor, that he had the courage to order some of the chief rebels to lay down their arms, and to fummon his fon Lothair to appear before his tribunal, which he was obliged to do, and to throw himself at his father's feet, where, with tears in his eyes, he implored his pardon. His fubmission daunted the rebels so much, that they made no refistance, and in an affembly which was soon after held at dix, the chief of them were put to death, and the rest con-This amendment of the emperor's affairs demned to exile. did not arise from any real affection the French had for the person of Lewis, but from the disunion of his rebels; and after his restoration (as we may call it) the like disunion broke out among his friends. The pope, Gregory XIV. was of opinion, that the vows of the empress in taking the veil were void, because they were involuntary. The monk Gombaud thought himself entitled by his services to be first minister; and though Bernard was now returned to court, he eafily perceived that either through the inconstancy or ambition of the empress, he had but little power. The condition of being admitted to the imperial favour was the party figning his affent to the allotment that had been made for young Charles; and to give it the greater validity, Lothair was degraded from the dignity of emperor, but allowed to retain that of king of Italy; and even there he was not to act but by directions from the imperial court. The kings Pepin and Lewis, found they were no better than substitutes to the empress, and readily embraced an alliance with their brother Lothair and count Bernard. In consequence of this alliance, the kings of Aquitain and ivid. Bavaria took arms; and the reader has already feen how P. 376. the rebellion was crushed by the emperor, who sent the king of Aquitain prisoner from Orleans to Treves; but escaping from his escort upon the road, he raised a fresh rebellion, upon which the emperor declared the kingdom of Aquitain to be forfeited, and bestowed it upon his youngest fon, Charles, who was then no more than nine years of age. This fresh act of partiality in favour of the empress Judith's fon, renewed the public discontents at the emperor, and lost him the hearts of many Germans, as well as French. Lothair had then an army in Italy, and the papal power Pope every day gaining ground, both in France and Germany, Gregory chiefly

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chiefly through the differences between the emperor and his fons, which rendered the friendship of the pope to either party of infinite consequence. When the French bishops addressed him as their brother, he reproved them for having the insolence to treat him with so much familiarity. The necessity which Lothair had for his countenance encreased his influence and importance in the eyes of the public. He represented that having been crowned emperor by a Roman pontiff he could not be degraded from that dignity, and that his brothers being acknowledged fovereigns by his holiness they could not forfeit their kingdoms, This application flattered the pride of Gregory, who was willing to know in what degree of estimation his authority was held without the bounds of Italy. He therefore agreed to repair in person to France and Germany, where his prefence turned the scale against the old emperor. The ecclefiaftics, in general, declared against him, and the abbot of Corbie resumed his arms, though there is reason to believe, that the diflike entertained by his subjects against the empress gave them too fair a pretext for their rebellion. The pope was reproached by the archbishop of Mentz, for lending his countenance to fo unnatural a proceeding; but the prefence of his holiness, and the force of gold, devauched from their duty the troops of the old emperor, whose person fell once more under the power of his fons, and he was formally but hastily deposed, while Lothair seated himself in his throne; the empress was thut up in a monastry at Tortona, and young Charles confined a prisoner in a castle.

He again recovers

The indecent and cruel behaviour of Lothair towards his father brought about another revolution in his favour. his affairs. After his degradation, in which the chief ecclefiaftics of France and Germany affisted, he was cloathed in a penitential habit, and shut up in a convent, where his behaviour was so meek and resigned, that it touched the hearts of the monks and inferior ecclefiaffics, who were on no good terms with their superiors. The bishop of Mentz made the king of Bavaria fenfible that he was working his own deftruction in that of his father; and leaving himself at the mercy of Lothair, who was equally perfidious and ambitious. Count Bernard, notwithstanding all he had suffered from the emperor, made the like representions to the king of Aquitain, and both those princes took the field in order to deliver Lewis from the tyranny of his eldest fon. Lothair could not withstand the confederacy, which was joined by some of the chief noblemen of France. After shutting up his father, who remained still clothed in fackcloth (and humbled though undaunted) and his brother Charles in the abbey of St Dennis, he retired to Burgundy, which he 12vaged; but was at last forced again to throw himself at the

ibid. p. 378. feet of his father, and in the fight of the whole army to

implore his pardon with tears.

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The acts which, through the superstitions of the time, and puwere thought necessary for the rettoration of Lewis, being nishes his performed in an assembly at Thionville, Ebbo, archbishop enemies, of Rheims, who was under the greatest obligations to Lewis, ibid. and had performed the ceremony of his degradation with peculiar insolence and barbarity, read his recantation, and delivered in the resignation of his bishopric, which was all

the punishment he met with.

The intrigues and ambition of the empress Judith did Makes an not fusser her husband long to enjoy this gleam of returning unjust That the might make fure of the gift of festlement Aguitain, the entered into a most unnatural negotiation with of his Lothair, after he had been pardoned by his father; though empire. his accomplices had been severely punished. Lothair knew her aim and her motives, and thought to compals his ends without being obliged to her, though he did not discourage the negotiation. He endeavoured to form connections with the Italian noblemen, which gave umbrage to the pope, and he complained to the emperor, who prepared to march to Rome at the head of an army; but was prevented by a fresh descent which the Norman pirates made on the coasts of France. In the mean while, the had influence enough over Lewis to declare her fon Charles king of Neustria, which comprehended Upper Burgundy, Alface, Swifferland and Suabia, or, according to others, all the territory lying between the Loire, the Rhone, the Meufe, and the Ocean, the king of Bavaria subscribing to the deed. But he pleaded compulsion, as being in the power of the empreis, as did king Pepin, whose deputy subscribed to it likewise, and who died in the year 837, leaving behind him two fons Pepin, Though he and Charles, besides two married daughters. died possessed of Aquitain, which had been restored to him; yet the empress prevailed with her husband to deprive Pepin's children of all their inheritance, and once more to bettow it upon her fon Charles; and the obliged Lothair to agree to the new partition, by the bait of adding to his Italian dominions Burgundy, Lyons, Franche Comte, part of Lorrain, of the Palatinate, of Triers, Cologne, Alface, Francoma, Nuremberg, Thuringia, Saxony, and Friesland. According to others, Charles was to be put into possession of Aquitain, and Lothair of all the rest of his brother Pepin's French dominions.

This iniquitous partition was opposed by the great lords Which is of Aquitain, and by Lewis of Bavaria; and the former took opposed arms in behalf of young Pepin, whom they looked upon as by the their la vful fovereign. Lewis, old and infirm as he was, French, soon reduced his son Lewis of Bavaria to drop his arms, and ask him pardon; but during the expedition he contracted a

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Lewis of Bavaria

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rebels.

disorder, which terminated in a defluxion upon his lungs, and afterwards proved mortal. The people of Aquitain remaining still in arms, Lewis appointed an assembly of their states at Chalons, upon the Soam, where he laid before them, in the most plausible manner he could, the reasons of his giving the investiture of Aquitain to his fon Charles, and promifed to make fuitable provisions for his grandsons, the fons of Pepin. His presence and authority overawed the majority of the prelates, and the lords of great fiefs; but the people in general refused either to acknowledge Charles for their foveregn, or to put young Pepin into his grandfather's hands. Lewis, not being able to prevail in this point, retired to Poitiers, and next spring finding that his indisposition still continued, he heard that his unnatural fon, the king of Bavaria, had again rebelled, and over-run the greatest part of Germany. This news reached him in the beginning of Lent, which he had used to spend in a most exemplary manner. Leaving part of his troops in France for the protection of his wife, and his fon Charles. he advanced with the other part towards Aix la Chapelle, against his fon Lewis, who precipitately abandoned all his

conquests.

The doctrine of judicial aftrology was at that time, and for many ages after, very prevalent at the French court; and the head aftrologer was generally confulted in all affairs of moment. Though the indisposition of Lewis was far from being dangerous, yet the appearance of a comet at this time, rendered it mortal. He was so impressed with the opinion of its portending his death, that he ordered himself to be carried to an island in the Rhine, remarkable for its wholesome air, where being configned to solitude, his spirits were preyed upon by chagrin at the thoughts of his fons unnatural behaviour. Finding his end approach after fix weeks lingering, he fent for his friends, especially his brother, the bishop of Mentz, who had always been steady in his allegiance, and divided his treasure and effects between his family, the churches, and the poor; but declared, that though he had pardoned his fon Lewis, yet his behaviour had brought him to his grave. His death happened on the

Death of the emperor.

twenty-first of June 840.

To what we have already said of his character, we may add, that too much modesty, and a disturst of his own talents, rendered him a prey to the arts and creatures of his two wives, of whom he was distractedly fond. The first prevailed upon him to make the partition of his dominions among his three fons, which, as we have already observed, was the source of his troubles, and the latter, to violate that partition, which compleated them. By his first wife, Ermengrade, besides his three sons, he had five daughters; Alpaide, the wife of Begon, count of Paris; Gexile, married to Everara,

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Everard, duke of Frinli; the fon of which marriage was Berengar, afterwards king of Italy; Hildegarde, who efpoused the famous count Thierri, Adelaide, married first to count Conrade, and afterwards to Robert le Fort, count of Paris, and Rotrude, who died unmarried.

Charles the Bald.

TOTHAIR aspired to be master of his father's undivid- Ambition L ed empire. Taking advantage of the youth of his bro- of Lothair. ther Charles, then no more than seventeen years of age, after seizing Worms, he made an attempt upon Franckfort; but being vigorously opposed by Lewis, he desisted, and concluded a truce for three months. He then recommended the interest and the justice of young Pepin's claim to Charles and his mother; but at the same time somented a rebellion in favour of Pepin, and used all kind of arts to keep up a difference between them, and to prevent Pepin from repairing to the affembly at Bruges, where an accommodation was proposed to be set on foot. In the mean while, he made use of the truce which he had concluded with Lewis to attack Charles, who did all he could to appeale him, his affairs being embroiled at home, both by the difaffection of the Aquitainers, and the frequent descents of the Norman pirates. Charles finding all his attempts to deprecate the wrath of his elder brother ineffectual, put himfelf at the head of a small but chosen, army, commanded by friends he could depend upon; while Lothair collected together the remains, which were numerous and powerful, of the rebels to his father; and Pepin of Aquitain belieged Bourges. Charles raised the siege of Bourges, in which his mother was, and beat Pepin, though he thereby endangered the fafety of his friends, and gave Lothair an opportunity of over-running all the tract between the Meufe and the

The filial duty of Charles not only confirmed but encreas. He is dised his friends; but he chose the method of negotiation, and appointed a truce was concluded till a final accommodation could by Charles. be settled in an assembly, to be held at Attigni. Lothair violated every article of it, by cantoning his troops along the Seine, and again attacking Lewis of Bavaria, with whom he had likewise prolonged the truce. The interest of Charles and Lewis now became the same. After various negotiations, marches, and countermarches, they found means to effect a junction of their troops, and Lothair being likewise joined by Pepin of Aquitain, both parties resolved to leave their several claims to be decided by the lword. A bloody battle was fought near Fontency, on the ibid. twenty-fifth of June 842, in which Lothair and Pepin were P. 391. defeated; and it is said, that no fewer than a hundred thou-VOL. X.

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fand men were killed on both fides. The victory however, was far from being decifive, though it was for some time attended with the best of consequences to the conquerors, who lived together (which is feldom feen among princes) as

brothers ought.

Decision of the clergy in favour of him and Lervis of Germany.

The bishops of France, at that time, were affembled in a body, pretended to be above the pope, and when provoked, even threatened to excommunicate him. The two brothers fummoned a council of those bishops and abbots at Aix la Chapelle; and after long examinations concerning the mifbehaviour of Lothair, he was declared to have forfeited all. right to the crown of France; though others fay, that the fentence extended to all his dominions, but that is improbable, and against the truth of history. We must however, be of opinion, that in this sentence the dominions of Lewis of Bavaria were included, and the form of proceeding justifies us, not only in that, but in the account we have given of the power affumed by the French clergy of those days. After enumerating and censuring the multifarious crimes committed by Lothair, they asked the two brothers whether they intended to govern like him, or according to the laws of God, and the land. The first part of the question they answered in the negative, the other in the affirmative; upon which, the president of the assembly addressing himself to the two kings, made use of the following words, " Receive the kingdom by the authority of God, and govern it according to his divine will: we advise you, we exhort you, we command you fo to do." Whatever constructions may be put upon this celebrated transaction, we are of opinion that the whole of it amounts to no more than that, the two princes finding the people divided with regard to the primogeniture of Lothair, were refolved to have a decision in their favour from the clergy, who by the imprudence, chiefly, of the late emperor, were possessed of great temporal, as well spiritual, power, which they obtained; but that the affembly were far from pretending to fet afide the right that Lothair had to the dominions left him by his father.

Reflection

Koltaire, a celebrated writer is of opinion, "That the authority annexed to the character of bishops, and the veneration the people had for them, were the instruments made use of by kings to serve their own purposes. These ecclesiastics shewed much more weakness than grandeur, in thus determining the right of kings, in fervile compliance to the orders of the stronger party." This writer is too general in his censure. The doubts which must naturally arise in the minds of the people concerning the rights of the two younger brothers, in bar of the primogeniture, required to be refolved, and this could be done only by the affembly in which they had the greatest confidence, that of the clergy; nor can we see the least absurdity in such an affembly

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affembly commanding two princes who had submitted their claim to its determination, to govern according to the divine will, especially after they had solemnly promised so to do. If the clergy afterwards stretched their power too far, their proceedings cannot affect the case we have here

That the two princes wanted only to have the matter of ibid. tight determined in their favour appears from the confe- A new quence; for they did not at all shew themselves averse to partition an equitable compromise, which at length took place, as of dothe reader may fee in a preceding part of this work. Italy, minions. Aguitain, and Bavaria, were divided into three equal portions; and Lothair, in right of his primogeniture, was to have the preference of choice. Aquitain, and the country between the Loire and the Meuse, fell to Charles; for which reason, we consider him, at this period, as king of France only. Pepin, son to the king of Aquitain, having been excluded, impolitically, if not unjustly, from receiving any benefit by the late partition, continued at the head of a confiderable body of his father's subjects, while the Normans and the Bretons laid watte the finest provinces of France: The three brothers threatened them, but their menaces had no effect. The empres Judith was now dead, and Charles put to death Bernard, who had made so noble a figure in his father's reign, and had been created duke of Languedoc.

It was common in those days for princes to grant either Charles for money, or fervices, large fiefs to their subjects, who bribes the holding them by military tenures, were in fact obliged al- Normans; ways to have a body of troops in their fervice. This rendered it difficult for a lord paramount to disposses or punish any of them, otherwise than by arresting them while they were attending at their court, which feems to have been the cale with Bernard, who lay a year in prison before he was put to death. His fon William was at the head of his father's military tenants, and joined Pepin of Aquitain, and every day encreased the miseries of France by the ravages of the Bretons, who pretended to be a people independent of that crown, and the invalions of the Normans, who took Roan, and plundered Paris in the year 845. It is hard to lay, what the confequences might have been, had those invaders been under any regular command; but though they undoubtedly had their leaders, they feem to have had no principle of unity, either in a king or a general. was then encamped at St. Dennis, and instead of fighting them, he gave them seven hundred weight of filver, which prevailed upon them to retire, and to promife folemnly that they never would renew their visits. The party of Pepin was all this time encreasing, and Charles was obliged to yield him up great part of his father's dominions upon his taking an oath of homage and fealty.

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A GENERAL HISTORY

404 and becomes hated by his fubrects.

About this time, a remarkable alteration appeared in the disposition and conduct of Charles. The misfortunes and difficulties he encountered in his youth had rendered him modest, submissive, and tractable, and above all obsequious to the clergy, characters which were effaced in his manhood. At the time we now treat of, he was rapacious, headstrong, despotic and tyrannical, and consequently unpopular. Finding that he had some respite by the bargain he had made with the Normans, he attacked the Brelons, who twice beat his army. The prince of Bretagne, however, was so moderate that he purchased his peace of Charles, who was again about to have entered his country, by promifes of submission and obedience.

A family. compact.

France had now a prospect of enjoying some tranquility, when, instead of the Norman, she was harrassed by the Moorish privateers, and the calamities which now distressed every part of the empire of Charles the Great, forced his three furviving grandsons, though they hated and distrusted each other, to unite themselves by a confederacy which was to support their mutual interests, and to determine the mode of succession to their respective dominions. This proposal arose from Lewis king of Bavaria, or, as he was then called, king of Germany; and from the necessity of the measure itself, as the great subjects of the house of Charlemagne taking advantage of the invasions of the Moors, the Normans, the Huns, and various other barbarous nations, were every day loofening the bands of the dependency upon their respective sovereigns, who were in actual danger of having nothing left them but a nominal authority. A meeting was accordingly held between Lothair, Lewis, and Charles, at Mersen, near Maestricht, where they resolved mutually to support each other, and that among the descendents of Charlemagne no regard should be had to primogeniture, so as to affect their independency or interests, excepting the endearments due to confanguinity.

Which is Lothair.

In 846, France was again filled with civil commotions, broken by which were generally raised by ecclesiastics, and every day produced battles fought by bishops, abbots, and monks, with very confiderable bloodshed. Hugues, a natural son of Charles the Great, who was abbot of St. Quintin, was killed before Tholouse, and two bishops were made prisoners in one of those quarrels, while the Normans, in breach of their engagements, renewed their ravages on the coast of France, and laid fiege to Bourdeaux. It happened fortunately for Charles that he had then made peace with the Moors, who had been defeated in Spain, and raising an army he beat the invaders, and funk fome of their ships, and forced them to raise the siege of Bourdeaux, which then belonged to Pepin of Aquitain. Charles no sooner returned to Paris than the Normans renewed their vifits, and being favoured by the Jews entered Bourdeaux, which they plundered. The no-

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bility of Aquitain imputed this difgrace and disaster to the inactivity of Pepin, and in gratitude to Charles they crowned him king of Aquitain at Orleans, and he received their oaths of fealty.

Lothair reproached Charles for breaking the family con- Bretagne vention by the peace he had made with the Saracens, who erected had brought his kingdoms to the brink of ruin, and follicited into a Lewis of Germany to enter into an alliance against him, but kingdom. Lewis rejected the proposal. The differences among the ecclefiaftics of France still continuing, the ravages of her coasts by pirates of all nations, were renewed, and Pepin reassembling his friends recovered great part of his dominions. This encouraged Nomenon, the prince or duke of Bretagne, already mentioned, to revolt, and having by the affistance of count Lambert taken Rennes, he again assumed the title of king, and dying foon after, he left it to his fon, Herispee, who in a bloody battle defeated the forces of Charles. Herispee offered to become a feodatory to the crown of France, a term in those days amounting to little less than independency, and Charles, who after his defeat had retired to Angiers, was obliged to accept of his proposal. Charles was more fortunate on the fide of Aguitain, where Pepin, and his brother Charles fell into his hands; and he shut them both up in convents.

We have already seen the state of the empire upon the ibid. death of Lothair, and the events that followed it. At this p. 382. time, the people of Aquitain again revolted, on account of the severity shewn to their prince. Charles, in chassising Revolute Aquitainers, proceeded so cruelly, that Lewis of Germany lutions in took advantage of the general disaffection of his subjects France. to his government, to send an army commanded by his son Lewis, to take possession of the French crown. In the mean while, Pepin of Aquitain escaped out of his monastery, and the Aquitainers declaring for him drove the Germans out of their country; but Pepin being distaissed with their inconstancy, compromised matters with his uncle Charles, whom, for distinction sake, we are now to call Charles the

Bald, and retired to Germany.

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Charles the Bald, in order to fix the Aquitainers, declared Charles his foon king of Aquitain, which had so good an effect, excomthat they gave a total defeat to the Norman invaders, whom municated they had before used to join, and scarcely three of them and descaped to their ships. Pepin's adventures during this in-posed. terval are not known; but it is certain, that thinking himself ill used by Charles, he joined the Normans, and affisted them in ravaging his own country. The mismanagement of Charles the Bald, joined to the inconstancy of the Aquitainers, effected another revolution in favour of Pepin, who was soon after expelled, and Lewis of Germany was again invited to take possession of the crown of Aquitain. Charles all at once found himself defert-

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ed, and applied to his uncle the count of Suabia for his advice. The count gave it with great freedom, and told him that his misfortunes were owing to his ill conduct. Charles perceiving that the archbishop of Sens had by the influence of his brother Lewis of Germany, affisted by some other bishops, anathematised and deposed him, was reduced fo low as to publish a rescript, containing the following expressions, "At least, the archbishop ought not to have proceeded to depose me, before I had appeared before the bishops who consecrated me king: it was just that I should first have undergone their censure, to whose paternal correction and chastisement I was always ready to submit myself." He published other rescripts, addressed to the nobility, and offered to refer his past and future conduct to a full and free affembly, or parliament, to be held at Verberi; but threatened to treat all who should not comply with his proposal as rebels. All those rescripts did him no service. The Normans again invaded France; Charles, with a thin attendance, was obliged to fly to the extremity of his king-dom, and Lewis was crowned king of France by the archbishop of Sens, who was in his turn excommunicated by the prelates of Charles the Bald's party. Even Pepin of Aquitain, and Lothair king of Lorrain, fon to the emperor Lothair, had consented to the coronation of Charles, who seemed now to have no dependence but upon the levity and inconstancy of his subjects.

Charles recovers

Lewis of

Germany

crowned king of

France.

Conrade, and Wolf, fons to the count of Suabia, had joined Lewis in the new revolution, and perfuaded him to his crown, fend back his German troops, and to trust entirely to the affections of his French subjects. Lewis consented, and sent them to treat with Charles (with whom they all along fe-cretly corresponded) about his renouncing all pretentions to the crown of France. When Lewis fent back his troops, he paid them, and thereby exhausted his treasury. The two brothers informed Charles of those circumstances, and, as he still retained a small army under his command, he recovered his crown, which Lewis had neither treasure nor friends to defend, without the least difficulty. It is necessary that the reader of the following history should observe, that at the time we now treat of, the present kingdom of France, besides the feodatory kingdom of Bretagne, contained four other kingdoms possessed by the descendents of Charles the Great; that of France, properly fo called, that of Lorrain, which owned Lothair, the second son of the emperor Lothair, for its master; and that of Arles, or Provence, which confisted of Provence, Dauphiny, and part of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, and was held by Charles, the third fon of the same emperor, and the kingdom of Aquitain. The last kingdom, as we shall have occasion to observe, continued long to be governed by its own princes, The

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The king of Lorrain, from being the intimate friend of Affairs of Charles the Bald, had fided with Lewis of Germany; and when Lorrain, the revolution in favour of Charles took place, he returned with readiness to his alliance with him, and complimented him upon his restoration; but in the mean time he offered his mediation to the two uncles, which was the more neceffary, as the Normans had actually made a fettlement on the Seine, and the Saone, after plundering the richest provinces of the kingdom. The interview between the two brothers took place; but the history of Lorrain at this time is equally uncommon as infamous. Lothair had married Theuiberge, the daughter of Hubert, duke or count of Outre-le-mont-joure; but being passionately fond of Walrade his concubine, he charged his lawful wife with incest with her brother Hubert, and according to the superstitious customs of those times, she proved her innocence by her champion standing the ordeal of boiling water, which was performed by the accused thrusting his arm to the bottom of a veffel filled with boiling water, and bringing from thence The arm being fealed up for three days, if no a ring. marks of scalding then appeared upon it, the party was then declared innocent. We shall not here examine into the possibility of this being performed without scalding; but it is certain, that Gonfier, archbishop of Cologne, confessor to the king, and father or uncle of Walrade, swore that the queen had confessed to him her being guilty of incest, upon which Lothair renewed the process, during the dependence of which, the queen and her brother escaped to France, where they were received and protected by Charles The confequence was, that Lothair married Walrade; and Gonfier, with some other bishops, decreed the marriage to be valid, and that the queen had been guilty of incest.

Charles was at this time at war in Bretagne, where one and of Solomon, after killing Herispee, assumed the title of king, Bretagne. and beat the troops of Charles, who however, found means to engage in his interest Robert le Fort, or the Stout; one of the best captains of that age, and made him governor of the dutchy of France, by which we are to understand the country between the Seine and the Loire. The lois that Charles sustained in Bretagne was not compensated by his fuccess in Normandy, where he employed, by the payment of a large fum of money, a body of Normans, seated on the Saone, under a famous freebooter, one Wailand, to disposses a colony of their countrymen fettled on the banks of the Seine, and upon the island of Oiselle. Wailand attacked the latter with a fleet of two hundred and fixty boats, called in thole days ships, and obliged them to ransom themselves by paying him fix thousand pounds in gold and filver, 2 tum of which we can at present have no edequate idea. Dd4

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Charles however, found himself in a more undefirable situa. tion than before, for the vanquished made their conquerors their protectors, and remained in their fettlements.

Domestic the Bald.

Charles the Bald, at this time, was engaged in an unfuctroubles cessful expedition against his nephew the king of Provence. of Charles Returning from thence, he employed count Robert le Fort against the Normans, whom he defeated, and forced them to give him hostages for their departure out of the kingdom. The treachery of Wailand, whom Charles the Bald was obliged again to take into his fervice, and the growing numbers of the Normans, prevented this capitulation from taking place. Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, had, according to the French historians, been married to two kings of the West Saxons, father and son, and returning to France, the eloped with Baldwin, who is called the Forrester of Flanders, while Lewis, the eldest fon of Charles, and his fecond fon the king of Aquitain, married likewife without his consent. The family of Charles the Great was at this time filled with domestic differitions. Carloman, the son of Lewis of Germany, rebelled against his father, and the legates who had been fent by pope Nicholas I. to examine into the validity of the king of Lorrain's marriage, were diverted by his money from executing their commission; but they prevailed upon Charles the Bald to pardon his daughter Judith, and to give her husband Baldwin the fee of the earldom of Flanders as her fortune.

Death of the king of Arles.

The corruption of the two legates coming to the pope's knowledge, he deposed the archbishops of Cologne, and Treves, who had declared Lothair's marriage to be valid, and annulled the whole of the process. Lothair had bought his brother, the emperor's friendship on this occasion, by the cession of the fine country of Alface; and the emperor shut up the pope in the church of St. Peter; but being informed of the treachery of the prelates, he banished them out of his dominions. Upon the death of the king of Arles, Charles the Bald feems to have been excluded from all share in his succession, which was divided between the emperor and Lothair.

In the year 864, Charles the Bald reduced to his duty his fon, the king of Aquitain, who was foon after unfortunately killed; forced the king of Bretagne to do him homage; repulsed the Normans, and made prisoner Pepin of Aquitain, who was at their head. The Normans in those days were heathens, and Pepin being more than suspected of having apostatized, the prelates and nobles who were appointed to try him, condemned him to death; but through the moderation of Charles he died under a slight confinement. The repeated invalions of the Normans, and the Danes, who had killed Robert le Fort in battle, continued the distresses of Charles, whose kingdom was so much exhausted by the sub112-

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fidies he had paid them, that he was obliged to raife the last payment of four thousand pounds in filver by a capita-

tion tax. In 867 he annexed the county of Contentein to the king- and of dom of Bretagne, and conferred the kingdom of Aquitain the king upon his eldett fon Lewis, by which he made both princes his of Lor-

friends, and diffolved the dangerous connections between rain. The marriage affair of the king of Lorrain, which, was a most iniquitous transaction, continued to embarrass the house of Charles the Great. The archbishops of Cologne. and Treves, after their deprivation, laid open to the pope a hocking scene of corruption and perjury, and his holiness enjoined Lothair to take an oath, the substance of which, was it not for the profligacy and ignorance of the times, would be incredible, that he had never known his concubine as a wife, and twelve of his chief nobility were obliged to corroborate his oath with theirs. This disconcerted the schemes of Charles the Bald, and Lewis of Germany; but Lothair brought the German over to his fide, and in the year 869, he died at Placentia, leaving his possessions to be contended for among his relations. Charles the Bald lying nearer to them than Lewis the German, took possession of them, and was crowned at Metz; but the pope afferted the right of the emperor, who was brother to the deceased. Lewis the German, and Charles the Bald, saw the necessity of uniting, and made a partition of the kingdom of Lorrain, which was then vastly more extensive than the dutchy now going by that name. The cities of Cologne, Utretcht, Strafbourg, Bafil, Treves, Metz, and their territories, with all the countries between the rivers Ourt and Meule, together with Aix la Chapelle, and most of the ditricts between the Rhine and the Meufe, were allotted to Lewis. Lyons, Besançon, Vienne, Tongres, Toul, Verdun, Cambray, Viviers, and Usez, together with Hainault, Zealand, and Holland, became the portion of Charles. emperor being thus fet aside from any part of the Lorrain succession, complained to the pope, who wrote, but in vain, most stinging letters to Charles. The latter, strengthened by so considerable acquisitions, disregarded them so much, that he never answered them, though his fon Carloman, in holy orders, at this time headed his father's armies, and foon afterwards broke out against him in open rebellion. Adrian was then pope of Rome, and Charles the Differ-Bald, without any regard to the authority of his holiness, ences beemployed his own bishops to excommunicate his fon and tween all his abettors. The pope continued to ply Charles the Charles Bald with most virulent letters for this invasion (as he called the Bald. it) of his authority; but Charles acted with fo much spirit, and the that he not only filenced the pope, but forced him to pope. consent that he should be successor to his nephew Lewis in

the empire, if the latter should die without male heirs.

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Many intrigues happened on account of this fuccession; but they can convey no information to the reader.

Affairs of

Two of the fons of Lewis the German had been in rebellion Bretagne. against him, but he reclaimed them by gentle methods. Carloman remained in arms against his father Charles the Bald; and being taken prisoner his eyes were put out; but escaping to Lewis the German, he died at his court. After this, Charles engaged Solomon to affift him against the Normans: who, by the secret favour of Solomon, preserved their ships from destruction, and obtained them a capitulation. Charles, at this time, was looked upon as a most perfidious prince: and Solomon thought it his interest that he should always have a multiplicity of enemies, to divert him from renewing his pretensions upon Bretagne. Solomon, soon after, was affaf. finated, and France again thrown into convulfions; which were encreased by the emperor, Lewis II. dying, without male issue, in the year 875.

Charles the Bald of the pope.

ibid.

P. 383.

The Greek emperor being, at that time, in possession of Sicily and the greatest part of Naples, had still a vast sway in purchases the affairs of Italy; and Lewis the German depended upon the empire him for his succeeding to the imperial authority, though it was now little more than a phantom, unless possessed by a prince of great power and spirit. It has been said, with vast confidence, by some authors, that Charles the Bald purchased the reversion of the empire, by money, from pope John VIII. and, confidering the unbounded insolence of the Roman pontiffs of those days, and the weakness of Charles the Fat, it is not unlikely. Be that as it will, Charles eluded, by the most notorious breaches of faith, all the dispositions that had been made by Lewis, and his fon Carloman, to obitruct his march to Rome; and received the imperial crown from pope John VIII. on Christmas-day, 875. The acquisition of the imperial crown cost Charles immense sums; but he indemnified himself by the treasures of his predecessor, which he lavished upon the pope and his other adherents.

Death of Lewis of Germany.

Lewis the German died next year, and Charles gave in marriage the only daughter of his predecessor and nephew, Lowis, to his own brother-in-law, Boson; whom he created duke of Lombardy and his viceroy in Italy. While Charles was in Italy, Lewis the German invaded France; but, upon the return of the emperor, he retired to his own dominions, and fued for peace. Charles, at this time, once more altered his character. He seemed to be elevated with the thoughts of his being an emperor. He appeared in public in Greek robes, and he assumed unusual airs of haughtiness when he treated with his prelates, whom, both he and the pope, fought to reduce. He was always jealous of his brother, Lewis the German; who died in the year 875, and left his dominions to be divided among his three fons, Carloman, Lewis, and Charles. Charles the Bald endeavoured to take advantage

ibid. P. 383. lion ;

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advantage of this event, but was entirely defeated by his ne-

phew Lewis. As the pope had made himself a vast number of enemies, Interview by the preference he had given to Charles, he now called between upon that emperor for affistance. Though Charles was then the pope recovering from a dangerous pleuretic fever, he affembled and the states, fettled the regency upon his fon, and gave the Charles command of his troops to Boson. He then set out for Italy the Bald. with his empress, attended by a most magnificent equipage, and was met by the pope at Pavia; where they understood that Carloman, who was stilled king of Bavaria, was in arms, and claimed the imperial dignity. Charles waited to be joined by his army from France, but both officers and foldiers refuled to pass the Alps; upon which, the pope fled to Rome, and the empress retired to Morienne; but Charles, in following her, died in a wretched hut, at a place called Brios: having received from a few phylician, one Zedechias, a poifon, which was fo strong that his attendants were obliged to Death of bury his body by the way. He died in the fifty-fourth year the latter. of his age. As he lived in the times of ignorance and barbarity, we can know little of his character but from his actions. He feems to have been fensible of his error in raising the French prelates to too great a pitch of power, but he ran into another extreme by endeavouring to reduce them by means of the papal power, which he impolitically aggrandised, as his successors in the empire felt. Hincmar, the archbishop of Rheims, made a noble stand for the Gallican church, against those usurpations of the popedom: but all was to no purpose; for Charles, towards the end of his life, was so jealous of the Gallican bishops, that he scarcely suffered one of them to continue a year in the same see. Charles the Bald, near the end of his life, discovered talents for government, which he acquired rather from experience than nature; but his reign, in general, was unpopular. His first wife was Hermentrude, the daughter of Eudes, count of Orleans; by whom he had four fons and one daughter. have mentioned the death of one of those sons, the king of Aquitain. Carloman, another of his fons, after losing his fight, died in the dominions of his uncle, Lewis the German. Lothair, another son, died an abbot; and we shall have occasion, hereafter, to mention his eldest son, Lewis; as we have already done Judith, his daughter by the first marriage. His second wife was Richilde, fifter to count Boson; and it is thought the and her brother hired the Jew to poison him. None of the fons he had by this lady furvived himself; nor, to far as is known, was the Jew ever punished.

Lewis

Lewis III. or, the Stammerer.

State of France.

CHARLES the Bald, upon his death-bed, bequeathed his imperial, as well as regal, badges of dignity to his fon Lewis, who succeeded him in both capacities. The feudal constitution had at this time got the better of the sovereign power; and nothing could be more despicable than the imperial authority trampled upon by creatures of its own raising. Lewis, who was called the Stammerer, from an impediment he had in his speech, endeavoured to strengthen himself, by ballancing the parties of the great seudatories to his crown; but he thereby only encreased their number and the opposition to his government. The empress was with her husband at the time of his death; and Lewis, who knew the disaffection of his great lords, retired to Compeigne; after which he was crowned by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims.

70id. p. 384. Though Lewis pretended to succeed his father, Charles the Bald, as emperor; yet, if that dignity was hereditary, the right of Carloman, son to Lewis the German, was certainly preferable to his. The pope, who joined with Lewis, was obliged to fly from Rome to France. He was there received with honour, and convoked a council of the clergy at Troyes; where the Gallican prelates were so prevalent, that they enacted decrees which raised them to a footing with temporal sovereigns. They enjoined all secular powers, be they ever so high, to pay them due honours, and not even to sit in their presence without their permission.

Coronation of Lewis.

Though the pope crowned Lewis, he could not be perfuaded to bestow the same honour upon his queen, Adelaide; because, according to some authors, he doubted of the validity of her marriage with Lewis; but, in reality, his holiness entered into the interests of Boson and the empress-dowager; and, upon his return to Italy, all that Lewis could obtain of him, was to excommunicate some of his undutiful vassals:

a censure which they little regarded.

His death. In the year 878, Lewis had a friendly interview with his coufin, Lewis of Germany; and another family compact feems to have been settled between them; but all their schemes were disconcerted by the powerful marquis of Languedoc; who, in spite of the papal and regal authority, kept possession of that province, and even harrassed the other subjects of Lewis, who died, as he was upon his march to chattise him, in the year 879, with the character of having been a weak prince; leaving his wife, Adelaide, pregnant of a son who was christened Charles.

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Lewis and Carloman.

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EWIS the Stammerer left his kingdom, as well as his Depreffamily, in a deplorable condition, through the prodi- fion of the gious power of the crown feudatories. At the head of regal powthem was count Boson, already mentioned; Hugh, the ab- er in bot, grandson to Robert le Fort; Thierri, chamberlain of the France. king's houshold; and Bernard, count d'Auvergne. The French nation was divided into two parties; one, which was attached to the family of Lewis the Stammerer; while another favoured Lewis of Germany, whom they invited to take possession of the French crown. Boson had married his daughter to Carloman, the second son of Lewis the Stammerer; and, being a nobleman of vast interest in France, he prevailed, in an affembly met at Mentz, to crown both the fons (Lewis and Carloman) kings of France; while his old friends and party were numerous enough to vote him into the fovereignty of Arles; which was, on his account, amplified bewond the lake of Geneva. The manners of those times were certainly barbarous to a degree hardly to be expressed; and it was easy for any man, who had a superior understanding. to raise himself by perfidy, perjury, and wickedness. Hugh, the abbot, acted as guardian to the young princes: but an abbot, Goscelin, and Conrade, count of Paris, invited the king of Germany to mount the crown of France, on pretence of restoring the splendor of Charlemagne's family. This project went fo far, that all the part of Lorrain which had been possessed by Lewis the Stammerer, was ceded to the German prince; who, by the intrigues of his queen, Luitguard, invaded France. The malecontents of his party not being able to support him, a congress of all the descendants of Charles the Great was held at Gondreville, on the Meuse; at which the young kings of France ceded their rights to Lorrain and the kingdom of Italy in favour of the other branches of the family; and a partition of power was agreed upon between the two young princes; the former acting as king of France, and the latter as king of Aquitain.

In 880, Lewis defeated the Normans at Lacour; but not being able to profecute his victory, they continued their ravages, and Lewis was obliged to fend a body of troops to protect Lorrain, then possessed by the emperor Charles the Gross. Lewis did not long survive this act of friendship, for

he died foon after, not without suspicion of poison.

We are now to consider Carloman as the sole monarch of of which France. At the time of his brother's death, he was besieg-Carloman ing Vienne, which was desended by Hermengard, consort to becomes Boson, king of Arles. Hearing of his brother's death, he sole moturned the siege into a blockade; the management of which narch, he left to his general, that he might fight the Normans, who now equally desolated Germany as France. Though he twice

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defeated them, he was obliged to bribe them with twelve thousand pounds of filver for an intermission of their ravages; but, in the mean while, Vienne was surrendered by capitulation, and Hermengard was suffered to retire to Autun.

Charles the Grofs, whose dominions were ransacked by the Normans in like manner as those of Carloman, proposed to turn their joint forces against them; but, before this design could take effect, Carloman was accidentally killed in hunting, by a javelin which was aimed at a boar, but firuck him in the thigh. He and his brother are celebrated for the goodness of their hearts; and it is faid, that Carloman, on his death-bed, pretended that he had been wounded by the boar, that he might screen the innocent author of his death from punishment.

Charles the Gross called to the fuc-

Charles, the posthumous fon of Lewis the Stammerer, was still in being, and was then about five years of age. Hugo, the abbot, remained the faithful guardian of him, as he had been of his brothers; but being disliked by the great land. holders of France, they called in Charles the Gross, to whom they gave their crown, under pretence of his being descended from the elder line of Charles the Great; and, that they never could be happy unless the empire and France were united, especially as they had so many barbarians to encounter.

Charles the Gross.

and mounts

ceffion.

HIS prince mounted the throne of France at a time when his reputation was high with the public, butit was the throne, foon diminished. While emperor, he had granted the Normans a fettlement in the country of Friesland; and their king, Godfrey, had married the fifter of Hugh, the abbot; who was a natural fon of Lothair, king of Lorrain, and had a claim upon that kingdom. Godfrey was refolved to support this claim; and Henry, duke of Saxony, the general of Charles the Grofs, in a conference concerning an accommodation, engaged a nobleman, whom Godfrey had offended, to cleave his skull; which put an end to his life: while Hugh, by a like stroke of treachery, lost his eyes, and was Invasions that up in an abbey. The Normans, upon this, besieged Paris, by land and water, with a prodigious fleet and army. The former is faid to have confifted of feven hundred thips, and to each thip we may allow eighteen men; and the numbers of the latter were about thirty thousand; the whole being commanded by one Sigefroi, an able but barbarous general. The city, which was then confined to the island in the river, was defended by count Eudes, affifted by Gofcelin, the bishop, and Hugh, the count, of Paris. Sigefroi pressed the flege to briskly, that, notwithstanding the brave defence made by the belieged, Eudes was obliged to apply to the emperor for relief. His general, the duke of Saxony, accord-

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ingly, attempted to raise the siege; but was himself killed: and, during its continuance, the bishop and the count died; by which the dignity of the latter devolved upon his nephew Eudes.

The ministers of Charles represented to him the ambitious views of the Normans, who intended to erect a kingdom in France, of which Paris was to be the capital; and, that the valour of Eudes must, at last, give way to their courage, perfeverance, and numbers. Charles raised a great army; but he found that the Normans could be diverted from their enterprize only by money. He was, therefore, obliged to pay them a large sum; and to agree to their taking winter-quarters in Burgundy. The reader may judge of the largenes, of their ships from one circumstance; that, the Parisans refusing to suffer them to pass under their bridges, they were carried over land, and launched into the Seine above the city.

Charles the Gross, by this disgraceful treaty, and by his Despicaown weak behaviour both in public and private, rendered ble chahimself despicable in the eyes of his subjects. He drove from rafter, his court Ludard, bishop of Verceil, the only able counsellor he had about him; and he confined his empress, Rachael, on pretence of their having criminal intercourse together, to the abbey of Andelau, in Alface, of which she was the foundrefs. She fubmitted unwillingly to her confinement, and infifted upon her undergoing an ordeal, to prove, that the was innocent, not only with regard to that prelate, but untouched by her husband himself. The truth is, Charles, by this time, had fallen into a state of idiotism; upon which he was abandoned by his courtiers, and even by his menial servants; and he must have perished for the want of common necessaries, had he not, like a beggar, received them from the charity of the archbishop of Mentz.

Being deposed from the empire, it was with difficulty that and mihe was allowed the revenues of a few villages in France to serable
subsist on; and, what is most amazing, though he had nei-death, of
ther been degraded nor dethroned in France, he died, as a Charles.
private man, in the year 888. His advancement to the
French throne, in prejudice of Charles the Simple, the posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer, was owing to the artful
policy of the French nobility, who thought that they could
be more free, or rather licentious, under a prince with a
disputable title, than under one whose right was unquestionable.

Fades an Ode

Eudes, or Odo.

ROM a daughter of Lewis the Debonnaire came Guy, Competiduke of Spoleto; and from a daughter of king Pepin was tors for the born Berengar, duke of Friuli; so that each of those princes crown of was France.

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was the fourth in descent from Charles the Great. Lewis, the fon of Boson, king of Arles, was son to the daughter of the emperor, Lewis II. but being a child his title was difregarded. Herbert, count of Vermandois, was descended from Bernard. king of Italy; whose illegitimacy had not barred him from being declared such both by Charles the Great and Lewis the Debonnaire. Such were the competitors for the crown of France after the death of Lewis the Bald; to whom we may add Arnold, the German emperor, who fought once more to reunite France to the empire. The modes of descent and inheritance in France, Germany, Italy, Lorrain, and the numerous countries that composed the empire of Charles the Great, were very uncertain and various; and the French nobility put the claims of all those competitors aside by giving their crown to Eudes, count of Paris, and son of Robert le Fort, from a principle of gratitude for his fervices; though fome were so officious as to forge for him a more ignoble title to fovereignty, that of royal descent.

To which Eudes is elected.

It is faid that Eudes accepted the crown of France only as trustee and guardian to Charles the Simple, who was the heir of line; and, that he offered to refign it, rather than involve his country in a war with Germany; and, that his noble behaviour pleased the emperor, Arnold, so much, that he recognized him as king of France after he had been crowned

by the bishop of Sens.

We shall not here presume to enter into any disquisition upon the inconsistency of the French history at this period, which supposes, that the sovereignty of the French crown could be vested in two persons at the same time, and both alive. It is certain that the public distresses and necessities demanded so able and brave a head as Eudes, and that he merited the honours he received. Though his army was weak, yet he gave a signal defeat to the Normans, near Montfaucon; but a revolt of the Aquitainers, through the affection they had for the blood of Charles the Great, drew his arms on that side; which gave an opportunity for the Normans to destroy Meaux, to take many other places of importance, and even to make a fresh attempt upon Paris itself.

His troublesome reign.

An elective title, while a royal heir exists, has been always found precarious, dangerous and difficult to maintain; especially in a state abounding with sactious and ambitious nobility; which was the case of France at the time we now treat of. When the great line of succession is broken into, every aspiring subject makes it a pretext for withdrawing his allegiance from the actual sovereign, or becoming independent upon him. The prevailing ravages and invasions of the Normans savoured those dispositions in the French nobility; and Eudes no sooner crushed one rebellion or invasion, than another took place. Having subdued the Aquitainers, one count Walgair took the city of Laon; where he preclaimed Charles the Simple king. Eudes invested and took

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the place, and in it Walgair, whom he left to the judgment of his peers; and his head was struck off. Another commotion was raised in Aquitain by Eblon, abbot of St. Dennis; but it was soon quelled: while the remains of Wolgair's party brought the queen-dowager and her son Charles from England; whom they proclaimed king of France, and crowned him at Rheims.

Here the French history becomes again mysterious. Eudes had certainly offered to refign his right to the crown of France to the emperor, Arnold; and gave him up part of This could only proceed from the idea that the emperor was lord-paramount of France; and, if so, he was Superior even to Charles the Simple, and Eudes held his crown from him; while he himself declared he acted only as regent of the kingdom. But how could Arnold, who was himfelf illegitimate, though of the blood of Charles the Great, acquire this superiority over the legitimate line, if the customs and laws of the Francs and Salians, which took root in Germany, had not admitted of a local superiority in the mother country? Be this as it will, the counts of Vermandois and Senlis. and the other French princes descended from Charles the Great, applied to Arnold in favour of Charles the Simple; and Arnold seems to have inclined to their party. They besieged Laon; but Eudes obliged them to raise the siege and retire.

Finding that the nobility, in general, were averse to his Hedivides government, he referred his interest to the emperor Arnold; the king-who approved of his conduct, but suffered him to resign to dom with Charles the Simple the greatest part of his kingdom, and pay Charles him homage for the remainder. Soon after this compro-the Simple, mise, Eudes died, in the year 898, and the fortieth of his to whom age. From the little we know of him in history, he was a he does brave, wise, and disinterested prince. We have already homage.

stated our difficulties with regard to his right.

Charles the Simple.

TI is only in compliance with custom that we have given Charles the a place to Eudes among the kings of France; for, though Simple fole he was crowned and exercised the regal functions, yet he king of still was a substitute in more respects than one; and, not- France. withstanding he left behind him a fon, called Arnold, yet he did not succeed him in his title of king; so that his party transferred all their interest to Robert, his brother. Upon the death of Eudes, Charles the Simple was acknowledged fole king of France: but, by this time, Burgundy was erected into a kingdom; which comprehended Swifferland and the greatest part of Franche Comte. Lorrain was in the hands of the emperor of Germany, who gave it to his fon Zuentibold; and Lewis, the fon of Boson, was king of Arles. rainers rebelled against Zuentibold; and Charles the Simple, who VOL. X.

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who was not deficient in personal courage, might have easily re-annexed it to his crown, had it not been for his indolence; through which he was prevailed on to make a fcandalous treaty, and to leave Zuentibold in possession of that fine country. It was not, however, till after the death of his faithful support and counsellor, Folques, archbishop of Rheims, that Charles was stigmatized with the epithet of Simple. But we are now to turn our eyes towards the revolutions that happened in the constitution of France.

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Confiderations on of the northern ations,

The fource of all the misfortunes fhe laboured under, at this time, undoubtedly, confifted in her being unprovided the history in a marine. Modern writers have been very lavish in beflowing the epithets of barbarous and uncivilized upon the Normans, and other northern nations. That they were without the use of letters seems more than probable; or, if they had any characters in writing or engraving, they were confined to their priefts, or some particular order of men; and the very few remains of them now extant are unintelligible. or, at best, the sense of them is but conjectural. However, if this deficiency in letters discovers their ignorance, it also proves, at the same time, that we have no means of coming to an acquaintance with their real history and constitution. vindicated What we know of them, at this time, comes from their enemies, who were aftonished and confounded at the rapidity charge of of their conquests and the rapaciousness of their behaviour. barbarism. The latter is excusable only by that necessity which occafioned their original migrations from their native countries; too barren to support their numerous inhabitants: but, notwithflanding all those disadvantages, we can, by no means, pronounce them to have been more barbarous than their European cotemporaries. England, undoubtedly, owes to them the noblest branches of her constitution (for the Angles and Saxons were northern people) as all Europe does its feudal fystem. If England adopted more of their customs than other nations of Europe did, the is, at this day, the more free and

happy. In one respect, all Europe, England excepted, were

barbarians, compared to the northern nations; because the latter cultivated a marine, while France, Germany, and Italy

had none. By this they were fuccessful in most of their ex-

peditions; and it is amazing that the French had never made

use of the vast forests with which their country abounds, for

building ships, as the English did, to encounter their invaders. In the reign of Charles the Gross, they had pene-

trated from Holland into Flanders; and, as we have already

feen, they formed the fiege of Paris, and continued it for a

year and an half. They carried it on by battering rams; but, though the city was bravely defended by Eudes and bi-

shop Goscolin, yet Charles the Gross, as we have already seen,

instead of fighting them, gave them money; which only enabled them to renew their ravages. Charles the Simple had

so little power to check them, that he was unable to punish

f rom the

he earl of Flanders, by whose orders the archbishop of

Rheims had been affassinated.

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The Normans sailed up the Loire and the Seine, and were Progress now headed by Rollo; who was of noble, if not royal, ex-of the traction; but driven out of Denmark; and he founded the Normans. hopes of his future fortune upon the uncivilization of the nations whose descendents now term his followers barbarous. He was not only the leader, but the legislator, of his people; and, when he took Rouen by composition, he taught them to observe its terms. He did not, as Sigesfroi, and their former leaders, had done, march them from place to place; and, as it were, spring by surprize upon their prey. He fixed his residence in Rouen, and soon convinced the French; that he was resolved to make it the seat of a regular government. In the reign of Eudes, Charles and his friends had courted the alliance of these Normans, who were now in possession of almost all Neustria, and were extending

their conquests into Artois and Picardy.

The people called upon Charles to defend them, as he did Original upon the great lords, to enable him. They knew his neces- of fiefs in fities; but refused to move, unless their governments, and France. the lands they held from the crown, were converted into hereditary fiefs, to be held by them and their posterity, upon condition of doing homage and fealty for them, and promifing to serve the king in his wars: an engagement which bound them no farther than as they had power to break it. The institution of those hereditary field gave the first fatal blow to the Carlovingian princes of France, by dismembering their crown of its finest possessions. Rollo, equally politic as brave, was fenfible of this; and that those great feoffees were too much employed in fettling the affairs of their own estates, to run to the affistance of their prince or country; and rejecting all proposals of a truce, he demanded, thro' Francon, archbishop of Rouen, that negotiations should be opened for an ample peace; the basis of which was to be a permanent establishment for himself and his followers. Francon infinuated, that the truce was demanded only with that view; upon which Rollo agreed to an armiffice. Some of the lords of Burgundy and Aquitain, disliking the neighbourhood of Rollo, persuaded Charles to break the truce; upon which Rollo invested Chartres; but the inhabitants, with the bishop, in his robes, at their head, favoured the confederated lords with a fally, and Rollo was belieged in his turn. He cut his way through the French troops, and, being joined by great numbers of his countrymen, they, in refentment of the perfidy of the lords, renewed their ravages with more fury than ever; while the lords, who had depended upon crushing Rollo at once, retired to their estates.

Charles had now no dependence but in the great sway that the archbishop of Rouen had over the mind of Rollo. That telate prevailed over his resentment; the treaty was re-

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Norman obtains Neustria and Bretagne.

Robert the newed; and Francon proposed that Rollo should become a Christian, and marry Gifelle, the daughter of Charles, who was to give him the country of Neustria for her dowry. Rollo demanded Bretagne (which had now ceased to be a kingdom) likewise; alledging, that Neustria was too much exhausted to support his subjects. His demand was admitted, and the treaty finished, on condition of his doing homage to Charles for the two provinces. The custom of the times required, that, in performing this ceremony, the vastal should kiss his lord's feet; which Rollo refused to do; and, when it was agreed that one of his foldiers should do it for him, the Norman stomached the indignity so much, that, in performing it, he almost overturned Charles in his chair of state.

His great fagacity and fuccels.

Robert, brother to king Eudes, was the chief counfellor of Charles in agreeing to this treaty; the confequences of which were, perhaps, not so disgraceful to the French crown, as the terms would have been, had the French feudatories prevailed. Robert seems to have been sensible of this, and that it would be the interest of Rollo to support Charles against his over-grown lords. On Christmass day, Robert stood sponsor to Rollo, who was baptized Robert, and ever after known by that name. The chief officers of his army turned Christians likewise; and the ease with which their conversions was performed, makes it highly probable, that, before that time, they either had no religion at all, or were too much employed in war to mind any. Robert discovered wonderful fagacity in the plan of government he laid down for his new dominions, which he accommodated, as far as he could, to the constitution of France; and the laws he enacted were particularly levelled against piracy and robbery, the crimes The facito which his subjects had been chiefly addicted. lity with which they were reduced into a focial state, under wholesome laws, and cultivating the arts of peace, is a proof how far the Normans were from being barbarians; and, that they were guilty of excesses, only that they might be the fooner relieved from the necessity of committing them. His court resembled, in every respect, that of his lord-pa-He had under him his great officers of state; his counts, bishops, and barons. His inferior magistrates were provided with most excellent laws for the stricter administration of justice. He encouraged an intercourse between his French and the Normans; and, before his death, he not only faw his dominions the most populous, and the best cultivated, of any in France, but his subjects exemplary beyond those of any nation round, for their docility, industry, obedience, and every focial virtue. His countrymen, some of whom had acquired immense riches by their depredations, repaired to Normandy; where they settled, to the vast benefit both of themselves and the country; and Bretagne, from being a kingdom, was now only a fief dependent on Normandy. The

The Carlovingian line was, by this time, extinguished in Partiality Germany; but the Lorrainers had so great an affection for of Charles the family of Charles the Great, that they bestowed their the Simple crown upon Charles the Simple. His minister was one Haga- to his minon, a private gentleman, on whom he had devolved his go- nister Havernment, to the great disgust of his friends, especially the ganon. German princes. Haganon is said to have had capacity, and he advised Charles to have an eye on his son-in-law, Robert, duke of Normandy, whose spouse was not sourteen, while he himself was sixty; nor had the marriage ever been consummated. Two persons were accordingly sent to the Norman court, where they were concealed by the dutches; but being discovered by Robert, he hanged them as spies.

About this time, Robert, duke of France, as he is called, brother to king Eudes, relying upon the good offices he had done Robert of Normandy, proposed to the latter to dethrone Charles, and to seat himself on the throne of France, which had belonged to his brother: but the Norman wisely and pe-

remptorily refused his assent.

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Upon the Norman's death, an affembly of the nobility held at Soissons, would have deposed Charles for his attachment to his minister; but, upon the interpolition of the archbishop of Rheims and count Hugh, they were fatisfied with his being displaced. Soon after, Charles lost a faithful friend by the death of Richard, duke of Burgundy; which encouraged his factious nobility to renew their cabals; and Charles, pretending he was thereby absolved from his promise of discarding Haganon, recalled him to court. The lords, provoked at this step, besieged and took Laon; distributed Haganon's money among their followers; declared Charles to be incapable and unworthy of reigning; and crowned duke Robert at Rheims. Gilbert, whom Charles had made duke of Lorrain, being head of the conspiracy, which soon grew to be very formidable, it was joined by the duke of Burgundy and the count of Vermandois; and Robert, after his coronation, had an interview with the emperor, Henry I. of Germany, with a view of reducing Charles to circumstances similar to those under which Charles the Gross had died.

Robert, upon his return from this interview, affembled his army, and consulted his friends upon the most effectual method for carrying his great design into execution. The blood of Charles the Great was still respected in France, and Charles the Simple was then at the head of an army. Being unable to keep it long together, he resolved upon a bold stroke; which he intended to be decisive. All of a sudden, on the Char le sisteenth of June, 923, he passed the river Aisne; attacked kills his Robert; and, with his own hand, killed him, sighting, at rival, Rother head of his army; but, in the end, he himself was beat. bert, with The sudden death of Robert occasioned great consusion in his own his party. Though crowned, he is not properly ranked hand.

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A GENERAL HISTORY

among the French kings; but, as if Charles had been dead, and the crown of France purely elective, three competitors started up to succeed him: his son, Hugh; Herbert, count of Vermandois; and Raoul, duke of Burgundy.

The reader is here to observe, that the French historians, before this period, used the terms count and duke promiseuously: nor does there appear to be any difference between

them.

Herbert was soon set aside, through some dislike the elect. ors had taken to his person; and Hugh referred his pretenfions to his fifter Emma, who had been married to the duke of Burgundy, and whose decision was in favour of her hus-

band; who was accordingly crowned at Soiffons.

Charles was now overwhelmed with misfortunes, which the spirit wherewith he bore them shewed he did not deferve. Being deferted by all, and scarcely having bread to eat, he attempted, but in vain, to escape into Normandy; where he was fure of a dutiful reception from its duke, Will liam; and he was forced to throw himself upon the emperor. Henry the Fowler; to whom he offered to refign his part of Lorrain. Henry began to raise troops to restore him, when Charles, receiving a most respectful message, was persuaded. by the profound distimulation of count Herbert, to repair to Vermandois; where he was made prisoner, as he lay in bed, within the castle of Chateau Thierri; while his queen, Eziva; fled with her fon Lewis to England; where she was received by the king her brother.

Raoul, at first, met with some opposition from the count of Auvergne; who was, at the same time, duke, or rather governor, under the king of Aquitain; but he was obliged to fubmit to superior force. A fresh invasion of Burgundy, by the Normans from Denmark, headed by a chief called Rainold, after this, for some time, employed Raoul's arms; while the French Normans, at the same time, shewed themselves diffatisfied with his title; and the Lorrainers, far from recognizing his right, by the advice of their duke, Gilbert, sub-

mitted to the German emperor.

Fresh inthe Normans.

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prisoner.

The French Normans were now in arms, and had invaded valions of the county of Artois; but they were so straitened between the armies of Raoul and the count of Vermandois, that they must have yielded themselves prisoners, had they not made a desperate attack upon the camp of Raoul, whom they wounded and defeated; and it was with difficulty that the count of Vermandois prevented him and his troops from being entirely cut in pieces. Raoul was forced to bribe the Normans with money, before he could prevail with them to retreat to their own country; and he was preparing to pals the Loire, to fall upon the duke of Aquitain, when a body of Hunns, for the take of prey, invaded the frontiers of France, and forced Raoul to buy their retreat likewife with money.

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A dispute which soon after happened, between Raoul, King and the count of Vermandois, about the county of Laon, Raoul and induced the latter once more to restore Charles to his regal the count dignity. Hugh, duke of France, who had married Egiva's of Verfifter, and the duke of Normandy, seconded the count, and mandois did homage to Charles for their dominions. Raoul was, at quarrel. this time, raising troops in Burgundy, but had left his wife Emma, in Laon. Hugh, duke of France, apprehensive of the event, after both armies had taken the field, prevailed with Raoul to gratify the count of Vermandois in his claim upon Laon; but Emma refused to deliver up the county; while the emperor Henry, and the duke of Normandy, was seconded by pope John XI. in attempting the restoration of The count of Vermandois had given his fon as a hostage to the duke of Normandy for the completing that restoration; and by a seigned submission to Charles procured his liberty; but foon after the German emperor abandoning the party of the unfortunate Charles, Raoul put the count of Vermandois in possession of the county of Laon, upon condition of his again thutting up Charles in prison, which he did; fo that Egiva was again obliged to fly to England, and Charles was left with no friend of any consequence in France, but the duke of Normandy. It is probable, that Charles would have been put to death after this new reconciliation, had it not been for the jealoufy which Raoul entertained of the count of Vermandois, which induced him to fend for Charles to Rheims, where he and his nobles made him magnificent presents, carest him, and settled a competent provision for his future subsistence. Charles died soon Death of after, in the castle of Perronne, in the fifty-first year of his Charles age, and on the ninth of October 929.

The first wife of Charles the Simple, mother to Giselle, His issue. married to the duke of Burgundy, is unknown. His fecond wife was Frederune, fifter to the bishop of Chalons, and mother to four daughters, Hermentrude, Frederune, Hilder grade, and Rotrude. His third wife was Egiva, granddaughter to Alfred the Great, of England, and lifter to Edward the elder, by whom he had his only fon Lewis. After the death of Charles, the married the count of Troyes,

second fon to the count of Vermandois.

Raoul, or Rodolph.

HIS prince, notwithstanding all the defects of his Raonl's title, shewed himself worthy of a crown, by his great spirit and conduct after the death of Charles the Simple. He actions. drove the interloping Normans out of France, or obliged them to mingle with those settled in Normandy. He forced the duke of Gafcony, and many other rebel lords to do him homage, and he repelled the Hungarians. Being now with-E e 4

the Simple.

He subdues the count of Vermandois. out a rival, and affisted by Hugh, duke of France, he difregarded the count of Vermandois, whom he had always both dreaded and hated, and who had allied himself with the count of Flanders (with whom he gave his daughter in marriage), with Gilbert duke of Lorrain, and the emperor Henry, to whom he performed homage, on the old principle of the emperors of Germany being lords paramount of France. A bloody war ensued upon this step, and it was chiefly managed by Hugh, duke of France, who dispossessed the count of Eu, Amiens, St. Quintin, Peronne, Ham, Arras, Chateau, Therrei, and Rheims. The count had thrust his fon, though he was now no more than five years of age, into that archbishopric; which was now filled by Artand, a monk. The count of Vermandois is, on all hands, acknowledged to have been a prince of great parts, but he was deteffed for his ambition, treachery, and ingratitude to Charles the Simple, This was the true reason why he was not elected king of France, to which he had a claim in right of blood. He was at vast pains to persuade the great lords that Racul sought to abolish the feudal system, and to reannex their estates to the crown; and that they therefore ought to take his, the count's, They believed him, and secretly affished him; but upon losing Laon to Raoul, he was, by the German emperor. persuaded to do homage to that prince for his estates. Both France and the empire were at this time threatened by an invalion from the Bulgarians; but when the peace of France was restored, and a league formed between Henry and Raoul, the barbarians turned their arms against Italy. Raoul had then leifure to treat, but with arms in his hands, with Hugh count of France, who had the management of the war against the count of Vermandois, and made some difficulty of restoring the places he had taken from them; but at last he yielded them, and Raoul soon after died, on the fifteenth of January 936, in the fourteenth year of his reign. It is agreed on all hands, that Roaul possessed all the qualities that enter into the composition of a great king, and a general; and, notwithstanding the defects of his title, had he lived in times less turbulent, would have rendered the French a great and a powerful people.

Dispute about the succession to the crown.

He was succeeded in his dutchy of Burgundy by his brother Hugh, surnamed the Black, to distinguish him from Hugh, the White, duke of France, and a competitor for the crown. The count of Vermandois opposed him, nor had the country of Aquitain ever owned his brother; so that, notwithstanding the breach of the royal line, it is plain, that the genius of the French government still leaned towards hereditary monarchy. This was fully seen in the revolution which happened about this time. Lewis, the son of Charles the Simple, and his mother Egiva, were still living in England; and Athelstan, then king, entered into a concert with William duke of Normandy, the faithful friend of the Carlo-

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vingian race, for the restoration of young Lewis, who was nephew to himself, and the dutchess of France. terests of the great lords were so equally balanced, that one of them could not raise himself to the throne when opposed This was the case with the two Hughs, by the other two. dukes of France and Burgundy, and the count of Vermandois.

Lewis Outremer.

THE duke of Burgundy, as he had promifed to Athel- Lewis stan, applied in favour of Lewis to the duke of France, Outremer and meeting with a favourable reception, the archbishop of called to Sens was sent over, with some other lords, to England, where it from they performed homage to their young king, and attending England. him to France, he was crowned on the twentieth of June 036, at Rheims. He was then no more than seventeen years of age, and the duke of France was appointed to be his governor. Hugh the Black, duke of Burgundy, thinking that he had not been fufficiently confidered in the scheme of the restoration, was then in arms, and had seized upon Langres; but the duke of France, aided by the name and presence of the king, not only forced him to submit, but to yield up to him great part of his dominions. The king, young as he was, faw that his countenance and authority was made use of only to aggrandize subjects already too powerful, and he refused to be tutored longer by the duke of France; but the latter joining with the count of Vermandois, he was obliged to re-enter into his tutelage.

Lewis was still uneasy, and privately invited over his He is difmother Egiva, who through the jealousy of the great satisfied French lords had been forced to remain in England. Upon with his her arrival in France, the formed a strong party against the ministers. duke of France, confisting of Hugh duke of Burgundy, the archbishop of Rheims, and others. The duke of France was joined by the counts of Vermandois and Flanders, and the duke Normandy, who disapproved of the persons about the king. Gilbert duke of Lorrain, joined the royal party, and Lewis got possession of all Lorrain. The duke of France ibid. raised an army, as the emperor Otho did another. Lewis p. 394. was driven from Lorrain by the duke of France, and Gilbert, or, as he is called by some, Sigebert, was defeated by Otho, and drowned in endeavouring to escape. Lewis, to make Otho his friend, married his fifter Gerberg, the widow of Gilbert; but in the mean while, the confederate lords under Hugh duke of France, put Hugh, son of the count of Vermandois, in possession of Rheims, and laid siege to Laon, the only place of importance in the kingdom that was actually held by Lewis, who indeed raised the siege, but was afterwards beaten by the confederates, and obliged to fly towards Dauphiny. His diffresses procured him friends.

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William duke of Normandy declared for him; pope Stephen VIII. fent a legate into France with monitory letters, commanding the great lords to lay down their arms; and the emperor Otho interested himself in his favour; so that in a short time an accommodation was effected, and the tran-

The duke of France acquires more power.

quility of France restored. It was foon broken by the base affassination of the duke of Burgundy, which had been directed by Arnold count of Flanders; but above all, by the levity, or some worse principle of the king, who courted the power that he could not break, and made the duke of France more for midable than ever, while he himself was a mere cypher in his own nominal kingdom. He thought at first to have availed himfelf of the spoils of the count of Vermandois; but that family was still powerful, united, and befriended by the duke of France. Lewis then turned his eyes towards Normandy, where he formed a mean and ungrateful project to feize that dutchy, in which he is faid to have been countenanced by Treachery the duke of France. As its duke was then a minor, and of Leavis the administration in the hands of Bernard the Dane, it was easy for Lewis, as lord paramount, to find a pretext for en-

towards

the young tering the country, where he was received with proper duke of respect at Rouen. He then thought he might venture to Normandy. seize the person of the young prince, whose name was Richard; but the Normans ran to arms, and obliged Lewis to produce their duke. He appeared publicly with him in his hand, loaded him with careffes, declared he intended to educate him as his own fon, and he foothed the credulous Normans fo effectually, that they fuffered the king to carry the child to Laon, where, by the black fuggestions of the count of Flanders, a plot was laid to take away his life: It was discovered by his governor, Ofman, who in the disguise of a groom, bundled the child up in a truss of hay, and conveyed him on horseback to his uncle, the count of Senlis. Hugh, duke of France, refused to suffer the king to proceed against the dominions of the young duke, till Lewis consented to put him in possession of the county of Bayeux. The count of Senlis, who carefully watched over the person of the young duke, and Bernard the Dane, wifely endea-voured to detach the king from the duke of France, by representing to him, that they had no objection to his taking possession of the whole dutchy during the nonage of the duke; and this policy succeeded so far, that the duke of France found himself obliged to evacuate Bayeux, which he had already feized.

The Nor-A descent was soon after made on the coast of Normandy by Aigrol, a king of Denmark, who had formerly been exfeat Lewis pelled by his own subjects, and lay under the greatest obli-and take gations to the late duke of Normandy, in favour of his infant son. Bernard the Dane, was then in high favour with foner. Lewis, and put himself at the head of the Normans to re-

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nel the invafion. When the two armies, however, were ready to fight, the Normans, by a fudden wheel, joined the invaders, cut in pieces the French army, with eighteen counts at its head, took Lewis and carried him captive to It was in vain for Lewis first to reproach, and then to supplicate, Bernard, who continued steady in the measures he had laid down. Queen Gerberg threw herself at the feet of her brother Otho for her husband's deliverance; but that emperor totally condemned his conduct. She applied, with better success, to the duke of France, who brought the Normans to agree to the deliverance of Lewis. upon all the former charters in their favour being renewed and confirmed by the king, his prelates, and nobles, and one of the king's children, with two bishops, were to remain in Normandy as hostages for the punctual execution of the agreement. The zeal shown in this treaty by Hugh, was the effect of felf interest, for the king still found himfelf a prisoner till he should deliver up the city of Laon, as a recompence for the pains he had taken in his deliverance. Lewis was obliged to comply, and Hugh rendered himfelf more powerful than ever by bringing about a match between

his daughter and the young duke of Normandy.

This formidable accession of interest to a subject already Confedeovergrown, did more than the tears of Gerberg, or the in-racy atreaties of her husband, could effect. Hugh's greatness gainst the alarmed not only Arnold, count of Flanders, and Conrade, duke of who is called king of Burgundy, but the emperor Otho him- France. self; and they joined with Lewis in a confederacy against the duke of France, the Normans, and the house of Vermandis. They took Rheims, but were obliged to raise the siege of Senlis. They would have attempted the city of Paris, belonging to the duke of France; but they were overperfunded by the count of Flanders to befiege Rouen. This proved a tedious and an unfuccefsful undertaking, and the confederates were reduced to fuch diffres, that the emperor proposed to buy the retreat of their army from the Normans, by delivering into their hands the person of the count of Flander's. The latter, having a hint of this propotal, decamped in the night time; but the noise of his departure threw such a consternation among the confederates, that they fled, and great numbers were cut off by the Normans. Their diffrace did not diffolve the confederacy; and the war was continued for two years longer, but in the mean while, Lewis refigned to Otho all his part of Lorrain. Upon the taking of Rheims by the confederates, Hugh of Vermandois was deprived of the archbishopric, which was restored to Artand; but Hugh keeping up his pretentions, a council was held at Verdun, in which Hugh was censured. Upon the rise of this council another was convoked by the pope's authority, for terminating the great

name of Hugh the Great.

Who ac- difference between the king and the duke of France. This quires the council met at Jargelheim in 949, and the emperor Otho had credit enough to prevail with the pope's legate to excommunicate the duke of France, or as he was called in those times, Hugh the Great, and his adherents, particularly the duke of Chartres, and Hugh, the pretender to the archbishopric of Rheims. Lewis appeared as a supplicant at this council, Otho as his protector, and Marini, the pope's legate, with the German bishops, as his judges. Lewis was, at that time, without troops, territory, or money; and addreffing himself to the assembly, he said he was ready to vindicate his conduct, either by submitting it to the examination of the members, or by fingle combat against his enemies. New excommunications were thundered out against the duke and his abettors, but without diminishing their power in France. The Huns, or Hungarians, made a fresh irruption into Champagne, and the king regained possession of Laon; and, by the mediation of the emperor Otho, an accomodation was at last concluded between Lewis and the duke of France.

Elopement and marriage of the queen mother.

Lewis made use of this short respite in endeavouring to strengthen his authority in Aquitain; but he found himself under a necessity of confining his mother Egiva, at Laon. During the absence of Lewis in Aquitain, she made her escape, and married, when she was forty five years of age, Herbert count of Troyes, a younger son of the count of Vermandois, who had behaved fo unworthily towards her Hugh the Great, seems by this time, to have husband. been tired of the almost perpetual variance he had with the king, and perhaps, he was not a little influenced by the fear of Otho's growing power, and the excommunications that had been published against himself. In this situation, just as fresh differences were on the point of breaking out between him and Lewis, he suddenly proposed to leave their interests to the arbitration of their two wives, who were fisters. Lewis readily accepted the proposal, and the ladies effected what neither the power of the emperor, nor the pope could bring about, who joined their forces in driving the Hungarians out of France. Lewis, after this, repaired to Aquitain, where he made a considerable progress in re-establishing his authority; and upon his return he held an affembly of his states, in which his eldest son, Lothair, was recognized by the members as his fucceffor to the crown. Soon after this, an accident put an end to the life of Lewis, for while he was hunting a wolf between Laon and Rheims, he fell from his horse, by which he was so terribly bruised, that he died on the fifteenth of October 951, being no more than thirty three years of age.

Death

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The only real frain upon the memory of this prince, who from his early residence beyond sea, was called Outremer,

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was his conduct towards the young duke of Normandy. We Lewis Oucannot be persuaded that he entered into the horrid design tremer. formed by the count of Flanders; but the reannexation of two fuch capital provinces as Normandy, and Bretagne were, to his crown, feems to have overcome the gratitude he owed to the family of Rollo. The misfortune of Lewis was the overgrown power of his great subjects, particularly of Hugh, duke of France, which all his spirit, courage and address, could never surmount. He was but once married, and that was to Gerberg, who, as we have already feen, was fifter to the emperor Otho, and bore him feven children; Lothair, who succeeded him; Carloman, who died a hostage in Normandy; Lewis, who died young; Charles, who was afterwards duke of Lorrain, and Henry, who died an infant. The daughters were, Mava, who married Conrade, king of Burgundy, by whom the left a numerous iffue; and Alrade, the wife of Rainold, count of Rouci. We shall close our account of this prince, by observing that, though he left behind him only two fons, Lothair, and Charles, yet he was so sensible of the pernicious practice of dividing kingdoms, that he left the latter wholly unprovided for.

Lothair.

HE French historians, with all the pains they have Accession taken, have not been able to make a confistent cha- of Lothair racter of Hugh the Great. They accuse him of unbounded ambition, and yet represent him in situations when he might have mounted the throne of France, but declined it out of reverence to the true heir. Upon the death of Lewis he made the strongest professions of loyalty to the queen dowager, and conducted her fon, young Lothair, who was but fourteen years of age, to Rheims, where he was crowned by archbishop Artaud. After his coronation, Lothair beflowed on Hugh the title of duke of Aquitain. The reader is here to observe, that in those days the title of duke of a province implied no more than the government of a province, which was refumable by the king, if he had power, but the title of count was hereditary; as the policilor had the actual property of the estates and lands to which it was annexed. Laon continued to be the relidence of the court, and the royal family could scarcely raise a decent sublistence amidst their few remaining estates and vassals; for, in point of power and property, Lothair was scarcely the tenth man in his own kingdom. The giving the title of duke of Aquitain to Hugh, disobliged the count of Poitiers, who held it before, and he refused to refign it. Hugh carried Lothair into Aquitain, where he besieged the count in Poitiers, but was unable to take the place; and in his retreat he was attacked by the count, who was beaten. In

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Death of Hugh the Great.

In the year 955, Hugh the Great died. His eldest son was the famous Hugh Capet, who being but fixteen years of age, was by his father recommended to the care of Richard duke of Normandy, while his other three sons were under the tuition of their mother, sister to the queen dowager. Their brother Bruno, and likewise brother to the emperor Otho, was then archbishop of Cologne, and held Lorrain, under the title of archduke. His influence over his sisters often prevented them from quarrelling, and, by his advice, the two eldest sons of Hugh the Great, Hugh, and Henry, paid homage to Lothair at his court. This was so acceptable to the young king, that he gave Hugh his father's title of duke of France, and that of duke of Burgundy to Henry.

Attempt to betray the duke of Normandy.

Invasion of the Normans.

The count of Flanders retained Itill his antient rancour against the family of Rollo; and continued his follicitations. with the king of France, to reannex Normandy and Bretagne to his crown. Lothair, like his father, fell into the temptation, and put himself at the head of a confederacy against the duke of Normandy, composed of the counts of Flanders, Chartres, and Anjou. They first attempted to trepan the person of Richard, by inviting him to a conference; but their design was discovered by two knights of Chartres, who met Richard on the road, and he rewarded the one with the Tword, and the other with the gold chain, that he wore, Lothair loudly disclaimed all knowledge of this treachery: but not being able to persuade Richard to repair to his coult to do him homage, both parties took arms, and Richard was obliged at last to call to his affistance the Danes, who landed in great numbers, and laid a confiderable part of France desolate. The public threw the miseries which the inhabitants suffered from those pagans, upon the count of Chartres, whose clergy obliged him to come to an accommodation with Richard, and restore to him Eureux. This produced a general peace; but Richard did not find it easy to get rid of his pagan auxiliaries. They flatly told him, that they were refolved, in imitation of his predecessor Rollo, to make a fettlement in France; nor would they have been perfuaded to return to their own country, had not many of them inclined to turn christians, while the others accepted of a large fum of money, and departed. The death of Arnold, count of Flanders, induced Lothair to attempt to annex to his crown fome part of his dominions; but the young count's subjects made so brave an opposition that The truth is, he remained in possession of all his estates. the duke of Normandy, and the other lords of great fiefs, were by no means fond of encouraging those resumptions; and that for obvious reasons. Lothair, though poor, had not, like his father, an overgrown subject to contend with; for he was faithfully served by the duke of France, and his brother the duke of Burgundy, who enabled him to recover

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many of the smaller fiefs that had been usurped from his crown, and to compel the lords of others to perform their services, and pay their homages; by which means he became a far more powerful prince than either his father or grandfather had been.

Bruno, archduke of Lorrain, was now dead; and the Affairs of Lorrainers were much more attached to the French than the Lorrain. German monarchs, between whom their allegiance had fo often fluctuated. Lothair, in his mother's right, and in that of his uncle Bruno, had a great land estate in Lorrain, and his brother Charles having no provision, he bestowed it upon him; and he extended his pretentions even to the fovereignty of all Lorrain. Charles entered upon the possession of his estates, and Lothair was in hopes that he would be able, by his brother's means, to make such a party among the Larrainers as would put him in possession of that country. Otho II. was then emperor of Germany, and being involved ibid. in wars at home, he divided the two brothers, by giving p. 402. Lorrain to Charles, who consented to hold it in homage from the German emperor. This enraged Lothair fo much, that, by the help of Hugh Capet, he raifed a great army, and proceeded with fuch rapidity, after making himself master of Metz, that he entered Aix la Chapelle, where the imperial court was, just at the time dinner was served up to Otho, who narrowly escaped being made prisoner; but he lost all his plate and rich effects; and then Lothair returned home: Next year Otho entered France with fixty thousand men, as ibid, we have already feen; but the year following he made peace with Lothair at Rheims, and retained the fovereignty of Lorrain; to the infinite disgust of Lothair's French subjects, who reproached him for having facrificed the honour of their crown.

Lothair married Emma, the daughter of Lothair king of Marriage Italy, and gave his own fifter Matilda, in marriage to Conrade, and death king of the Transjurine Burgundy. Upon the death of Otho II. of Lothair the king of France protected, his fon Otho III. against the attempts made by Henry of Bavaria to fet him afide from his father's succession. At the same time he invaded Lorrain, and took Verdun; but his brother Charles defeated him before Cambray. This added to the disgust the French nation had already conceived against Charles, and rendered him perfectly detestable in their eyes, but encreased their effeem and affection for Lothair in proportion. Lothair bade fair to have, in some measure, retrieved the lustre of the Carlovingian line, when he died, on the second of March 986, in the forty-fixth year of his age, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his queen; but that charge was chiefly founded upon what happened afterwards, for the cleared herself of it to the queen mother, by a letter, and in terms, that appear too natural not to be lincere. Lathair

A GENERAL HISTORY

His cha-

Lothair feems to have been as brave as any of the defeedants of Charles the Great, and wifer than them all; but with regard to moral honesty, it was almost unknown to the princes of those times, and the mention of it is hardly to be found in the writings of their clergy. His prudence appears from the friendship in which he always lived with the great dukes of France and Burgundy, and his balancing parties among his own subjects, so as to recover and maintain the credit and authority of a sovereign, which he held and maintained towards the latter part of his reign. He had the virtue of generosity in an eminent degree, for it reached even to profusion, which possibly might be the reason of his not succeeding better than he did in re-establishing his authority.

Lewis the Fifth, or the Idler.

Succeeded by Lewis

TJUGH CAPET had, by Lothair, been made the guardian of this prince, who was an only fon, and but nineteen years of age at the time of his accession to the throne. Young as he was, he had married a lady, who is by some said to have been the daughter of the count of Arles, and by others, of an Aquitain nobleman. He had been, in his father's life time, created duke of Aquitain; and he did not live very happy with his wife. His uncle, Charles of Lorrain, accused the queen dowager, Emma, of adultery with the bishop of Laon, whom Lewis drove out of France; and Charles swelled the charge against her, with that of having poisoned the late king her husband. Lewis likewise dispossessed the archbishop of Rheims of his see, after a bloody dispute. The emperor Otho III. supported the reputation of Emma, and a war must have broken out out between the French and Germans, if their differences had not been made up by Beatrix, the fifter of Hugh Capet, and wife of Frederic duke of the Upper Lorrain. Some pretend that, at this time, king Lewis nominated Hugh Capet to fucceed him, having himself no children, and Charles of Lorrain, who was undoubtedly the male heir of the Carlovingian line, being detested by the French. An improbable condition is annexed to this nomination, that of Capit marrying the queen, whose name was Blanche, who is generally allowed to have poisoned Lewis, after he had reigned fourteen months. He died in the year 987, with the character of having been a weak prince. Great allowances however, are to be made for his youth, and to the arts of Charles of Lorrain, who was the chief accuser of the two, to embroil the royal family.

Lewis poisoned.

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Hugh Capet, and his son Robert.

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VOL. X.

HE Carlovingian line upon the throne of France, is State of now supposed to be extinct. The reader needs to France. look for no other causes of this extinction than the general weakness of its princes fince the death of Charles the Great. the ravages of the Normans, the Huns, and other foreign nations, and the German wars, which gave opportunities, as we have already hinted, for the great lords to emancipate themselves from the regal authority, and to erect their possesfions into hereditary estates. In the mean while, the imbecility and incapacity of their kings, first brought their authority into contempt; it broke the reverence of the people for the lineal succession of their monarchs, and subflituted in its place the rights of the nation.

Hugh Capet seems to have been perfectly sensible of this, Hugh and to have considered himself, even in the late reign, as Caper's being successor to the crown of France. The people, or at succession least the great lords, looked upon him in the same light, disputed and he had made fuch previous dispositions that he stept by Charles into the throne without the least opposition. He was, at ofLorrains

this time, possessed of the great counties of Paris and Orleans, and the dutchy of France; his brother was duke of Burgundy, and his brother-in-law, duke of Normandy; befides being fortified with all the German interest of the queen dowager, Emma. Notwithstanding all those advantages which appeared to decifive in his favour, many of the great lords difliked his affumption of the royalty, and fided with Charles of Lorrain, whom they looked upon as the true heir. But that prince was dilatory in afferting his right, and fuffered the count of Poitiers, who was likewise duke of Aquitain, or Guienne, who was and ready to have have joined him, to be crushed, so that he was forced to recognize Hugh's authority. The reduction of this great lord, did not establish the tranquility of Hugh's government. Charles belieged and took the city of Laon, and in it the persons of queen Emma, and of her supposed lover, the bishop, and treated them both with an unmanly feverity; notwithstanding the interpolition of the court of Germany in favour of the queen, and of the prelates in favour of the bishop. After this, Hugh befreged Charles in his turn in Laon; but was defeated, and forced to raise the siege; and Arnold, archbishop of Rheims, whom Hugh had raised to that see, ungratefully put Charles in possession of that city, and afterwards headed his armies. This archbishop was natural son to king Lothair.

The bishop of Laon, who was thought to be one of the who dies most influating men of his age, had by this time wormed in prison. himself into the good graces of Charles, but held a secret correspondence with Hugh. The latter assembling a strong Vol. X.

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army advanced against Rheims, as if he had intended to retake it; but turning short, he marched to Laon, which he furprized, by the aid of the prelate, and in it, the persons of the duke and dutchess of Lorrain, and archbishop Arnold. The duke and dutchess died under confinement at Orleans, and their fon, who continued to enjoy Lorrain, dying without iffue, the male branch of the Carlovingian family is thought to have been extinguished in him.

Hugh Capet affociates his fon government.

As Hugh Capet confined his ambition to the exaltation of his family, he was very moderate as to his own person and pursuits, and after he had defeated the duke of Guienne, he prevailed upon the states of the kingdom to affociate with with him- himself his son Robert in the government; in which desire felf in the he eafily prevailed, and the young prince was crowned with great solemnity by the archbishop of Sens. Hugh reduced his equipages, ornaments, and attendants to the condition of a private lord, but was indefatigable in administering justice to his people, and in promoting their welfare, by which he won their affections; but above all he gained the hearts of the clergy, by not only restoring all that the crown had unjustly taken from them, but by obliging his great lords to follow his example. Tho' the confinement of the duke and dutchess of Lorrain gave him no trouble; yet he found great difficulty in bringing archbishop Arnold to punishment before an affembly of prelates, and nobles, which he convened near Rheims. Though the proof of the prelate having betrayed that city was extremely clear, by the priest who had opened the gates to Charles, (by Arnold's orders,) being produced; yet the judges were backward in condemning him, as not being authorized by the holy fee to try him; and the archbishop of Sens, the president of the affembly, openly rebuked the two kings, as they were parties in the profecution, for appearing at court, least their prefence should influence the sentence. Arnold, to gain his liberty, confessed the charge, and submitted to degradation; archbishop while Gerbert, a monk of Rheims, and supposed to be the of Rheims, most learned ecclesiastic of his age, was made bishop in his room. Pope John XV. looked upon the whole of this proceeding against Arnold (unexceptionable as it seems to be) as an invalion of his authority; and ordering another council to be held, Gerbert, who had been tutor to the emperor Otho, was deposed, and Arnold reinstated in the archbishopric; but the two kings, notwithstanding this decision of his holinefs, kept Arnold in prison.

Gilbert made

Wife conflitutions | of Hugh.

It appears that Hugh, powerful and politic as he was, was unable to restrain the ambition of his great lords, who were perpetually at war among themselves. When a count of Anjou besieged Tours, the two kings sent a messenger ordering him to defift, with an injunction to ask him who made him a count? The same power, replied the other, who made your master a king. Though Hugh Capet fixed re-

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the government of France to a greater confishency than it had enjoyed before, yet he introduced into it few or no material innovations. He obliged his feudatories to be more punctual, than they had hitherto been, in the performance of their homages and fervices; but he left them in possession of all their constitutional privileges. The great officers and governors under the crown had a right to be tried by their peers, that is, in the affembly to which they belonged, the members of which were in that fense their peers. The great lords (as we have already observed in the case of the duke of Normandy) who held immediately of the crown, had great officers under them, who formed their courts of peers likewife; and William duke of Normandy, commonly called the Conqueror, introduced the same constitution into Eng. land. It does not however appear, that the lords who held immediately under the crown had ecclefiaftical peers in their courts. The regular fubordination of nobility was not quite fettled at the time we treat of, though it feems to have made a progres; and the institution of the twelve peers of France cannot be certainly fixed before the reign of Philip

Augustus. The vaft prudence and political virtues of Hugh Capet, Who was farther feen in making Paris the capital of his king-makes dom, as it had been of his dutchy, and of his building Paris his fortifications, especially on his sea-coasts, on pretence capital. of defending them against the Normans. The providence he shewed for the establishment of his fon in the fovereignty, appeared in his taking every occasion of producing him to the eyes of his people clad in those regal ornaments which he himself had resigned; so that though he retained the title of king, he acted in every respect as the first minister of his kingdom, a province for which he was well qualified. He was not even over folicitous in compoling the differences among his great lords, because, perhaps, he thought their diffentions weakened them. He His death, died in the fifty-feventh year of his age, and the eighth of his reign, on the twenty-fourth of October 987, and was buried in the abbey church of St. Dennis. His wife's name was Adelaide, and history has recorded her as a most accomplished woman. She is said to have been the daughter of the duke of Aquitain, who was count of Poitiers, who had refused, till he was fundued, to submit to Hugh's authority; others pretend that she was an Italian. By her, he had a fon, Robert, who succeded him, and three daughters, Heredwige, wife, first to the count of Hainault, and afterwards to the count of Dashourg; Alice, who was married to the count of Nevers; and Gillette, whose husband was the lord of Abbeville. Hugh Capet had likewise a natural son, Goscelin, a man of great merit, and archbishop of Bourges. As to Hugh's character, we have sufficiently described it.

Robert alove.

Robert embroiled I with the pope on his marriage.

TUGH CAPET had been at great pains to improve I the personal and acquired talents (which were very eminent) of this prince, to the greatest advantage. The pope, who had not thought himself sufficiently conaccount of fidered in the advancement of his family, foon raised a storm against Robert, on account of his marriage with Bertha, fifter to the king of Burgundy, on pretence of confanguinity, than which nothing could be more frivolous. His holiness ordered Robert to release archbishop Arnold out of his confinement, and to reinstate him in his see. Robert loved his queen, though the was neither young nor hand. fome; and in hopes of foftening his holiness in the case of her marriage, the persuaded her husband to gratify him in restoring Arnold to his liberty and his archbishopric. This compliance had no effect upon his holiness, who next year fummoned a council at Rome, at which Gerbert, late archbishop of Rheims, but now archbishop of Ravenna, affisted, and Robert's marriage with Bertha being declared void, he was enjoined to part with her under pain of ecclefiaffical censure. The king refused to obey so unjust a sentence, and he was excommunicated. At that time, excommunications were held in the most dreadful abhorrence by the and oblig- common people; his subjects deserted him, and he was ed to di- abandoned by all but two domestics, who threw the remnants of what had been eaten by the king and queen to the dogs, and the dishes into the fire. A general rebellion being threatened, Robert, to prevent it, and to relieve himself from so undesirable a life, consented to part with Bertha, who behaved as a woman of spirit and resolution, for the refused to part either with the title or state of a queen. This divorce might, in a great measure, have been prevented, had not Gerbert, bishop of Ravenna, out of pique, joined in the censure; and becoming pope, he even confirmed Arnold in the fee of Rheims.

communicated vorce his wife.

He is ex-

He marries ununfortunately a fecond time.

Robert was unfortunate in his fecond marriage with Constance, daughter to William, count of Arles, a woman of the most ungovernable passion and ambition, though lively and very beautiful. The excommunication of Robert had encouraged diforders in his state, and Eudes, count of Champaign, bribed the governor of Melun to betray to him that city. The count de Melun, complained to Robert, who invested and took the town, and ordered the governor to be hanged over its walls. Robert, after this, composed upon equitable terms that were pleasing to both parties, certain differences that had arisen between the duke of Normandy

and other great lords.

The

The death of his uncle Henry, duke of Burgundy, broke The fucinto his repose. Robert was his lawful heir; but his title cession to to the county of Beavais was disputed by Eudes, the bastard Burgundy of the late duke, and by a count of Burgundy, fon of the disputed. duchess dowager, who pretended he had been adopted by the late duke Henry. This last claimant was favoured by the people of the dutchy, who were fond of being governed by a prince whom they could call their own, and by the great lords of France, who were unwilling that the crown should be aggrandized by the acquisition of so powerful a fief. The duke of Normandy took part with the king, and affisted him with twenty two thousand men, whom he commanded in person. This turned the scale of war in Robert's favour. He gave to the bastard Eudes, the patrimony bequeathed to him by his father. The other competitor and his friends, the count of Champaigne, particularly, were obliged to submit, and to gratify the people in their passion for being governed by a prince of their own (though he could not be called independent while Burgundy remained a fief of the crown) Robert invested the dutchy in his second

Robert, after finishing this war, might have been happy, Robert had it not been for the furious vindictive disposition of his associates queen, of whom, notwithstanding his love for peace, he his son was passionately fond. In his family, and at his court he with him loved order and regularity; and having been early ac- in the customed to appear in public as a king, he often affisted at governdivine fervice in his royal robes, and even composed music ment. (some parts of which are still extant) for the use of his chapel. His eldest son Hugh, was then seventeen years of age. The queen prest Robert to declare him his affociate in the government; the was opposed by the ministers, but the was their superiour; and though Robert was told that his wife wanted her fon to be raifed to royalty only that, in case of her husband's death, she might govern the kingdom, he affembled his states and proposed the prince for his affociate. Out of regard to him they complied, and Hugh was fo-

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As peace was the favourite principle with Robert, he took Furious no concern in the quarrels amongst the great lords, which, insolence at this time, filled all France. Policy perhaps, in a great of the measure, dictated that conduct; but Robert sound himself queen. always obliged to have a watchful eye upon Eudes, count of Champagne, who endeavoured to get possession of Troyes, and Meaux. Robert's zeal for religion led him to order a council to examine into the doctrine of certain enthusiasts, resembling the Manechee heretics; and the unhappy delinquents being by their judges, consigned to the slames, Robert, his queen, and court, were present at the barbarous executions. The insolence of the queen was now grown to a pitch of insolence and serocity that rendered her intollera-

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ble. Having conceived a disgust with Hugh de Beauvis, one of her husband's chief favourites and councellors, she applied to the count of Anjou for his affistance in revenging herself; the count sent her twelve ruffians (called, in the language of those times, gentlemen) who attacked Hugh while he was hunting with the king, and without regard to his presence, or his earnest entreaties that they would spare the life of his minister, they put him to death and cut off his head upon the fpot; nor had Robert the spirit to revenge the infult.

Who the court. feet.

The queen's ambition was not contented with domineerdrives her ing over her husband, for she was alike imperious over her fon from fon, that she might be said to have two kings under her The young prince could not bear his ill usage, and retired from court, with some of the nobility. Robert ordered his ministers to expostulate with him, and he plainly laid the blame upon his mother, whose arrogance and avarice, he faid, were equally intollerable, as the abridged him even in the means of making a decent appearance. Robert knew there was but too much justice in his son's complaints, and offering to give him all proper fatisfaction, he returned to his duty, though his mother was bent upon employing force against him. Robert's reputation, after this, was very high all over Europe, for Henry II. emperor of Germany, submitted to his arbitration the differences he had with the counts of Flanders and the Lorrainers; and he fettled them to the fatisfaction of all parties. Those two princes, after that, lived together, and vifited each other with the greatest harmony, and had come to a resolution to reduce the exorbitant power of the pope, Boniface VIII. but the execution of their defign was prevented, first by the Robert 12- pope's death, and foon after by that of Henry. Upon his death, many of the Italian states, who equally hated the imperial and papal power, offered to put themselves under the protection of Robert; but apprehensive that his acceptance might involve him with Conrade, who had succeeded Henry in the imperial dignity, he declined their offer, especially as he was no stranger to the fickle dispositions of the Italians. He endeared himself more than ever to his subjects by this wife moderation, and though he was inclinable, upon the troubles which afterwards broke out, both in Germany and Italy, to have attempted to recover the fove-

fuses the crown of Italy.

ibid.

P. 412.

Death of his eldest fon.

of peace made him defift. Robert's eldest son Hugh, though guilty in his youth of fome disorders, continued dutiful and obedient to his father after returning from his elopement, but died in 1024, in the flower of his age, just as he was beginning to be a wife and useful affociate to his father in the government. Robert shewed as much concern as his queen did indifference, at his death, and though Robert had thoughts of subflituting

reign rights of his family over the Lorrainers, yet his love

flituting his second fon Henry in the place of the deceased. the opposed him with such vehemence, that his tranquility was broken by the two factions into which his court was divided. The queen favoured her third fon Robert; and many The of the courtiers, out of a presumption that she would in queen fathe end prevail over her husband's resolution, followed her vours her party in opposition to that of Henry. Contrary to their third son. hopes and expectations Robert adhered to Henry, and was joined by the majority of his nobles, upon which, the queen did all the could to prevail with him to advance neither, hoping that if he should die she would have interest enough to place Robert upon the throne. But she had now forfeited her former influence over the king, and without farther confulting or confidering her, he affociated his fon

Henry with himself in the government.

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Constance retained, however, a strong party, and the king Accomocontinued to be still so indulgent to her, that she offered to dation besupport her favourite son against his elder brother. Not tween the being able to succeed in that, her resentment broke out king and equally against both, and she found means to persecute his sons. them so cruelly, that she drove them to take refuge in Bur-The king marched against them with an army; but gladly liftened to an abbot, who represented the princes as acting in felf defence against the ambition and malice of a wicked woman, and that they fought no more than to be sheltered against her fury. An accommodation accordingly ensued between the father and his fons, and Robert employed his troops in checking some of his Burgundian vasfals, who were building fortresses, in order to render themselves more independent of the crown. Robert having his reasons Robert's why the prelate of Langres should be one on whom he death and could depend, named one to that fee (though he feldom in- character. terfered in the election of bishops) but he was poisoned by the monks. Robert named another; but while he was waiting for-the issue of his instalment, which was to be performed under the eye of his fon Henry, who remained at Langres for that purpose, the king died at Melun, on the twentieth of July 1026, after reigning thirty-three years, He was adored by his subjects of all ranks, and living 60. whom he had the art to unite in their affections for his person, on account of his equanimity, wisdom, moderation; and, in short, (had it not been for the weak compliances he shewed for his wife,) for every virtue that could adorn a man and a monarch. His education under his father's eye contributed greatly to his success in restoring the lustre of the French monarchy; for though Robert did not affect to be a great warriour, yet he maintained his dignity with so much reputation, that he was seldom insulted by his great vaffals, who strengthened his authority by quartelling amongst themselves. Henry Ff 4.

Henry I.

Intrigues of queen Constance.

RANCE had the happiness of having, in the first kings of the Capetine line, princes of consummate wisdom, and abilities. Such was Henry I. who at the time of his accession to the crown, was about twenty-seven years of age, of a matured judgement, and an intrepid resolution. His mother, as we have hinted, had, during the late reign, acquired a vast party in the state, and hating Henry, the did all the could, to transfer his crown to her younger fon, Robert. Her chief abettors were the count of Flanders, and the turbulent Eudes, count of Champagne. Both of them had interested views in the part they acted; but the queen fought to gratify their ambition, provided the could gratify her own revenge. She promised to Eudes half the towns of Sens, which he immediately reduced, as he did Melun, and Soiffons. This struck the neighbouring places with such consternation, that they threw open their gates upon his approach. Henry, who had not feen the depth of the conspiracy which had been formed against him, and was astonished by the progress of his enemies, retired with only eleven persons in his retinue, to Robert duke of Normandy. That prince and his ancestors had always been sensible that the great French lords regarded the fettlement his family Normandy had made in France, with an evil eye, and they had been generally on the fide of the crown. They knew that the poffession of their own dutchy must be precarious, if the king, from whose predecessors they held their dominions, was his domi- ruined. They readily entered into his interest, and promised to exert their utmost in serving him. This assurance encouraged the king's friends to repair to his standard, and two armies, the one confisting of Henry's own subjects, the other of Normans, were soon formed. The king, with his troops, carried all before him, and after beating the count of Champagne, twice drove him out of the field. The duke of Normandy carried fire and sword wherever he marched; he punished the rebels by making them undergo the death of traitors, and at last, the count of Anjou, to save the farther destruction of France, interposed. A negotiation was feton foot. Robert, brother to the king, having never been very fanguine in his rebellion, was contented with a grant of the dutchy of Burgundy; but the queen died of meet spite and disappointment.

Robert duke of re-establishes Henry in nions.

Henry marries the emperor's daughter.

The foul of the rebellion being thus removed, Henry proved on all hands victorious. But though he chastised the rebels, and reduced both the greater and leffer nobility to their duty, we are not to imagine that the duke of Normandy, the chief instrument of his successes, served him upon motives that were merely generous and difinterefted;

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for Henry was obliged to reward him with the cession of Gifors, Chaumont, Pointoife, and part of the Vexin. It was about this time, that Henry is supposed to have been affianced to Matilda, daughter to the German emperor, Conrade; but it is uncertain whether the marriage ever was consummated. Rodolph, of Transjurine Burgundy, dying, Eudes, count of Champagne, who was his undoubted heir by his fifter Bertha. laid claim to his succession. In the king's life time, Eudes had presumptuously infisted upon being declared his heir, but Rodolph, who knew his factious aspiring disposition, when on his death-bed, fent the regalia of his kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles, to the emperor, and made a will in his Conrade had then upon his hands an Hunga-ibid. favour. rian war; and Eudes, who had formed a strong party in p. 515. Burgundy, over-run great part of the kingdom, but upon the return of the emperor to his own dominions, he was dispossessed of all he had taken. Eudes attacked Lorrain. and had it not been for the irrational turbulence of his difposition, he must have succeeded, but his rashness hurried him into impracticable attempts, and he lost his life at a

Eudes, who had been long the scourge of the French mo- Rebellion narchy, left his large possessions to his two sons, Thibaud and against Stephen. Copying after their father they refused to pay Henry. Henry homage, because he had given their family no affistance in their late war with the emperor They having thus put Henry to defiance, they invited into their affociation Eudes, the youngest brother of Henry, (as is most probable) but Henry proved victorious. The confederates were defeated; Eudes was taken prisoner, and confined for three years in Orleans; Stephen, count of Champagne, and his brother, were stript of great part of their states, and the conspiracy was crushed. By this time, the feudal law became so well understood on the part of the crown, that the states of Galeran, count of Melun, one of the confederates, were confiscated, and became part of the royal revenue, and himself attainted of selony. This was a bold step in Henry, especially as his family was fcarcely yet freed from the leading strings of the great lords; but the imitation of it in like circumstances aggrandized the crown of France.

Though the settlement of the Normans in France had been Who inof infinite service to the princes both of the Carlovingian vades
and Capetine lines; yet most of them would have been glad Normandy
of a specious pretext for reannexing that great dutchy to
their crown, nor could Henry, notwithstanding the powerful obligations he lay under to the blood of Rollo, resist the
temptation. Robert duke of Normandy, swayed by the idle
superstitions of the age, had gone on a pilgrimage to the
holy land, and had prevailed with the states of his dutchy,
before his departure, to receive and recognize as his successor,

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William, his natural fon (bastardy in those days being scarcely reckoned a bar to succession) as his heir; and put him under the tuition of Henry, and Alain duke of Bretagne, The diffatisfaction which this step gave was general, and the affairs of the dutchy fell into the greatest disorder, so that had not William, young as he was, exerted prodigies of valour in his own defence, he must have sunk under the rebellion. Alain endeavoured to ferve him, but was obliged to return to his own estate, where he soon after died, as was thought of a flow poison. Henry, far from attempting to protect William, or to quell those commotions, invaded the frontiers, took possession of the castle of Thulleries, to which he pretended to have a right, and burnt the town of Argenton. Perceiving however, that he could not fucceed in making himself master of the succession, he listened to the ministers of young William, with whom he joined his troops, and engaging the rebel lords, compleatly defeated them at Val de Dunes, but with the danger of Henry's life, who was beaten from his horse. Henry soon after became jealous of that very power, which he had thus rescued and raised, and left William, on that account, involved in war with Geoffery Martel, count of Anjou.

Tealoufy between him and

Henry's jealousy of young duke William, seems not only to have been on account of his great power, but of his afpiring warlike disposition, which already indicated the conthat duke queror of England. When the count of Tholouse, descended by a second marriage from Richard II. duke of Normandy, the bastard claimed that succession, he was privately encouraged by Henry, and at last publicly, by his marching to raise the fiege of d'Arques, in which however he was unsuccessful, and his troops were beaten. After this, there was a rooted hatred between the king and the duke, each thinking the other ungrateful. It is true, an accommodation was patched up, but the count of Anjou still pursuing his claims, Henry released his brother Eudes out of prison, and gave him the command of an army, with which he entered Normandy by one quarter, while Henry entered it by another. Ender was beaten, and Henry was obliged to give William his own terms.

His marthe princels of Ruffia.

Henry, before this, had concluded a very fingular match riage with with a princels of Russia; but we know nothing of her family, or what particular part of Russia she came from, or whether she was a pagan or a christian. According to some authors, her name was Anne, and she was the daughter of faraslan, duke of Muscovy; but the chief motive of Henry's demanding her in marriage seems to have been, that the pope might have no pretext for perfecuting him on account of confanguinity, which, if he had married an European princess, it would have been almost impossible for him to have avoided, as it reached to the seventh degree of kindred. By arce.

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By this lady he had three fons; and the eldeft, Philip, tho' but seven years of age, was, in an affembly of the states, and with their unanimous confent, folemnly crowned king by the archbishop of Rheims; and, after swearing to protect the religion and liberties of the kingdom, he received the eventual oaths of allegiance from the nobles. Henry was, Appoints at this time, infirm; and he appointed Baldwin, count of his fon his Flanders, to be guardian to his fon in case of his decease, successor, which happened foon after, fome fay by poison, and others and dies. by his living irregularly after taking physic, in 1059, being in the fifty-fixth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign. Henry was no favourer of the popedom; nor did he, without fecret indignation, fee pope Leo IX. prefiding in a council at Rheims, placing and displacing prelates as he pleased; but he made a firm opposition against pope Nicholas II. who intended such another visit to France, and was obliged to drop The only unprosperous part of his reign was during his dispute with the duke of Normandy, whose genius was certainly superior to that of any prince of his age; and their fixed animofity was transmitted to their posterity, to the destruction and desolation of their respective territories. Henry was brave in his own person, though cool; and his fending a challenge to the emperor, Henry III. who, he thought, flighted him, begot a lasting friendship between those two princes.

Philip I.

HIS prince, at the time of his accession to the throne Accession of France, was about eight years of age; and Henry of Philip. had wifely committed him to the care of Baldwin the Pious, count of Flanders, his brother-in-law, preferably to his queen, who was a weak woman; or his brother, the duke of Burgundy, who was an ambitious prince. Henry's choice does honour to his memory. Baldwin had all the abilities, Characles and, what is more extraordinary, all the virtues, that were of the Though we earl of requilite for the faithful discharge of his trust. can scarcely suppose a juncture more delicate than that of a Flanders. minority amidst a barbarous, but ambitious, nobility; and asuperstitious, but designing, clergy; yet Baldwin kept both in awe, without lofing the esteem or affection of either. Under pretence of opposing the Saracens, he marched into Aquitain, where some commotions were beginning, and reduced that country to quiet. Baldwin had a more difficult talk to manage with regard to the duke of Normandy, who was his fon-in-law. That prince pretended, that Edward the Confessor, of England, had made him his heir to the crown of England; and it is certain, that, during his reign, the Normans were very powerful in that kingdom, and had introduced into it many of their laws and cuitoms.

If

If it should feem strange to the reader that William should depopulate his own dutchy, by suffering his subjects to live in England; he is to reflect, that the perpetual influx into France of the northern people, who all of them confidered William as their fovereign, gave his dutchy more subjects than it could maintain; and he thought it more for his interest to send the overplus to England than to France. The historians, in general, have omitted this circumstance, yet nothing can be more probable, than that the great number of Normans settled in England contributed greatly to the success of William's invasion. We are not, at this distance of time, to indulge a vein of conjecture how far Baldwin might be influenced in affifting William in his preparations. by the knowledge he had of his disposition, equally politic as valiant and aspiring; or whether he might not wish to see him removed out of France, and involved in future wars. William, when young, had been an over-match for all the French power, conducted by able kings and generals; and the encouragement he met with among the Norman, the Breton, and the Flemish, adventurers, was so great, that he was at the head of an army which could more eafily have made him king of France than of England. It is certain, that Baldwin affifted him both with men and money for his expedition; but he could not foresee that the success of it would be so ruinous, as it afterwards was, to France.

Death of the count of Flanders.

When Philip was fifteen years of age, he loft his worthy guardian the count of Flanders; and, about the same time, died Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, who had been so troublesome to the house of Burgundy. He left his dominions to his fifter's fons, Geoffrey and Foulques; but the latter quarrelled about the division of their territories; and, by bribing his brother Geoffrey's generals and officers, he trepanned him into his power, and clapped him up in prison. Philip threatened Foulques if he did not fet his brother at liberty; but Foulques making him a present of the Gastinois, Geoffrey was left to languish in confinement.

Divisions in that country.

The ignorance and superstition of that age was linked with a difregard to all right, moral or political; and every thing was left to the decision of either force or treachery, and often of both; while the most bloody quarrels generally Philip's guardian, happened between the nearest relations. Baldwin, count of Flanders, had left that earldom to his eldest fon, Baldwin; and the county of Frize to his younger fon, Robert. A quarrel enfued between the two brothers; Baldwin was killed in battle; his widow and his young fons, Arnold and Baldwin, fled to Philip, who received them with the highest professions of friendship; and Robert remained fole possessor of his father's estates.

Philip entered Flanders with an army, but it was beaten, and young Arnold was killed; upon which, the widow, and her fon Baldwin, fled to the emperor, Henry III. as Philip

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declined giving them any farther protection, having been won over by count Robert. Henry would have affisted them. had not Philip, not only declared himself in Robert's favour, but, married Bertha, his wife's daughter by a former hufband; fo that Baldwin was obliged to make a cession of his paternal estates to his uncles, and to content himself with the possession of Hainault.

Those, and other, flagrant instances of impolitic injustice Misconand avarice, funk Philip in the esteem of his subjects, and duct of drew upon him the animadvertion of pope Gregory VII. who Philip exhorted the duke of Aquitain, and the great lords of France, centured to oppose their authority and arms against such a monster, by the as he called him; and promised to affist them with the papal pope. artillery. Some Italian merchants, who had been plundered in France of their effects, in which his holiness, very posfibly was concerned, added to his refentment; but, being then embroiled with the emperor, he could not fecond his threats; nor, indeed, did the French lords give him any great encouragement., They were then intent upon oppoling the formidable power of William, duke of Normandy, now king of England, who had fallen into Bretagne with an army, to oblige its duke, Hoel, to recognize him for his immediate superior. Philip was joined by his great lords, who forgot all their animolity against him on this occasion, and levied a numerous army; which forced William to raise, with some loss, the fiege of Dole; and conclude a peace not greatly to his honour or advantage.

Philip grew more presumptuous than ever upon this supe-Differriority he had obtained. That he might compass his ambi- ences betious schemes, he was daily weakening his own power by tween the laying oppressive taxes upon his subjects; but the favourite duke of purpose of his reign was to re-annex Normandy to his crown, Normandy without confideration of treaties, agreements, or good faith and his of any kind. With this view, he gained over Robert, eldeft ion. fon to the duke of Normandy; a brave prince, but ambitious, and eafily to be imposed on. The sternness of the father's nature, had given Robert cause of complaint, and they were in arms against each other when Philip made Robert a present of the town of Gerberois, in Beauvoisin, that he might more commodiously distress Normandy. The father belieged him; and the fon, in a fally, defeated and difmounted him; and was upon the point of committing parnoide when he recognized his father's voice; fell upon his knees, mounted him on his horse, and conducted him out of

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Even this affecting scene did not bring about a fincere reconciliation. The father and the son, indeed, clapped up a halty accommodation, which Philip employed all his arts to break; in which he was but too successful: for William never could pardon his fon, though he was fer fible of Phiup's treachery towards them both. As nothing could be

GENERAL HISTORY

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more diffimilar than the dispositions of William and Philip, it was not long before the flames of war again broke out between them; and William befieged the city of Mantes; which, after ravaging all the neighbouring country, he took

and burnt down to the ground.

Death of William the Con. queror.

While he was indulging himself in the fight of the confiagration, being over-heated, he was retiring from the flames; when, leaping a ditch, he received a contusion in his stomach, which, meeting with a gross habit of body, carried The tenor of his last will was undoubthim to his grave. edly just; for he left his dutchy of Normandy, which he had received from his ancestors, to his eldest son, Robert: and he had an undoubted right to dispose of his kingdom, which he had conquered, to his fecond fon, William. Robert most impolitically afferted his claim to the kingdom as well as the dutchy. William invaded Normandy; and Robert dispossessed his younger brother, afterwards Henry I. of England, of the Contentin; supposing him to have been in a correspondence with William.

The three brothers, by turns, applied to Philip; who acted with great duplicity towards them all: for, though he pretended to take arms against William, and to favour Ro. bert, he, in fact, abandoned the interest of the latter, who was obliged to confent to a peace. Henry recovered posfession of the Contentin: William kept his conquests, and

paid Philip a large fum of money.

Philip repudiates his wife,

Soon after, Philip, growing tired of his wife Bertha, of Frize, by whom he had two fons and a daughter, obtained, from some mercenary divines, a divorce from her, on pretence of confanguinity; and grief killed her, at Montreuils to which place the was confined.

Foulques, who, from his dark, furly, cruel disposition, was called Rechin, count of Anjou, was married, in his old distempered age, to Bertrade de Montfort, who was esteemed

the handsomest woman in France.

deceives labria,

By this time, Emma, the daughter of count Roger, brother the print to the duke of Calabria, whom we have so often mentioned cess of Ca- in the history of Italy, had arrived in France, by the king's own defire; and had brought with her an immense sum in jewels and gold, given her by her father, who was very rich: but the countess of Anjou, having herself a passion to become queen of France, had privately invited Philip to pay her a visit at Tours; and, being smitten with her charms, he eloped with her to Orleans; refusing to marry the Calabrian princess, whom he stripped of all her jewels and money. Philip's passion for the countess blinded him so much, that he procured a divorce between her and her husband; and, resolving to marry her, Eudes, bishop of Bayeux, half-brother to William the Conqueror, performed the ceremony, in presence of two other Norman bishops; all the rest of the

and marries the countels of Anjou.

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Gallican prelates declining the office. This happened in the

year 1093. Pope Urban II. then held the see of Rome, and was not of See p. 57. a disposition to suffer such flagrant enormities to pass uncen- Vol. VII. fured. He was then busied in the affairs of the crusades; p. 44. et but having, in a council at Autun, ordered the king's mar- feq. riage with the countess to be examined, he laid him under the leffer excommunication, and threatened him with the greater, if he did not put her away. Philip, instead of bearing bravely up against the storm, yielded to it, and behaved with the utmost submission and seeming penitence; for which he obtained from the pontiff a suspension of the greater censure, upon promising that he would live no longer with the counters as her husband. He broke his word; and the greater censure was issued against him in the year 1095, in the famous council of Clermont. The hypocrify of Philip procured him absolution; but relapsing into his criminal cohabitation with the countess, he was a third

The martial flame which, at that time, feized the French He becrusaders, in whose number Philip refused to enroll himself, comes
rendered him, at once, despicable and hateful in the eyes of contemps
his subjects. Henry, of Burgundy, at the head of the French tible
army, had delivered Portugal from the insidels, and held it among his
in right of his wise. Philip's brother, Hugh, who is, by subjects.
the French historians, termed Hugh the Great, had taken upon him the cross, as had great numbers of the leading French
nobility; but the middling noblemen seem not to have been

fo forward; and their backwardness is, by the historians of the times, imputed to indolence. Had the principle of their remaining at home been founded on a distain of superstition and vulgar notions, they had been commendable; but it was grounded on the desire they had to aggrandize themselves during the absence of the great lords, and the king's example served them for a pretext.

Philip being under an excommunication behaved with the most abject meanness, nor had he authority sufficient remaining to check the meanest of his nobility; so that all France was, for some time, a continual scene of blood and commotion. Philip, however, by the force of money, prevailed with pope Pascal to refer his case to a council at Poitiers. The event was, that he was again excommunicated; but his true queen being now dead, matters were mitigated in his savour at the court of Rome, by the help of money; and Philip, at last, by the most scandalous submissions, obtained absolution. But even this was insufficient to restore the dig-He association.

This prince may be termed the prodigy of that age. He with him had fentiments of honour, virtue, and true piety; and his in the go-conduct was such as discovered that he was sensible of his vernment.

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father's errors. But the times were too degenerate to require only the brightness of a virtuous example for their amend. William, duke of Aquitain, and the duke of Anjou, notwithstanding the injuries the latter had received from Philip, continued steady in their allegiance; but their loyalty was owing to the insolence of the minor lords, who, while their superiors were employed in the crusade, insulted the crown and the great feudatories who remained behind; fo that the interest of the latter and that of the crown became the same. The executive power of government devolved upon young Lewis; who affembled an army, and refolved to give law to those restless disturbers of civil authority. His father was, by this time, funk into a contemptible state of indolence, through his passion for Bertrade (who was recognized as his queen) and his own natural disposition: but the activity of the fon supplied his defects; for he soon re-established the authority due to government, by dispossessing the petty tyrants of their castles, and obliging them to refund the spoils they had acquired by rapine, especially from the clergy.

Practices against young Lewis.

Lewis being heir-apparent to the crown of France, Berof Bertrade trade could not, without discontent and jealousy, see the growing popularity and successes of young Lewis; which he owed to virtues and abilities uncommon to youth, especially in a prince. As she had two sons by the king, she practised all her arts, and employed all the credit she had over his affections, to fet Lewis aside from the succession. Lewis was not insensible of her designs; but saw, that, in order to prevent them, he must involve his country in new scenes of distress by a civil-war. He therefore took leave of his father, and retired to England, where he met with a reception fuitable to his rank and merits. Henry I. was then king of England, and, being himself a scholar, and an excellent judge of mankind, he was fincerely affected with the fituation of Lewis, and struck with horror when he received a letter, figned with his father's name, requesting him, by way of favour, either to dispatch or imprison the young prince. Henry generously communicated this letter to Lewis, and it was agreed that he should return to France, and do himself justice.

She poibut he recovers.

Upon the arrival of Lewis in France, he discovered that fons him, the inhuman order had been the machination of Bertrade, who supposed Henry to be as wicked as herself; and that Philip, flave as he was to her charms, detested her practices. Apprehensive that she was unable to conquer the feeds of paternal love that still remained in Philip's heart, and that she was in danger of falling a victim to the public odium, or of being brought to justice by Lewis, as the validity of her marriage had not yet been sufficiently established by the court of Rome and the clergy, the procured poston to be adminiftered uire

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stered to the young prince; but the skill of a foreign physician, after all the French physicians had given him over, joined to the natural goodness of his constitution, conquered the effects of the poison, though it was very strong.

If the dotage of Philip for Bertrade can admit of an alle- Her proviation, it must arise from her consummate art and address, digious which were still more powerful than her beauty. She could art and impose equally upon the rigid, the easy, the virtuous, and address. the most discerning. She had prevailed upon her former husband, morose and severe as he was, not only to consent to her marriage with the king, but to employ all his interest at the court of Rome to get it declared valid; and even Lewis, notwithstanding the atrocious provocations she had given him; was not proof against the enchantment of the penitence she pretended for her barbarity. Poisonings, and affaffinations, were then familiar to the great, and mentioned without horror, provided a strong reason could be shewn for committing them. Bertrade pleaded that of natural affection for her own children; which she urged with such an air of openness, and, at the same time, of contrition for her practices against so deserving a prince as Lewis, that he forgave her, and promifed to become the protector of her children.

This reconciliation procured from the court of Rome and Death and the clergy of France, a confirmation of the marriage between character Philip and Betrrade; and the latter end of his reign became of Philip; more easy than its commencement or progress had been.

He had the personal qualities of courtesy, liberality, and compassion. The customs of the times, and the examples of the German emperors, had reconciled to his people the abject submissions he made to the see of Rome; and, when he died, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1108, he had reigned; with his father, fifty years, and by himself forty-seven; so that he must have died in the seventy-sith year of his age.

Tho, in compliance with the current of French history, we have been obliged, in reciting facts, to be fevere on the memory of this prince, yet some allowance is to be made in his favour to the unfriendly complexion of the authors, both French and English, who have transmitted his history. His not engaging in the mad expedition to the Holy Land was an inexpiable crime in their eyes, and, very possibly, contributed to exaggerate the effects of that native indolence to which he was too much addicted. His chief acquisition, while he was upon the throne, was the county of Bourges, which he bought from its lord.

By his first wife, Bertha, he had Lewis, his successor; Henry, who died young; Constantia, who first married the count of Troyes, and, being divorced from him, Bohemond, prince of Antioch. By Bertrade, who finished a life of gallantry and intrigue by a course of contrition and penitence, Vol. X.

A GENERAL HISTORY

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he had Philip, count of Mante, who died without iffue; and Cacilia, who was wife, first of Tancred, prince of An. tioch, and afterwards of Pons de Toulouse, count of Tripoli

Lewis VI. afterwards called Lewis the Gross.

Difficulties of Lewis the Gross at the time of his accession.

THE degeneracy and turbulent dispositions of the French. at the time of the accession of Lewis VI. had gone too far to be fubdued, either by his authority or example; and his power was too weak to effect a thorough reformation. The absence of the great lords upon the crusade, some of whom had more actual power than the king himself, and whose interest it was to have crushed those petty tyrants, was of great detriment to Lewis. The chief difficulty, how. ever, he had to encounter, arose from the policy and ambition of Henry I. king of England; who, being afraid left the dutchy of Normandy would be annexed to the French crown, privately fomented the discontents of that kingdom. The last, and indeed capital, disadvantage that Lewis lay under, arose from the weakness of his real influence; as he was in actual possession of little more territory than Paris, Orleans, Etamps, Compegne, Melun, and Bourges. These estates were often intercepted by those belonging to the factious barons; the chief of whom were the lords of Corbeil and Monte du Puiset in Beauce, de Couci, de Montfort, de Montlherre, and de Rochefort; fo that the king had often great difficulty in bringing his forces into one body.

His advantages.

To ballance those inconveniencies, Lewis had some ad-The clergy, and the most respectable of the vantages. French lords, who had been left at home, had a reliance upon his valour, justice, and moderation; and chearfully lent him their affistance, when they could do it with any measure of safety to themselves. In like manner, the common people, who groaned under the intermediate tyranny of the king's rebels, ferved them with reluctance, and were always ready to take arms for the crown when it was able to protect them. But the fecret, and afterwards open, intervention of Henry I. of England, defeated the best laid schemes of Lewis.

He beats England.

He was thirty years of age when he came to be fole mo-Henry I. of narch of France; and had made an amazing progress in sub-England. duing his rebels, when he quarrelled with Henry I. for having supported them under-hand. Lewis demanded, that Gifors on the Apte should be demolished. Henry refused to comply. Lewis challenged him to fingle combat; which Henry, haughtily and scornfully, refused: but Lewis beat him in the field; obliged Henry to conclude a peace, and to order his fon, William, to do him homage for the dutchy of Normandy: flue;

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mandy: a ceremony which Henry refused to comply with, as being too mortifying for a crowned head to submit to.

Peace being thus restored to France, by the affistance which the great lords at home had afforded to Lewis, the latter found himself at leisure to turn his arms entirely against the rebellious vaffals of his crown; but his chief allies became now too jealous of his power to give him the fame affistance against them that they had against Henry, whom they both feared and hated. He besieged the infignificant castle of Puiset three times before he could take and demolish it; and, as foon as, by his own valour, he was in a fair way of restoring tranquility to his kingdom, Henry, without seeming to break the late treaty, created him fresh disturbances. The count de Blois, and Champagne, nephew to Henry, refused to submit to Lewis, upon some of those frivolous pretexts for which the bold rebels of those times were never at a loss. Lewis strengthened himself by an alliance with Foulques, count of Anjou, son to queen Bertrade, by her marriage with Foulques Rechin, who refused to acknowledge Henry as his superior for the county of Maine, which he held in right of marriage; and he was joined likewise by the earl of Flanders.

Henry, on the other hand, on pretence of supporting his The war nephew, carried over a strong army to Normandy, which had between been invaded by the confederates. A battle ensuing, the them re-French army was totally defeated, and the earl of Flanders newed, to was crushed to death in the rout. Lewis was too wise a the advanprince, after this, to think of desolating his country by contage of tinuing the war; and Henry concluded an honourable peace Henry; for himself at Gisors. The count of Anjou did him homage

for his county of Maine, as Alain III. did for his dutchy of Bretagne; and the whole was concluded by a double marriage: one, of William, Henry's eldest son, with the heiress of Anjou; and the other, of one of Henry's daughters with Alain, son to the duke of Bretagne. About the same time; Lewis married Adelaide, the daughter of the count of Maurienne, ancestor to the dukes of Savoy and the present king of Sardinia. She proved, afterwards, a wise and virtuous princess.

Henry I. by this time, had thrown his elder brother, Ro-against bert, into prison; and Lewis, who considered Robert as his whom a immediate vassal, interested himself strongly for his deliver-new conance; the rather, as he was pressed by Robert's son, William, sederacy is who threw himself at the feet of Lewis. The latter had, formed; already, smarted too much from the king of England to provoke him asress; but he informed William, that he was ready to assist him to the utmost, provided he could engage in his cause the counts of Flanders and Anjou. William repaired to the courts of those two princes, whom he found tincerely disposed to serve him, and to enter into a war against Henry.

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This juncture was inviting, as Henry was struggling with vast difficulties in England, where he was become unpopular, through the great taxes he was obliged to impose upon his subjects; and the imprisonment of his brother-in-law had created him a number of enemies.

which is fuccessful at first,

The confederates took the field, but, at first, with no great fuccess, as Henry had been before hand with them; and Lewis was obliged, with some mortification, to retire, The difficulties of Henry encreasing, they took the field again while he was in England. He had given orders to his officers in Normandy, to keep themselves, as much as possible, within the walls of their fortified places, till he could come This left the confederates to their affiftance with an army. at liberty to ravage the open country; and the earl of Flanders even burnt the suburbs of Roan, the capital of Nor. mandy.

Henry was, all this while, taking measures for affifting them; and, having fomewhat accommodated his affairs in England, he carried over an army into Normandy; great part of which he found in the hands of the confederates, who were upon their march to beliege Noyon. The arrival of Henry in Normandy encouraged the counts of Anjou and Champagne to take the field; and they joined him with fo much speed and secrecy, that Lewis and his confederates were amazed, when, on their march to Noyon, they found they could not proceed without a general engagement.

Lewis drew out his army in two lines; the foremost commanded by William of Normandy, and the second by himself. Henry divided his army into three lines. In the front he placed the Normans, the middle line was commanded by himself, and the third by his sons. William the Norman's charge was fo furious, that it broke the line of the Normans, who were mostly cavalry, and made a strong impression upon the division commanded by Henry. The dispute was more fierce than bloody. Matthew Paris fays, that Henry must have been cut down by William of Embroene, had it not been for the goodness of his helmet; but, that the king, recovering from the blow, beat the aggressor from his horse and took him prisoner.

but Leavis tally debattle at Novon.

While the battle was doubtful, the king's fons brought and his al. up the body of referve, confisting of the Englishmen at arms, lies are to- who decided the victory in favour of Henry, which prince did not leave the field till he faw it compleated. Lewis, feated in a whose person, during the battle, had been in as much danger as that of Henry, escaped on foot, with difficulty, to Andely. The earl of Flanders, being mortally wounded, was carried off in a litter; and Henry returned, in triumph, to

> Lewis, finding he was no match for the English monarch in the field, applied for affiftance to pope Calistus II. who

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was then holding a council at Rheims, with heavy complaints of Henry; and his holiness undertook to mediate between them.

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The reader, in the course of our history, has had but too many opportunities of observing the prodigious influence of the papal power in that age. Henry of England was an exception to the weakness of princes on that head; and, following the example of his father, he resuled to be dictated to by the pope, either in his ducal, or regal, dominions. He paid him, however, the usual deference due to his rank and authority; but obliged Lewis to accept of the terms of peace he was pleased to prescribe. It must be acknowledged, that Lewis was, at this time, in no comfortable fituation. The count of Anjou had been bought off by Henry; the earl of Flanders was dead of his wounds; and Normandy was entirely reduced to Henry's obedience.

A woeful accident, which happened at this time, turned Henry's his triumphs into mourning. The Normans had imported two eldest into France the vice of drinking; to which the English sailors, sons, and who came over with Henry, were far from being averse; his chief and the crew of the ship, which carried Henry's two sons, lords, the earl of Chester, and the chief officers of his houshold, drowned being intoxicated, the ship soundered in the entrance of the

harbour, and all on board her were drowned.

This accident altered the plan of Lewis's conduct, and he renewed his intrigues for giving the dutchy of Normandy to William, the son of Robert, who, at the same time, married Sybilla, second daughter to the count of Anjou. The new count of Flanders, who was a Dane, joined Lewis and the count of Anjou (who had given William the dutchy of Mair enne, as his wife's fortune) in their delign of giving Normandy to William: but Henry's credit with the pope defeated all their designs; for he obtained a divorce between William and the count of Anjou's daughter, on account of confanguinity. This was not sufficient for the purposes of Henry; for he entered into a league with the emperor of Germany, Henry V. who treated his excommunication at Rheims with great indignation; and, on that account, invaded France with declarations that amounted next to a defign of conquering it.

The danger of France became now a common cause to all Agreatarthe subjects of Lewis, and they assembled under his banners my raised
to the number of two hundred thousand; a force which ter- in France
sified the emperor to such a degree, that he abandoned his against the
enterprize and retired into Germany. Lewis, seeing himself German
thus freed from danger, and at the head of so noble an ar- invasion.
my, proposed, before it was dismissed, to put prince William in possession of the dutchy of Normandy; but his great
lords from made him sensible, that there was a great differ-

lords foon made him fensible, that there was a great differsace between defending the kingdom, and serving the king,

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of France; and that they were resolved not to set so bad a precedent for themselves and their posterity as to assist him in a private quarrel he might have with any of his subjects, They even told him, that Normandy, being poffeffed by a powerful prince, who was able to ballance the influence of the crown, was necessary for their safety. In short, they refused to obey Lewis; but the vast army he had assembled rendered him more respectable in the eyes of all the other princes of Europe than he had ever been before.

The Oriduced.

The threatened invasion of France by the emperor Henry flame pro- V, was fo alarming, that the banner of the abbey of St. Dennis, which was no other than a crimfon flag fixt to a gilt lance or staff, was carried before Lewis, by way of fummons for all his subjects who were capable of bearing arms to range themselves under it. This banner has ever fince been known by the name of the Oriflame; and though it is first mentioned in history on this occasion, as the standard of rendezvous to all the French nation, we can fcarcely doubt that long before this time, either that or fome other flag was made use of for the same purpose; as the ready obedience paid to it by the subjects of France was so general. Henry I. was daunted by the appearance Vol. VIII. which Lewis made in the field. His fon-in-law the emperor was in the same condition as Lewis; for the great German princes had refused to follow him in an expedition which had not for its object the general welfare of the empire. Lewis however, by this time, had got the better of many prepoffessions of his great lords, and had become popular. The earl of Flanders having been assaffinated by

See

P. 432.

William, whom we have so often mentioned, son to duke Affairs of Robert of Normandy. By this he gained two great points, Normandy as it rendered William a formidable opponent to Henry I. in his claim upon Normandy, and established a precedent for his giving away a great fief of his crown. He was counteracted in a most masterly manner by Henry I. who married his daughter Matilda, the empress dowager of Germany, to young Geoffrey of Anjou, who has been fince fo well known by the name of Plantagenet, and persuaded his father to go upon a ridiculous pilgrimage to the Holy Land, that he might have the fole management of his new fon-in-law's affairs. As Henry had made that match only to be a counterbalance to the interest of his nephew, the count of Flanders, he called to his affiftance another ally the earl of Champaigne, who took part with Thierri, count of Alface, who had a preferable right of blood, against William, who died about this time, of an accidental wound. Thierri upon this, took possession of the county of Flanders, and made his peace with Lewis by paying him homage. In

his subjects, he had the credit to procure that dutchy for

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In the year 1128, the affairs of Lewis were in fo pro- See missing a state that he ventured upon several regulations in p. 59. the laws and police of his kingdom, and after the example of his predecessors he associated his eldest son Philip with himself in the government. The expulsion of pope Innocent II. out of Italy, and his taking refuge in France gave great credit to the government of Lewis, and upon the death of young Philip, by a fall from his horse, Lewis had interest enough, by the affistance of that pope, to substitute his second son Lewis, as his associate, in a most numerous assembly of his states held at Rheims. This measure was the Lewis more necessary, as the blunt honest indignation of Lewis was disconevery day breaking out in expressions of detestation at the certs his tyranny, oppression, and venality of his great lords, who great on that account had actually formed a scheme for setting lords. aside his family from the succession to the crown. virtue of Lewis, even in that age, established his throne in fecurity, and the most disaffected of his subjects, notwithflanding all that Henry I. could do to the contrary, were reconciled to him, and revered him. The duke of Guienne and Aquitain, fetting out on a religious pilgrimage, had bequeathed his great dominions, little inferior to those of the crown of France, to his daughter Eleanor, on condition of her marrying young king Lewis. The marriage was accordingly celebrated at Bourdeaux, to the vast joy and satisfacton of Lewis the Gross, who had been for some time in a declining state of health. When he thought he was drawing near to his end, taking his royal fignet from his own finger, he put it upon that of his fon, giving him at the same time an advice that was worthy of a patriot king. Though he recovered from that illness, he refused even afterwards to admit of any royal distinctions about his perfon; but they were more than supplied by the acclamations of his grateful and happy people, who crowded about him as often as he appeared in public. His fatness, by which His death he obtained the name of Lewis the Gross, or Fat, hastened and chahis death, which happened on the first of August 1137, in racter. the fixtieth year of his age. Lewis the Gross, is deservedly looked upon as one of the best men that ever filled the throne of France, and his abilities must have been as conspicuous as his virtues, if he had lived in better times, or enjoyed the same opportunities of exerting the latter as the former.

Lewis VII. or the Young.

HE nobles of France, who had been overawed dur- Troubles ing the late reign, renewed their licentiousness under of France this prince, who at the time of his accession to the crown at the

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accession of Lewis VII.

was no more than eighteen years of age; but, young as he was, by the help of strong garrisons and a well disciplined army, he suppressed them. Stephen, earl of Boulogne, though not the direct heir of blood, was then king of England, and had affigned his dutchy of Normandy to his fon Euflace, who had married the fifter of Lewis the Young. Thibaut, earl of Champagne, elder brother to Stephen, was discontented at the preference given to him and his family, and his discontent was favoured by a difference which happened between Lewis and the court of Rome, on account of the latter favouring the election of one Pierre de la Chatre, who, against the king's inclinations, had been chosen into the archbishopric of Bourges. Pierre took refuge with the count of Champagne, whose differences with the king rose to such a height, that the count of Vermandois, first minister of Lewis, divorced his wife, who was coufin to that count, and married Petronilla, fifter to the queen of France. This second marriage was condemned by the pope, ecclesiastical censures were threatened, Lewis entered Champagne, ravaged the country, and burnt thirteen hundred people in one church. This inhumanity struck Lewis with remorfe; he admitted Pierre de la Chatre to the archbishopric, and convoking the members of his council, he laid before them a defign he had formed for expiating his crime, by taking upon him the cross, and undertaking an expedition into the Holy Land.

Opposite Suger.

Two clergymen at that time governed the councils of characters France; and one of them influenced those of almost all of St. Ber- Europe. This was the famous St. Barnard, abbot of Clairnard and vaux, a plausible, but hot-brained enthusiast, with a tongue and pen more polished than was common in that barbarous age, fo that not only his own cotemporaries received his dictates as oracles, but many authors of after ages have quoted his writings, as containing the truest maxims of civil and ecclefiastical polity; and in his life time he was confidered as a being between human and divine. other, a contrast to St. Barnard, was Suger, commonly known by the name of Sugerius, abbot of St. Dennis. His appearance was as mean as his birth; but the folidity of his judgment, his unaffected virtues, and the plainness of his manners, had placed him high in favour with the late king, who was an excellent judge of mankind, and with the most discerning princes of that age. St. Bernard affected to disapprove of the king's undertaking the expedition in person, without the approbation of pope Eugene III. which was foon obtained, and then St. Bernard became an advocate for the expedition, with a zeal that rose to frenzy, by his rendering the fanctity of his person and character re-sponsible for its success. Suger complied so far with the foolish humour of the times, as not to dispaprove of Lewis's contributing towards the expedition in men and money;

but he perfifted firmly in his opinion that he ought not to attend it in person, but to remain at home, for the wise government of his people by his authority, and the promo-

tion of their happiness by his example.

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A general affembly was convoked in 1147, at a little A new village called Verelay, or Vezelay, in Burgundy, lying be- crusade tween Auxerre and Nevers, and it was so respectable for the underdignity and number of its members, that it is distinguish- taken. ed in the French records by the name of the great parliament. Here Bernard had an opportunity of dispaying all the frothy pomp of his eloquence. For want of a commodious church or house, the affembly was held in a plain at the foot of a hill, on the brow of which a tribunal was erected, where St. Bernard was feated, so that all might hear him. He produced the pope's letter, he enforced the piety and devotion of the expedition; he bewailed in the most pathetical manner the condition of the Christians in the Holy Land, and he represented the undertaking itself as being little less meritorious than if the adventurers were to march to relieve our Saviour from the cross. His speech made fuch an impression upon the assembly, that they were affected with the same enthusiasm which possessed himself. The king forung from his throne, and receiving the cross, which the holy father had entrusted with Bernard to bestow upon him, he placed himself upon the same tribunal with the faint, and the air then resounded with the acclamations of the cross, the cross!

Ridiculous as the fact may feem to modern readers, this Names of crusading madness was so epidemical, that even ladies were the crusmitten with it, and Eleanor the queen consort, was the saders. fecond person in the affembly who prostrated herself before the faint and received the cross. Her example was followed by all the great men of the realm, the principal whereof were Robert, earl of Dreux, brother to the king; Alphonfo, earl of St. Giles; Thierri, earl of Flanders; Guy, earl of Nevers; Renald, his brother, earl of Tonnerre; Yves, earl of Soissons; William, earl of Ponthieu; Henry, the son of Theobald, earl of Blois; William, earl of Varannes; Archibald de Bourbon; Enguerrand de Couci; Geoffry Rancon de Tailebourg; Hugh de Lusignan; William de Courtenay; Re-naud de Montargis; Ithier de Thoci; Guicher de Mongeay; Everard de Breteil; Dreux de Mouchi; Manasses de Bulli; Ancel de Trenel; Guerin, his brother; William Bouteiller; William Agilons de Trie; and among the prelates, Simon, bishop of Noyon; Godfrey, bishop of Langres; Alwin, bishop of Arras; Arnold, bishop of Ligieux; Herbert, abbot of St. Peter of Sens; and Theobald, abbot of St. Calomb, of the

We have in the former part of this history, which is See quoted in the margin, given a general but full account of Vol. VII.

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P. 113. et Jeg.

this unhappy expedition; and we shall here consider it only as relative to France. The fury of the people affembled at Vezelay, to take the cross, was so ungovernable, that St. Bernard was obliged to throw them crosses in large bundles, which he had packed up for that purpose, and these not fufficing, he even cut his garments into croffes; but croffes being still wanting, he gave the people leave to cross themselves. The numbers of French who engaged themfelves in the expedition, are variously reported; but the reader may form fome notion of the whole, when he is informed that the horse amounted to eighty thousand.

Return of Lewis from the

Lewis, infatuated as he was, refolved to call another affembly at Chatres, which proved to be very numerous; but the rage of crusading was so far from subsiding, that the Holy Land. members infifted upon St. Bernard, to whom they attributed the gift of miracles, taking the command of the army. It was with some difficulty that the good faint succeeded in declining this honour; but not before he had confulted the pope, who gave him leave. Queen Eleanor, who has a fingular character in history, for her amorous complexion, and love of variety, attended her husband, and was noted for her intrigues with a handsome young Turk, whom she fell in love with, and with Raimond, prince of Antioch, which he carried on so openly, that it gave her husband infinite uneafiness.

ibid.

The dismal return of the French from this expedition. has been already related. It was in fact an expedition against the Christians who were settled in Palestine, and who by conquest and intermarriages with the natives becoming proprietors of the country detested the crusaders, and both openly and fecretly affifted the infidels. Lewis, upon his return to France, found the affairs of his kingdom in excellent order, by the wife and resolute administration of Suger, who together with the count of Vermandois, had been left regents.

Is divorced from

The count of Dreux, brother to Lewis, endeavoured to discredit Suger, but the king disregarded his complaints after his queen, examining into the state of his kingdom and finances; all which were in so flourishing a condition, that he forgot the miseries, distresses, and disgraces he had suffered in his unfortunate expedition. The behaviour of his queen however, still stuck in his mind, and he resolved at all events to be divorced from her. He was entirely fensible of her infidelities to his bed, but he was too proud to make that the ground of his fuing for a separation. Another, and a never failing expedient was at hand; that of confanguinity, of which, Lewis, upon the death of his able minister Suger, resolved to avail himself. For this purpose, he convoked at Beaujenci, a council of bishops, before whom he laid his case. The queen was so far from opposing, that she affilted

him in his suit, and the divorce was accordingly pronounced on pretence of the parties being cousins. The lords of

Gascony were obliged to swear to the consanguinity.

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ed m Mr. Voltaire, in the additions to his General History, dif-Remark covers greater unacquaintance with the canon law and the on Volpractice of the times, when he fays, that if the marriage taire. was null, that the two daughters who were born of that marriage must have been bastards, and yet that they were both married afterwards as legitimate daughters of Lewis. That author ought to have known, that a marriage might in those days have been declared invalid, without the issue of that marriage being deemed illegitimate, provided it appeared that the marriage on the woman's part was contracted bona side, which seems to have been the case with Eleanor.

As to Lewis, his behaviour on this occasion can scarcely be paralleled; for he restored to the lady all her vast fortune. Her conduct in forwarding the divorce is easily accounted for, when we acquaint the reader, that she had by this time, thrown her eyes upon the most sprightly, handsome, and powerful prince in Europe, young Henry, duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, son to Geoffrey Plantaganet and the empress Maud, and presumptive heir to the crown of England. By this marriage, Henry became more powerful than Lewis was within the kingdom of France; and the match having been foreseen and foretold by many, particularly Suger, exposed the king and his romantic notions to ridicule; and hence we are told that he obtained the epithet of Young, as not being likely to grow old by experience.

Lewis faw his error, when it was too late, and linked Henry of himself with Stephen, who was looked upon as the usurper England of England, and his son Eustace, count of Boulogne. This defeats all attachment proved to be impolitic chiefly through the amaz-his antaing abilities of young Henry, who when he was no more gonists. than twenty years of age, was equal to all the duties either of the field or the cabinet. Eustace attacked Normandy, and Geoffrey, Henry's younger brother, allied himself with Lewis; but the superiour genius of Henry deseated all their designs,

for having brought Lewis to confent to a truce, he and his

mother went over to England, and Eustace dying in the

mean time, he succeeded peaceably to that crown, which was his right by blood.

Though Lewis, after the expiration of the truce, invaded The po-Normandy, yet he met with perpetual defeats and disap-pularity pointments, and he was obliged to make peace with Henry, of Lewis who was the most generous prince of his age. Lewis had when he now no dependence, but upon the affections of his subjects, returned which he had merited by the goodness of his own heart, from the and his attention to their welfare. He married Constantia, HolyLand, daughter to don Alonso, king of Castile, whom he had

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an interview with, while he was upon a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella.

His war with the count of Tholouse.

Upon his return in 1155, he was so entirely beloved by the nobles as well as the populace, that they swore a ten years peace among themselves, or in other words, that they would not decide their private quarrels by the fword, but refer them to public justice. Notwithstanding those, and many other precautions that Lewis took for the tranquillity of his kingdom, ambition broke into it. Henry of England, looked upon Lewis in a compassionate, but contemptible light, and omitted nothing that could keep him easy. He wrote him foothing letters, made him agreeable presents, and pretended to trust him with his most important concerns; but was all the while carrying on his own ambitious defigns. He claimed, in right of his wife, the county of Tholouse, which he said had been only mortgaged by one of her ancestors to the then count, who had married the widow of Eustace, count of Bologne, fifter to Lewis. The count of Tholoufe was brave, and made a noble defence in his capital against Henry, who besieged it. Lewis raised an army, gave the command of one half of it to his brother, the count of Dreux, while he himself led the other to the relief of Tholouse, upon which Henry, out of a pretended deference and respect for the king, raised the siege; but continued his war against the count of Tholouse. It lasted two years, and was terminated by a peace, which did not however, clear up the point of property in dispute between Henry and the count. Henry performed homage to Lewis for his dutchy of Normandy, as his fon Henry did for the counties of Anjou and Maine; and it was stipulated that Richard, Henry's second son, should abandon the daughter of a count of Barcelona, to whom he had been contracted, to marry one of the daughters of Lewis, and that he should inherit the rich dutchy of Guienne.

The queen of Lewis dying in the year 1160, and leaving only two daughters, he at the request of his nobility, married Adelaide, daughter to the count of Champagne. This match gained Lewis a considerable accession of strength. In the dispute between the popes Alexander III. and Victor IV. Lewis and Henry bestiended the former, and made preparations for resisting an invasion of France, which was threatened by the emperor in favour of the latter. Alexander held a council at Tours, and had the glory of seeing the kings of France and England, performing the office of grooms, and holding each of them a stirrup of his horse, while he proceeded with the most solemn gravity to a mag-

nificent tent erected for him in the French camp.

The differences that afterwards happened between his holiness and Henry, on account of Thomas Becket, archishop of Canterbury, belongs properly to the history of England;

See p. 65. and Vol. VIII. p. 448.

et jeg.

England; but the king of France was involved in its confequences, and for some time a war was carried on between him and Henry on that account. We are here to observe, that the Lewis was destitute of the towering genius and abilities of his cotemporary Henry, yet he had useful parts, and such as improved so much by experience, that he at last balanced the great power of that monarch in France. This he did chiefly by exciting among his great lords a jealousy of their being in danger from Henry's inordinate ambition, more than from the legal exercise of his prerogative as king of France.

This jealousy operated so strongly upon the French no-Peace bebility, that, in 1167, Henry concluded a peace with Lewis tween at Montmariel, where Henry in person did homage for Nor-Henry and mandy, as his two sons Henry and Richard, did for the Lewis. counties of Anjou and Maine, which belonged to the former, and for the dutchy of Guienne, which was the inheritance of the latter. As to Bretagne, it owed a double homage, and was to devolve upon Henry's son Geoffrey, it being a fief

of Normandy, as Normandy was of France.

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The eldest son of Henry of England, being married to a Domestic daughter of Lewis, was far from contributing to the repose troubles of of either kingdom. Lewis confiding in the affections of his Henry II. subjects quarrelled with Henry, because his eldest son had been crowned in England while his wife was in France. On that pretext he invaded Normandy, and never two families were so much embroiled by intermarriages, as those of France and England were. Lewis clapped up a hasty peace, upon Henry promising that his daughter should be crowned in form, and prevailed with Henry to suffer him, his son and daughter to pass some time with him at the French court.

Henry, notwithstanding the superiority of his genius over all the princes of his age, was subject to failings, that were in those days satal to his repose. He had in a hasty ill-timed sit of passion, dropt some words, which some of his officious sollowers interpreted into a desire that Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and the sirebrand of his kingdom, should be assassingly which they performed; and the guilt both at home and abroad was charged to Henry. He soon sound himself unable to get the better of the public odium, which was inslamed by the pope and his clergy, and Lewis took measures for aggravating his distresses. He inspired his son-in-law young Henry, with a hatred and dissidence of his father. The two other brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, and, at last, queen Eleanor herself, entered into a conspiracy, which was laid for dethroning the elder Henry.

The wickedness and unnaturality of this period is hardly Reflection credible. It had its root in the papal power. Princes on the and people were taught to believe that no moral obligation wicked-could subsist but in the breast of the pontiss, and thus they ness of

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the times had no rule of conduct but his dictates, which sometimes and how proceeded from pride, and capriciousness, but oftener from accounted interest and ambition. All sentiments of nature were therefore stifled, and all merit was comprized in a blind, but furious devotion to the roman pontiff. If any prince could have got the better of this general infatuation, Henry II. of England would; but he was forced to yield to the stream of prejudice and prepossession. He saw, all of a sudden, his own family in arms against him, and his enemies multiplying in every quarter. Happily for Henry, the rage of implicit devotion to the papal will was not fo strong among the common people as among their superiors. This is easily accounted for, when we reflect upon the avarice of the ecclefiaftics, who did not think it worth their while to bestow the same pains upon the poor as the rich. Henry was indeed obliged to submit to many mortifications; but by the affiftance of his faithful subjects he rose superior to them all, by defeating the complicated and unnatural conspiracy which had been formed against him.

New differences between the kings and England.

Scarcely was a reconciliation between the kings of France and England effected, than new differences broke out. Henry, for reasons which history has not been able to unfold, had kept the daughter of Lewis, Alice, who was beof France trothed to his fon Richard, at his court, without their being married. Public fame was clamorous against Henry on that account, and Lewis demanded justice of the pope. Henry in his defence made fome frivolous allegations of the terms of the marriage not having been fulfilled; and his holiness not treating the matter with any degree of asperity, the two monarchs were not only reconciled, but agreed to accompany each other in an expedition to the Holy Land. measure seems to have been agreed to merely to please the pope; for Henry had not the least inclination to perform his

engagement, and Lewis found it impracticable.

The wife of Lewis, by this time, had brought him a fon, who was afterwards so well known by the name of Augustus. This young prince was the hope of the French monarchy, and his horse running away with him, just as he began to learn to ride, he passed a whole night in a forest, but returned the next day. This made fuch an impression upon the spirits of his father, that he performed a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket, at Canterbury, where he met with a noble and generous reception from Henry. Returning to France, he felt the approaches of death, by the attacks first of a palfy, and then of an apoplexy. He gave orders for the speedy coronation of his son, young Philip, which was performed with great regularity and folemnity. The right of the archbishop of Rheims to crown the kings of France was confirmed. Young Henry of England performed his homage as duke of Normandy, and the earl of Flanders, who acted as first minister to Lewis, and guardian to his

fon, carried the fword of state.

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Lewis did not long furvive this ceremony, nor the mar- Death and riage of young Philip with that count's neice; for he died progeny on the eighteenth of September 1180, when he was fixty of Lewis years of age. Some account of this prince's family may the Young. serve to elucidate the subsequent parts of this history. His first wife Eleanor, to whom he behaved so generously, and who by all accounts was a woman of unbounded intrigue. died fixty seven years after he married her. daughters he had by her, were Mary, wife to Henry count of Champagne, and Alice, who married Thibaut, count of Blois, brother to the faid count. Lewis by his second marriage with Constantia of Castile, had likewise two daughters, Margaret, married to Henry the younger, king of England; and afterwards, having no children by him, to Bela III. king of Hungary. This princess becoming a widow the fecond time, devoted the remainder of her life to be spent in the Holy Land; and she died at Potolemais, in 1197. other fifter, Alice, died unmarried. Lewis, by his third wife, Adelaide, daughter to Thibaut, count of Champagne, a princess of great merit and beauty, had besides his successor Philip Augustus, two daughters, Alice, whose history is so mysterious, and who had been long contracted to Richard of England; but was afterwards married to William, count of The name of his fecond Ponthieu, and died in 1195. daughter by the same marriage, was Agnes. When she was but ten years of age, she was contracted to Alexius Comnenes, emperor of Constantinople; and next year their marriage was celebrated with great magnificence. She afterwards married the murderer and successor of her husband, Andronicus I. and he likewise being dethroned and murdered, she married Theodore Bramas, lord of Adrianople. As to Adelaide, the third wife of Lewis, the gave her husband a most magnificent interment in a monastery of his own founding, at Barbeau on the Seine. His body was put into his tomb with a golden cross at his breast, and rings on his fingers. His monument was afterwards opened by Charles IX. who found the body entire, with the above ornaments, and he himself wore the rings. We shall afterwards have occasion to mention queen Adelaide.

Philip II. furnamed Augustus.

PHILIP II. whose various epithets of the gift of God, He is sucmagnanimous, and conquering, settled at last, into ceeded by that of Augustus; was sisteen years of age at the time Philip Auof his accession to the throne, and gave early proofs of his gustus. genius for government. The count of Flanders, acted as his tutor or first minister; but he took the executive power into his own hands, and began his reign with two popular acts. The first was the banishment of all bussoons and jesters from his court, and of the Jews who were noted for their usurious practices, out of his kingdom. The nobility attempted to protect them; but they were obliged to yield to

the king, who was supported by his people.

The kingdom of France being then in prosound tranquiality, the great armies which had been raised by the late king, and Henry of England, were unemployed, and the kingdom filled with disbanded soldiers, whom Philip exterminated by cutting off nine thousand of them at one blow. He ordered the great towns of his kingdom to be walled in for preventing surprizes, and their streets to be paved; and when his commands were tardily obeyed he saw them executed in person. Philip, in imitation of his predecessors, courted the affections of the lower clergy and people, in which he was successful, and during the whole course of his reign he experienced the benefits of that policy.

Whose mother flies to England.

His mother, queen Adelaide, was disgusted with the credit which the count of Flanders had obtained with Philip, and did all the could to divide them; and to prevent her fon's marrying the princess Isabel, neice to that count, who had bestowed upon her the county of Artois, and a large estate lying along the Lys. Philip affected to be independent of advice and authority; and notwithstanding his mother's remonstrances, he married the lady, and they were crowned at Rheims, to the great difgust of that prelate, by the arch-bishop of Sens. The queen dowager, and the young king of England fled to Henry II. with the lords of their factions, and he invaded France, where Philip received him at the head of a numerous and well appointed army. The count of Flanders was for leaving the quarrel to be decided by the sword; but Philip still disdaining to be tutored, shewed himself equally ready to fight or to treat, and Henry demanding a conference, was amazed at his firmnels and fagacity. A treaty was concluded, by which the queen mother and her followers were restored to their several ranks and estates. This agreement disobliged the count of Flanders, and he linked himself with the cardinal of Champagne, brother to the queen dowager, and the duke of Burgundy. Philip was resolved to be beforehand with the confederates, and furprizing that duke's fon in one of his castles, he reduced them to reason. We may form some idea of the genius of the French nobility at that time, by observing, that the only motive they alledged for their rebellion, was the danger they were in from the king's popularity. Upon

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Upon the death of the countess of Flanders, who had Dispute been heiress to the county of Vermandois, the emperor of about the Germany stept in to the affistance of the count, when Philip Vermanoffered to annex that county to his crown. This was ano- dois. ther quarrel, excited by the jealoufy of the nobility against the king. Philip affirmed that the alienation of the county of Vermandois from the crown, ought to last no longer than the life of the late counters, and notwithstanding all the efforts made by the count and his friends, Philip reannexed it to his domain, and left nothing to the count of Flanders but the towns of Perron, and St. Quintin.

In 1182, Henry the young king of England, died in France, upon which Philip reclaimed from the elder Henry, Gifors, and the Vexin, which had been given to his fifter Margaret A reconciliation followed, by the elder Henry performing homage to Philip for all the lands he held in France, and promising that his son Richard should marry the

princels Alice.

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The unhappy passion which the elder Henry is supposed Henry's to have entertained for that princess, was a fruitful source passion for of calamity to his reign and person. It gave the princes of the prinhis family and his queen Eleanor, whom he kept prisoner cels Alice. for twelve years before her death, a perpetual subject for complaint and diffatisfaction; and Henry's second son, Geoffrey, duke of Bretagne, pretending that Henry had not done him justice, by refusing to add the county of Maine to his dutchy, took refuge at the court of his father-in-law Philip, but died of the bruises he received by the fall of his horse at a tournament. The scene that followed justifies the feverest of our animadversions upon the morals of that age. Geoffrey left Arthur, a posthumous son, by Constance, daughter of Philip; and the right of that fon in the succession was undoubtedly preferable to that of John, Geoffrey's younger brother. Philip protected his daughter and her son against the English princes, Richard and John, the count of Flanders, and the German emperor, and belieged Chateauroux; but the slege was raised by the elder Henry. A legate of the pope interceeded, and the common method of reconciliation took place, by all the princes swearing to take upon them the crois.

Richard, the head-strong prince of England, instigated by War behis father, renewed the quarrel about the county of tween Tholouse, then belonging to count Raimond, and he invaded France and it, as Philip, in aid to the count, did the English king's England. pollessions in France. Henry proposed that the princess Alice should marry his son, John; but this proposal was rejected, as that prince maintained a fecret correspondence with Philip. The pope, bribed by English gold, ordered his legate to interpose, which he did, but in vain; and prince Richard of England, put himself under the protection of VOL. X. Hh king

king Philip. With their joint forces they besieged and took Mons, in those days, one of the strongest cities in Europe. Henry was obliged to fly to Chinon; but the count of Flanders, and some other great vassals of the French crown, unwilling to fee Philip too powerful, refused to ferve him any longer against a prince, who like Henry, had taken upon himself the vows of the crusade. This obliged Philip again to agree to a personal conference with Henry, which was broken off by a portentous clap of thunder. The conference was renewed, and a folid peace established. Philip, in confideration of a large fum paid in ready money, confented to restore all that Henry had lost in France, and prince Richard, after his return from the Holy Land, was to marry This reconciliation had fo much the the princess Alice. This reconciliation had so much the marks of sincerity, that Philip, at Henry's earnest request, shewed him the lift of confederates against him; at the head of which stood the name of his beloved fon, John. This is faid to have affected Henry so deeply, that upon his return to Chinon, he died of vexation, and left his crown with his malediction to his fon Richard, Philip's ally.

Death of Henry king of England. See p. 160. et seg.

Never were two princes worse paired than Richard and Philip were. We have already given their characters. Vol. VII. Philip was more cool, and less open than Richard, who was likewise his superior in bodily strength and feats of arms; both of themwere luftful, and avaricious, and, notwithstanding appearances, they had conceived a rooted hatred for each other. They agreed in nothing but their frantic expedition to the Holy Land, and there is some reason for believing that in this, they had some interested views; the Christians having at that time possession of some noble ports and territories near the Levant.

Philip fets out on a crusade

ibid.

Before Philip fet out on the expedition, some of his counsellors endeavoured to persuade him to remain at home. His mother, and the archbishop of Rheims, who expected to be regents during his absence, flattered him with the fuccess of his enterprize; but he limitted their authority by a deed, which he drew up in the nature of a testament, and to which he appointed overseers. We have already recounted the fatal success of this expedition. Philip, without felling the great posts of his crown, could not have commanded the expence which it required; and after joining the crusaders at the siege of Acon, he began to see the folly of his enterprize.

ibid. p. 151.

The quarrel between him and Richard, king of England, has been already mentioned; but the particulars are referred to this place. After the queen dowager of England had performed homage to Philip for the dutchy of Guienne, he joined his army with that of Richard, and they marched in company as far as Lyons, where they separated, Philip towards the Alps, being to embark at Genoa, while Richard's

Richard's fleet was to meet him at Marseilles; but the rendezvous of both was appointed at Sicily, from whence they

were to proceed in conjunction to the Holy Land.

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Tancred was then king of Sicily, and his right was disput- See ed by Constance, wife to the emperor Henry, Philip's ally; Vol. X. but Tancred had imprisoned the queen dowager, Joan, fifter p. 70. to Richard. Tancred was obliged to diffemble with his two et feq. powerful guests, and upon the arrival of Richard, who de- Richard manded his fifter to be fet at liberty, Tancred evaded the infults demand. Richard upon this attacked the city of Messina, Philip. and grossly affronted Philip for offering to interpose, because his troops were actually in possession of that city. This treatment exasperated Philip to the last degree, and it is generally faid, that he had formed a scheme with Tancred for cutting off Richard and his army. This was betrayed to Richard by Tahcred, who was nettled at Philip's not having properly supported him, and the quarrel went very high. Richard, impetuous, haughty, and overbearing, kept no terms with Philip. Both his troops and finances were in a much better condition than those of the French king, and he obliged Tancred to pay him forty thousand ounces of gold, in fatisfaction for a debt, which feems to have been little better than pretended.

After many altercations, the shame of blasting a holy expedition by personal dissentions, brought the two kings once more to a parley. Philip insisted upon Richard marrying his sister Alice, which he positively refused, because she had been debauched by his father, and because his mother was then in treaty for marrying him to Berengaria, a Navarrese princes; a match which actually took place. He offered however, to restore the dowry, which had been consigned with Alice, and which consisted of towns and estates. In short, the shame of returning after the pompous declarations with which they set out, and the prodigious preparations they had made, more than any other motive, prevailed with the two kings to patch up a seeming accommodation, that they might save appearances; and Philip sailed for Syria, leaving behind him Richard, who was daily ex-

pecting his bride, and his mother in Sicily.

We have, already, fully treated of the operations in the See Holy Land, and all we shall add on that subject is, that the Vol. VII. haughtiness of Richard on all occasions towards Philip was p. 163. insupportable, which determined the latter at all events et seq. upon returning to France, after the Christians had taken Ungene-Ptolemais or Acon. It is certain however, that Philip, on rous conthis occasion, acted with great duplicity. He harboured in duct of his breast thoughts of vengeance, which he durst not at the latter, tempt to gratify upon the spot, but reserved them for his who reterm to France. He disdained the assumed superiority of turns his vassal; but he was so mean as to swear to Richard that home.

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he would not invade his dominions in his absence, and he left him a body of troops under Eudes of Burgundy.

Vol. X. P. 71. et feq.

Philip, upon his return to Italy, in his way to France, anplied to pope Celestine III. for absolution from this vow; but could not obtain it, and in general his reputation suffered by the manner in which he left Syria, tho' it was, perhaps, the wisest action of his life. His reception in France however, was such as testified the joy of his subjects for his return. He encreased their regard for his person, by pretending that Richard of England had hired some of the famous affassins, subject to a prince called the old man of the mountain, to murder him in the fame manner as they had the marquis of Montferrat, upon the streets of Tyre. Philip affected fo Arong an apprehension of this event, that he raised a body guard, properly armed, to defend him against all surprizes; and he fent a messenger with presents to deprecate the wrath of the old man of the mountain, who ingenuously told him, that he had given orders for the affaffination of the marquis of Montferrat, not because he was Richard's, but his own enemy, and that he had no kind of correspondence with the king of England.

He marries a Danish princess.

Philip's queen, Isabella, having died in his absence, he married Ingerberge, daughter of Waldemar, and fifter to Canute, king of Denmark. His motive for this match was mean and mercenary. He infifted upon Canute making over to him all the claim the Danes had upon England; a (most ridiculous refignation,) and upon his lending him a fleet for making it good, which Canute refused. Philip's heart was so much bent upon being revenged of Richard, that he entered into a fecret confederacy and correspondence with John, Richard's younger brother, afterwards the unhappy

and mean spirited king of England.

Vol. VIII. p, 461. et seq.

Upon Richard being made prisoner by the duke of Austria, and configned over to Henry VI. Philip offered the emperor a large fum for the person of Richard; but the imprisonment of that monarch had so much disgusted the German princes, that Henry durst not strike the bargain. Philip, however, refolved to avail himself of his connections with John, and fent a most unmanly denunciation to Richard, while in prison. The grounds of his quarrel were, that Richard had not performed the compact they had entered into in Sicily, by restoring his fister's fortune, and that the herself was detained a prisoner in Rouen. When Philip took the field and attacked Normandy, he found most of the places there unprovided for defence. He took Eureux, and after putting a strong garrison into the castle, he gave up the town itself to fohn; but he failed in an attempt he made upon Rouen, and he found the whole of his conduct against Richard so disagreeable to his great nobles that he was at last obliged to consent to Richard's being ransomed; and

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this he intimated to John by a message, in which he desired him to take care of himself, because the great devil was unchained.

Richard, upon his return, finding that the conduct of Philip War conwas disapproved of, not only by the French but the other tinues beprinces of Europe; reclaimed the places which the other tween had taken from him in Normandy. Philip answered him by Richard belieging Verneuil, upon which Richard invaded France with and Philip. a great fleet and army, and landed at Barfleur, while his brother John is faid to have made his peace with him by treacherously and inhumanly cutting the throats of three hundred French officers after inviting them to an entertainment. This fact however, wants conformation; but it is certain, that Philip foon after, by a hafty march, furprized Eureux, where he put all the English to death, and burnt the city to the ground. Richard took that opportunity of marching against the main body of Philip's army which was immediately dispersed. Some negotiations followed this, but to no purpose, but Richard having forced Philip to a battle, beat his army near Vendosme; and the French chancery, containing the most important archieves of the kingdom, which always attended their kings in the field, fell into the hands of the English monarch. A fresh invasion of Normany by Philip followed, and a most bloody war was carried on without any decisive advantage to either party, till both became fensible of their folly and temerity. pope's legate mediated between them, and a truce was concluded, which terminated in November 1195, in a definitive treaty, by which the princess Alice, the great bone of contention between the two monarchs, was delivered out of prison and married to the count of Ponthieu.

Though Richard was incomparably a better general than Richard Philip, and his troops superior in every respect; yet the reforms desire of revenge had blinded him so much, that he lost all his conthe advantages which his superiority gave him. The late duct. definitive peace which had been concluded at Louviers, did not remain unbroken fix months, and Philip again invaded Normandy, on pretence of revenging an injury done by Richard; who had by nature great parts when they were unclouded by passion, and now perceived the mistakes he had been guilty of and the necessity of seconding courage by policy. He gave his fifter Joan, the queen dowager of Sicily, in marriage to the count of Tholouse, and flattered the Bretons with the hopes of making young Arthur, his brother Geoffrey's son, his successor in the throne of England. He likewise brought over to his party the count of Flanders, by promising to affist him in recovering the county of Artois. Being thus strengthened with confederates, Philip was attacked on all hands. The count of Flanders Hh3

Flanders besieged Arras. The siege was raised by Philip, who, in pursuing the count entangled his army fo much. that he had almost lost it, and was obliged to make peace with the count, upon no very honourable terms for himself. Baldwin, count of Flanders, attempted, after this, to mediate between Richard and Philip, but to little purpose, till by the intervention of pope Innocent III. a five years truce was concluded. This truce probably would have been as ineffectual as those preceeding it; but Richard was in 1199, ignobly killed by an arrow from a castle, which he was befieging, that he might disposses its owner, who was his vassal, of a mass of treasure he had found.

his wife.

Philip Though Philip Augustus, is by the historians of France parts with esteemed to have been both brave and politic; yet it is certain, that his passions hurried him, as well as Richard, into capital overfights. He treated the powerful vaffals of his crown too harshly and ignominiously, in the disputes they had with him; and he was apt to carry his revenge too far. He had from the first night of cohabitation, conceived an aversion for his queen Ingerburge, though a beautiful and deferving princess, and he had confined her in a monastry, and had actually married Agnes, daughter of a Dalmatian Ingerburge's brother, the king of Denmark, resented duke. the injury done to his fifter, and complained to the pope, who pronounced Philip's second marriage to be void, though he had obtained a divorce from certain French bishops, on pretence of consanguinity.

As Philip was distractedly fond of Agnes, he paid no regard to the papal mandate, and he made use of the standing army which he kept on foot for overawing the pope and his clergy, whom he taxed and oppressed most unmercifully for some time; but at last, the terrors of excommunication and ecclefiaffical censures overcame his resolution; and he humbly applied to the pope for a farther revision of his fecond marriage, which was granted. In this however, he had no better success than before, and perceiving that a final determination was to be pronounced against him, he took Ingerburge out of her monaftery, and mounting her behind himself upon the same palfrey, he conducted her as his queen, to Paris, where he owned her as such, while his other wife Agnes died of vexation. As his fecond marriage had been contracted bona fide upon the part of Agnes, the

fon and daughter he had by her were legitimated.

The prodigious possessions which the royal family of Eng-Queen Fleanor land had in France, were perpetual fources of misfortunes takes part to both kingdoms. Old queen Eleanor of Guienne, formerly queen confort of France, and afterwards wife to Henry II. with her fon John. of England, was yet alive, and faw her youngest fon John on that throne. It is plain, that the kings of England, dukes of Normandy, did not think themselves obliged to

observe

observe a regular succession to England, because John sate on the throne in prejudice of Arthur, fon to Geoffrey, his elder brother, and that Eleanor sided with John, through the hatred she entertained for Constance, Arthur's mother. What is more extraordinary, John was then in possession of Normandy likewise; and Arthur laid claim only to Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. Philip took Arthur's part, invaded Normandy, and practifed so artfully on the fickleness and weakness of John, that queen Eleanor was obliged to interpose between the two kings. It was agreed that Blanche, the daughter of Alonso, king of Castile, should be married to Lewis, the king of France's eldest son, and neice to John, who in case he himself died without issue, was to fettle on the issue of that marriage his estates in France; but in the mean time, he was to yield up to Philip the long disputed countries of Eureux, and the Vexin, while Arthur was to do homage to John for the dutchy of Bretagne.

Scarcely any vice that can come in the composition of a Prince king or a man, was a stranger to John. He had repudiated Arthur the daughter of the duke of Gloucester, and had married invades Isabel of Angouleme, who had been affianced to the count of Normandy Marche, who resented the injury done him. Though both but is de-Philip and the lady's father had at first approved of the feated and match, yet on the representation which the count made, taken pri-Philip resolved to improve the disaffection that had been soner and raised by the count against John to his own purpose; and murdered. encouraged young Arthur to march with an army to befiege his grandmother Eleanor, in the castle of Mirebeau. John passing from England with an army to her relief, defeated Arthur, took him prisoner, and sent him to the castle of Rouen, where he was murdered, some say, by John's own hands. Philip did not fail to improve to his own advantage every circumstance of this barbarity, especially as the barons in England were then in arms against John, who was abandoned by almost all the world. Philip summoned him to ap- John's pear before his court at Paris, and he not appearing, Philip French went through all the minute forms of law; John was con- poffessions victed of felony, and as such, Normandy, and all his posses- forfeited. fions in France, were judged to be forfeited to that crown. To give this fentence effect, Philip entered Normandy with a ttrong army, and though Chateau-Galliard, and some other places made a brave resistance, yet John unaccountably retired to England. Philip reduced first the higher, then the lower, Normandy, and at last the city of Rouen itself, reannexing the whole to his own crown, after they had been separated from it three hundred years.

This fuccess enlarged the views of Philip, and reflecting Philip. on the disadvantages his predecessors lay under from the meditates power of their great lords, he resolved to lose no time in the rereducing them. The juncture was favourable to his wifnes. duction of

his great lords.

p. 76. et feq.

The count of Flanders had undertaken a crusade, the count of Champagne was an infant, and the count of Tholouse was persecuted by the pope, the inquisition, and all the bigots of France, Germany, and Italy. We have already given a full account of the inhuman and detestable crufade raised against that prince, and which was encouraged by Philip for obvious reasons. Guy de Tours was the only nobleman who made any effectual opposition against Philip. He had mar-ried Constance, mother of Arthur, and heires of Bretagne, and upon the death of that princess he offered his service to John in affifting him to recover his French possessions. John accordingly carried a fleet and army to Rochelle; but his perpetual unsteadiness, and the superior genius of Philip rendered him again unsuccessful, so that the duke of Bre-tagne was obliged to submit. The interdict under which the pope, at this time, laid the kingdom of England, gave Philip a fair opportunity for securing his conquests. His son prince Lewis, had taken the cross against the Albingenses; but another crusade having been patched up by the pope against king John, Philip chose that Lewis should serve in it. that he might keep the war at a distance from home, as he made no doubt but that John would endeavour to retake Normandy, the rather, as many of the lords there were difaffected to himself. The insolence of the pope had procured John friends in England, and hearing of the vast preparations made by Philip for invading his dominions, he had prepared a noble fleet, and an army of fixty thousand men to oppose him. The preparations of Lewis were immense at the same time. French historians have raised his fleet to the incredible number of seventeen hundred ships, and nothing was now talked of at his court and camp, but a feeond conquest of England, the estates of which his great lords laid out among themselves. While it was thought that the fate of England was on the point of being decided, John had formed a very different plan of operations. He had projected an alliance with the emperor Otho IV. the count of Flanders, the count of Boulogne, and the earl of Tholouse. Pope Innocent was in the secret of this confederacy; but well knowing the cowardly variable disposition of John, he resolved to disappoint Philip of the kingdom of England. He gave one Pandolph, a subdeacon, in-Atructions how to get admittance into John's presence, in which he succeeded; and being introduced to him at Dover, he told the unhappy prince that he had come from France; where he was witness to the prodigious preparations made by Philip for conquering his kingdom, and that Philip boaffed he had fecret affurances of his being joined by those very lords on whom John depended, and that the only refource the latter had left was to throw himself under the

protection of the pope, agreeing to hold his crown of his

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holinels.

See Vol.VIII. p. 467.

p. 471. He prepares to invade Englaad. boliness. John meanly consented to this in the following words:

"I, John, by the grace of God, king of England, and but is lord of Ireland, for the expiation of my fins, and out of obliged to my pure free will, and with the advice of my barons, do defift by give unto the church of Rome, and to pope Innocent, and John's his fuccessors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, to submission gether with all the rights belonging to them; and will to the

"hold them of the pope as his vassal: I will be faithful to pope. God, to the church of Rome, to the pope, my lord, and to his successors lawfully elected: and I bind myself to pay him a tribute of one thousand marks of silver yearly; to wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and

" three hundred for Ireland."

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Pandolph, according to Matthew Paris, carried from Eng-A confeland eight thousand pounds sterling; an immense sum for deracy that time; and, upon his arrival in France, he intimated to against Philip, who was ready to set sail, that he must lay aside all Philip, thoughts of his expedition, because the kingdom of England now belonged to his holiness, from whom John had consented to hold it in homage. This injunction fell like a thunder-bolt upon Philip; who remonstrated, that, having laid out sixty thousand pounds in his preparations, he was resolved to make use of them, and to proceed in his expedition.

The count of Flanders, in consequence of his engagements with John, refused to follow him; and now the confederacy against Philip began to disclose itself. It appeared, that the count of Flanders, in the division of Philip's spoils, was to have had the city of Paris and the isle of France. The emperor, Otho, was to possess Burgundy and Champagne; as the count of Boulogne was the Vermandois. Philip immediately sell into the county of Flanders, and besieged Ghent; but the English fleet took three hundred of his store-ships; sunk an hundred more; and blocked up the remainder in the port of Dam: so that, to prevent their falling into the hands of the consederates, Philip ordered them to be burnt.

John, after this, invaded Poictou, and landed at Rochelle; where he was joined by the inhabitants. He repaired the fortifications of Angiers, and ravaged Philip's dominions to the frontiers of Bretagne. Philip fent his fon, Lewis, to oppose John; but both parties seemed agreed to wait the decisive issue of the campaign in Flanders, where Philip and Otho

commanded in their own persons.

Philip had under him an army of fifty thousand men, be-who gains sides twelve hundred knights, and between fix and seven the great thousand men at arms, which composed the best body of battle of cavalry then in Europe; but Otha was at the head of an hun-Bouvines. dred thousand men. All the princes of the French blood seved under Philip; as did the counts of Sancerre, Ponthieu,

page 84.

and St. Paul, and twenty-two other lords, who had the privilege of carrying banners. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Namur, with the dukes of Limbourg, Brabant, and Lorrain, with a number of German princes, ranged themselves on the side of the emperor Otho VI. Both armies met, on the twenty-seventh of July, at a little village called Bouvines. The French army was drawn up by Guerin, a clergyman, who had been lately nominated to the see of Senlis; and, after a sharp dispute, Philip obtained a complete victory, in the manner which we have already related; and he entered Paris in triumph, with his illustrious prisoners in chains; among whom were the counts of Flanders and Bou-

logne.

If Philip did not reap all the advantages which might have been expected from a victory feemingly fo decifive; we are to attribute it to political reasons; as no prince, in his time, was less likely than he was to lose any advantage. The truth is, he was afraid of his own great lords; who, even before his victory, had shewn symptoms of uneafiness at his over-grown power: and he resolved not to incense them farther. Instead of that, he fent his son, Lewis, to affist Simon de Montfort against the Albigenses. But a nobler scene of action now presented itself to that young prince; for the barons of England invited him to come and take their crowns as they were no longer able to bear the oppressions of John. Philip, at the interposition of the pope's legate, had already accepted of fixty thousand pounds from John, for which he had granted him a truce for five years; and it was guarantied by the pope, and had been agreed to by his great lords. Philip could furmount these difficulties only by pretending, that his fon, Lewis, had not his authority for accepting the invitation of the English barons; but, at the same time, he lent him a fleet and an army, with which he landed in Kent. Every step of Lewis in England, after this, was fatal to his pretensions, and gave the English a mean opinion of his abilities. Instead of his besieging and taking possession of Dover, which he might eafily have done, and which was, by far, the most important fortress in the kingdom, he took Rochester and some other places in Kent; while John rendered Dover impregnable to the arms and artillery of those times. The common people of England, and many of the barons, hated a French government; and John was thereby at the head of an army with which he took a severe vengeance upon the barons who had invited in Lewis.

Death of John.

John being snatched away by a sudden and deplorable death, his crown devolved upon his son Henry, who was then in his cradle; and the earl of Pembroke, who was appointed the head of the regency, was as zealously served by the English as John had been reluctantly.

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Lewis, finding his party daily declining in England, made The Ena truce with the English regent, and returned to France; but, glish toupon his arrival there, he found, that both himself and his tally refather had been excommunicated; and, fuch was the terror volt from of the papal anathema, that Philip refused to admit him pub- Lewis. licly into his presence. Lewis, however, raised some troops, and, his party being in possession of London, he returned to England. By that time, a terrible revolution, to the prejudice of the French, had happened in the minds of the English. A count of Melun, who had been a favourite with Lewis. had, on his death-bed, declared, that his mafter looked upon all the English barons who had invited him in, to be traitors; and refolved to cut them off with the first opportunity: fo that Lewis, upon his return, found the whole nation in arms against him. Having failed in a fresh attempt he made upon Dover, he besieged the castle of Lincoln; but his army was defeated by the regent, the earl of Pembroke. This obliged him, with the remainder of his troops, to shut himself up in London; from whence he implored his father's affistance. Philip continued the scene of dissimulation he had adopted; but winked at his wife, queen Blanche, raising a fleet and an army, which were defeated by the English, who struck off the head of the French admiral, Eustace le Moine, because he had been formerly in their service.

The pope's legate then interposed with the earl of Pembroke, and it was agreed, That the pretensions of Lewis should be submitted to the church; but that he was at liberty to return to France with all the prisoners taken by the English; upon his promising, That, if he could not prevail with his father to restore Normandy to the king of England, he would do it as soon as he became king of France. Those terms being agreed on, Lewis was absolved by the legate from his excommunication; and the English barons were re-

instated in their immunities.

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The five years truce already mentioned being expired, Lewis belieged and took Rochelle; but, upon the appearance of the earls of Kent and Salisbury with an army, it was reftored. The rest of the reign of Philip Augustus was employed in the affairs of the Albigenses; of which we have al-

ready given an ample account.

Philip died at Mante, on the fourteenth of July, 1223, in Death, the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. The vast success he met with in reviving the lustre of the French monarchy, has screened his memory from the censure due to the many acts of meanness, barbarity and treachery he perpetrated in establishing his greatness. It character, must be allowed, at the same time, that he was the legislator and the civilizer of his own country. He improved the military discipline and fortifications of France; and, if he amassed

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and proibid.

amassed money; it was to lay it out in the noblest purposes; in constructing public roads, bridges, and buildings. He geny of married, first, in 1180, Isabel, daughter of Baldwin, count Philip Au- of Hainault, who died in 1190; and by her he had Lewis, sustain his son and successor. We have already seen the fate of his marriage with Ingerburge, the Dane, whom he married in 1193; and the death of Agnes, whom he married upon repudiating Ingerburge. By her, he had Philip, count of Clermont, and afterwards of Dammartin and Boulogne; with a daughter, Mary; married, first, to Philip, count of Namur; and, secondly, to Henry, duke of Brabant.

END OF VOLUME THE TENTH.

